Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism

VOLUME I *Literature and Languages*

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: JONATHAN A. SILK
CONSULTING EDITORS: OSKAR VON HINÜBER
VINCENT ELTSCHINGER

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Wallace, Vesna A., is a professor of religious studies in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California in Santa Barbara. Her two areas of specialization are Indian Buddhism, particularly Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions, and Mongolian Buddhism. She has authored and translated four books related to Indian Buddhism, three of which pertain to the Kālacakra tantric tradition in India, and published numerous articles on Indian and Mongolian Buddhism. She has also brought to press an edited volume on Mongolian Buddhism, titled *Buddhism in Mongolian Culture, History, and Society* and is currently conducting research on the interplay between texts, images, and rituals in Mongolian Buddhism. She is a recipient of many grants and awards, including the Silver Medal bestowed by the President of Mongolia, Mr. Elbegdorj.

Walraven, Boudewijn, is professor emeritus of Korean studies of Leiden University in the The Netherlands and currently visiting professor at the Academy of East Asian Studies of Sungkyunkwan University. He studied at Leiden University, where he earned his PhD, and Seoul National University. From his first publication (a study of the social implications of sorcery accusations in the Chosŏn period) onward he has been interested in the use of anthropological approaches to Korean culture and history. Recently he focuses on two projects, one (in cooperation with Younghee Lee) a study of Buddhism in the late Chosŏn period seen through the focus of vernacular songs and paintings, the other the anthropology of history, an inquiry into the social conditions and social functions of both the production and consumption of history in the sense of representations of the past. He is a founding member of the Association for Korean Studies in Europe, which he has served as president for two four-year terms. Presently he is the editor of the *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* and the online journal *Korean Histories* (www.koreanhistories.org). In 2003 he was awarded the Order of Cultural Merit by the government of the Republic of Korea.

Werner, Eric, works as assistant for the Khyentse Center for Tibetan Buddhist Textual Scholarship at the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asia-Africa Institute, University of Hamburg. Being generally interested in the various strands of the Tibetan reception of Indian Buddhism, his current research focus lies in the scholastic literature from the 12th to 14th century with a special emphasis on depictions of Mahāyāna philosophy within Bka' gdams pa writings in general and the writings of Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) and his successors in particular, as well as on the Tibetan doxographical (*grub mtha'*) tradition of the same period.

Yoshida Yutaka, is a professor of linguistics at the Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Japan, where he has been teaching for the last ten years. His primary areas of interest include Middle Iranian studies, in particular Sogdian philology, and the history of the Silk Roads before the Islamization. His various authored and coedited works include *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin* (2013), *Notes on the Khotanese documents of the 8th–9th centuries unearthed from Khotan* (2006), and *Iranian Fragments from the Otani Collection* (1997). He was elected as a corresponding fellow of the British Academy in July 2014.

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Zacchetti, Stefano, is Yehan Numata Professor of Buddhist Studies at the University of Oxford (since 2012). Previous to this appointment he worked at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology (Soka University, Tokyo) from 2001 to 2005, and at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice from 2005 to 2012. His main research areas are early Chinese Buddhism (especially translations and commentaries), Prajñāpāramitā literature, and the history of the Chinese Buddhist canon. His publications include the monographs *Storie delle sei perfezioni: Racconti scelti dal Liu du ji jing* (Venice, 2013), *In Praise of the Light* (Tokyo, 2005), *Fazang – Il Trattato del leone d'oro, Esedra Editrice* (Padova, 2000), and numerous articles.

Zieme, Peter, is professor emeritus of the Free University of Berlin, Germany, temporarily living in Tokyo. He worked for many decades for the Turfan studies project of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In his publications he edited several Old Uigur Buddhist scriptures selected from collections of Turfan materials such as *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (2000) or *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus* (2005) in the series Berliner Turfantexte.

Primary Source (Collection) Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttaranikāya*
AKBh.	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*
AKVy.	*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*
As	*Atthasālinī*
C.	Cambodia (see: G. Cœdès & H. Parmentier, *Listes générales des inscriptions et des monuments du Champa et du Cambodge*, 1923)
CMYSXB	*Chanmen yishu xubian* (禪門逸書續編)
D	*Derge*
DBZ	*Dainihon bukkyō zensho* (大日本佛教全書)
Dhp-a	*Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*
Dīp	*Dīpavaṃsa*
DN	*Dīghanikāya*
Gv	*Gandhavaṃsa*
HDZ	*Hōnen shōnin den zenshū* (法然上人傳全集)
HPC	*Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (한국불교 전서)
HTPṬ.	*Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*
J	*Jiaxing dazangjing* (嘉興大藏經)
Ja	*Jātaka*
JZ	*Jōdoshū zensho* (浄土宗全書)
JZZ	*Jōdoshū zensho, zoku* (浄土宗全書・続)
K	Korean (see: L. Lancaster, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979)
K.	Khmer (see: G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 1937-1968)
KCDS	*Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin shouzang de fanwen beiye jing* (*Suowei jiaojuan*) *mulu* (中国藏学研究中心收藏的梵文贝叶经 [缩微胶卷] 目录)
Khuddas-anṭ	*Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā*
Khuddas-pṭ	*Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā*
Kkh	*Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*
Kkh-pṭ	*Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*
KLK	Kaiser Library, Kathmandu
Kych	Kychanov
LKCT.	*Laghukālacakratantra*
LokĀn.	*Lokānanda*
LTṬ.	*Laghutantraṭīkā*
MN	*Majjhimanikāya*
Mhv	*Mahāvaṃsa*
Mil	*Milindapañha*
MKL.	*Mahārājakaniṣkalekha*
Mp	*Manorathapūraṇī* (*Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā*)
Mṛcch.	*Mṛcchakaṭika*
Mūlas-anṭ	*Mūlasikkhābhinavaṭīkā*
Mūlas-pṭ	*Mūlasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā*
MuRā.	*Mudrārākṣasa*
Mvu	*Mahāvastu*(*avadāna*)
NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu

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reviations

générales des inscriptions et des

Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue,

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wen beiye jing (*Suowei jiaojuan*)
卷] 目录)

NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
Nidd I	*Mahāniddesa*
Nidd II	*Cullaniddesa*
NSUG	Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen
NZ	*Nichiren shōnin zenshū* (日蓮聖人全集)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
P	*Peking*
Pāc-y	*Pācityādiyojanā*
Pāṭ-gp-dīp	*Pātimokkhaganṭhidīpanī*
Paṭis	*Paṭisambidhāmagga*
Paṭis-a	*Saddhammappakāsinī* (*Paṭisambidhāmaggaṭṭhakathā*)
Piṭ-sm	*Piṭakatsamuiṅḥ* (*"Piṭakatthamain"*)
Pj II	*Paramatthajotikā II* (*Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*)
PKV.	*Palkalai Kaḷakam Veḷiyīṭu*
Ps	*Papañcasūdanī*
Ps-ṭ	*Papancasūdanīṭīkā*
PT	Pelliot tibétain
Sās	*Sāsanavaṃsa*
Sās-dīp	*Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*
SBCK	*Sibu congkan* (四部叢刊)
ŚiL.	*Śiṣyalekha*
SKQS	*Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* (文淵閣四庫全書)
SKQSCC	*Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (四庫全書存目叢書)
SN	*Saṃyuttanikāya*
Sn	*Suttanipāta*
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*
Spk	*Sāratthappakāsinī* (*Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā*)
Sp-ṭ	*Samantapāsādikāṭīkā*
SuL.	*Suhṛllekha*
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*
Sv-pṭ	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā*
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經)
TBRC	*Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center*
Utt-vn-ṭ	*Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā*
Vibh-ṭ	*Gūḷhatthadīpanī*
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*
Vism	*Visuddhimagga*
VKN.	*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*
Vmv	*Vimativinodanī*
Vmv-ṭ	*Vimativinodanīṭīkā*
VP.	*Vimalaprabhā*
XXSKQS	*Xuxiu siku quanshu* (續修四庫全書)
ZF	*Zangwai fojing* (藏外佛經)
ZT	*Zengaku tenseki sōkan* (禅学典籍叢刊)
ZZ	*Zokuzōkyō/Xuzangjing* (續藏經)

Journals and Series

AAGBK	*Ajia-Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū* (アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究)
AASMP	The Association for Asian Studies Monographs and Papers
AASS	Archaeologia Afghana, série scientifique
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse
AAWL	Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz; Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse
AAZBAW	*Akademie Aktuell. Zeitschrift der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AC	*Ancient Ceylon: Journal of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*
AcAs	*Acta Asiatica*
ACF	*Annuaire du Collège de France* (*Cours et travaux du Collège de France*)
AcInd	*Acta Indologica*
AcIr	*Acta Iranica*
AD	*Ars Decorativa*
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
AFS	*Asian Folklore Studies*
AGR	*Ajia Gengo Ronsō* アジア言語 論叢
AH	*Architectural History*
AI	*Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*
AIUON	*Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJOS	*Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies*
AK	*Acta Koreana*
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, later Wiesbaden
AL	*Anthropological Linguistics*
ALB	*Adyar Library Bulletin*
AM	*Asia Major*
AMG	Annales du Musée Guimet
AMOUSBCRI	*Annual Memoirs of the Otani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute*
ANISt	Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien
ANPRS	Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies
ANUFASOP	The Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies, Occasional Paper
AO	*Acta Orientalia*
AoA	*Arts of Asia*
AOAS	Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series
AOBDN	*Acta Orientalia Soc. Or. Batava Danica Norvegica*
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AOJM	Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura
AOS	American Oriental Series
AP	*Asian Perspectives*
APAW	*Abhandlungen der* (*kgl.*) *Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin*
APGES	Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphical Series

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APHKKSGW

AR
ARASI
Archaeometry
Archipel
ArchOr
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ARIRIAB
ArOr
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ARWAW
AS
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ASB
Aséanie
AsF
ASIM
ASSI
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BAI
BAI.NS
BAISP
BARL
BB
BBAW.BA

BBHRC
BBK
BBKK
BBKR
BBr
BBS
BBSC
BBSS
BBU
BC
BCA
BCKS
BCLBA
MDBK
BDK English Tripiṭa
BDKETS
BDKK
BDDKBKH

BDKTTS
BdM
BDSKK

APHKKSGW	*Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*
AR	*Asiatic Researches*
ARASI	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
Archaeometry	*Archaeometry*
Archipel	*Archipel*
ArchOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ArchS	Archaeological Series
ARIRIAB	*Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ArsO	*Ars Orientalis*
ArtAs	*Artibus Asiae*
ArtAsiat	*Arts Asiatiques*
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AS	Asahi sensho (朝日選書)
AS	*Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*
ASAWL	Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse
ASB	*Archaeological Survey of Burma*
Aséanie	*Aséanie*
AsF	Asiatische Forschungen
ASIM	Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs
ASSI	Archaeological Survey of Southern India
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BAI.NS	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series*
BAISP	*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*
BARL	*Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Lao*
BB	*Bukkyō bunka* (佛教文化)
BBAW.BA	*Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berichte und Abhandlungen*
BBHRC	*Bulletin of the Burma Historical Research Commission*
BBK	*Bukkyō bunka kenkyū* (仏教文化研究)
BBKK	(*Ryūkoku daigaku*) *bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, ([龍谷大学] 佛教文化研究所紀要)
BBKR	*Bukkyō bunka kenkyū ronshū* (仏教文化研究論集)
BBr	Buddhica Britannica
BBS	Bauddha Bharati Series
BBSC	Buddhica Britannica Series Continua
BBSS	Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series
BBU	Bibliotheca Buddhica
BC	Bibliothèque chinoise
BCA	Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum
BCKS	*Bulletin of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, Budapest*
BCLBA	*Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts*
MDBK	*Minobusan daigaku bukkyōgakubu kiyō* (身延山大学仏教学部紀要)
BDK English Tripiṭaka	BDK English Tripiṭaka
BDKETS	Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai English Translation Series
BDKK	*Bukkyō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (佛教大学研究紀要)
BDDKBKH	*Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō bungaku kenkyūka hen* (佛教大学大学院紀要文学研究科篇)
BDKTTS	Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai Tripitaka Translation Series
BdM	Bibliothèque du Muséon
BDSKK	*Bukkyō daigaku sōgō kenkyūjo kiyō* (仏教大学総合研究所紀要)

BdT	Buddhist Texts
BDZGYZJ	*Beijing daxue Zhongguo guwenxian yanjiu zhongxin jikan* (北京大學中國古文獻研究中心集刊)
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
BEHESR	*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses*
BEI	*Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*
BG	Bauddhabhāratīgranthamālā
Bg	*Bukkyōgaku* (佛教學)
BGG	*Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
BgK	*Bukkyōgaku kaihō*
BgKe	*Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (仏教学研究)
BgR	*Bukkyōgaku ronshū* (仏教学論集)
BgS	*Bukkyōgaku Seminā* (佛教學セミナー)
BGS	Bibliographical Guide Series
BZ	*Bukkyōgaku zasshi* (佛教學雜誌)
BIB	Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica
BIeB	Bibliotheca Indologica et Buddhologica
BIL	Brill's Indological Library
BInd	Bibliotheca Indica
BIS	*Berliner Indologische Studien*
BIT	*Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica*
BJO	*Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*
BJRULM	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BK	*Bukkyō kenkyū* (佛教研究)
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*
BKGA	Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens
BL	*Buddhist Literature*
BLPPN	Berita Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional
BLZJ	*Bod ljongs zhib'jug*
BM	Bibliothèque du Muséon
BMGM	*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*
BMGM.NS	Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum New Series
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BNLP	*Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping* (*Guoli Beiping tushuguan guankan* [國立北平圖書館館刊])
BNME	*Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*
BOH	Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica
BoOS	Bonner Orientalistische Studien
BOS	Bhandarkar Oriental Series
BPhB.SM	Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor
BPPB	Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica
BPSM	Buddhica Première série: Mémoires
Brill's TSL	Brill's Tibetan Studies Library
BSAF	Beiträge zur Südasienforschung
BSK	*Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* (佛教史学研究)
BSL	*Bulletin de le Société de Linguistique*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSR	*Buddhist Studies Review*
BSSCR	*Bulletin: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*
BST	Buddhist Sanskrit Texts
BT	*Bulletin of Tibetology*
BTS	Buddhist Tradition Series
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte

BTT	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Akademievorhaben Turfanforschung: Berliner Turfantexte
Bunka	*Bunka* (文化)
BuTS	Buddhist and Taoist Studies
BY	*Bulgyo Yongu*
BZ	Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung
BzG	*Buzan gakuhō* (豊山学報)
CA	Cahier d'Archipel
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
CaSS	Calcutta Sanskrit Series
CB	*Contemporary Buddhism*
CC	*Chinese Culture*
CCT	*Contemporary Chinese Thought*
CEA	Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie
CEASE	Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie: Special Edition
CÉC	Cahiers d'études coréennes
CG	*Chizan gakuhō* (智山学報)
CHBJ	*Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* (中華佛學學報)
Chindanhakpo	*Chindanhakpo* (震檀學報)
CHJ	*Ceylon Historical Journal*
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CIIr	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CIS	*Cracow Indological Studies*
CJ	*Chinoperl Journal*
CLAO	*Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale*
CLEAR	*Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*
CNT	*Chōsen no toshokan* (朝鮮之圖書館)
COMXDC	Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish Collections
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CSL	Clay Sanskrit Library
CSPSR	*The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*
CSRMS	Cultures of the Silk Road and Modern Science
CSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies
CT	*China Tibetology* (*Zhongguo Zangxue* [中国藏学])
CTDI	Collection de textes et documents sur l'Indochine
CTS	Contributions to Tibetan Studies
CUIIS	Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series
CWKB	Collected Works of Korean Buddhism
CZP	*Conceptus, Zeitschrift für Philosophie*
DAWB.IO	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung
DB	Daijō butten
DDBCRS	Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series
DDR	*Dōhō daigaku ronsō* (同朋大學論叢)
Der Islam	*Der Islam*
DG	Dharmodayagranthamālā
DGBBKH	*Dōhō gakuen bukkyō bunka kenkyūjohō* (同朋学園佛教文化研究所報)
Dhīḥ	*Dhīḥ*
DHR	Dynamics in the History of Religions
DLS	Dharma Lamp Series
DNVA.DHFK	Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi. Den historisk-filosofiske klasse
DR	*Dunhuang Research* (*Dunhuang yanjiu* [敦煌研究])
DTS	Drama und Theater in Südasien
DZY	*Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu* (東方宗教研究)

EAIS/IO	East Asia Intercultural Studies/Interkulturelle Ostasienstudien
EB	*Eastern Buddhist*
EBHR	*European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*
ÉdL	*Études de Lettres*
EGKK	*Eizan Gakuin Kenkyū Kiyō* (叡山学院研究紀要)
eJIM	*eJournal of Indian Medicine*
EMC	*Early Medieval China*
EMW	*Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*
EpBir	*Epigraphia Birmanica*
EpInd	*Epigraphia Indica*
ÉT	Études thématiques
EW	*East and West*
EZ	*Epigraphia Zeylanica*
FBI	Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie
FCS/SAS	Foreign and Comparative Studies/South Asia Series
FJHSS	*Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*
FYZX	*Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* (佛學研究中心學報)
GAF	Göttinger asiatische Forschungen
GaOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
GaS	Gandharan Studies
GBT	Gandhāran Buddhist Texts
Gendaimikkyō	*Gendaimikkyō*
Gengo	*Gengo* (言語)
GI	*Glory of India: A Quarterly of Indology*
GindPh	Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde
GIS	Gonda Indological Studies
GLJ	*Gest Library Journal*
GM	*Gendai mikkyō* (現代密教)
GMNAIFE	Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition
GTDZL	*Guoli Taiwan daxue zhexue lunping* (國立臺灣大學哲學論評)
HaBuSt	Hamburg Buddhist Studies
HBK	*Hokke bunka kenkyū* (法華文化研究)
HDBK	*Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyō* (廣島大學文學部紀要)
HDKK	*Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (花園大学研究紀要)
HDKZKKH	*Hanazono daigaku kokusai Zengaku kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* (花園大學國際禪學研究所研究所報告)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Hermès	*Hermès: Recherches sur l'expérience spirituelle*
HFM	Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser
HGR	*Hōnen gakkai ronsō* (法然学会論叢)
HH	*Han'guk hakpo* (한국학보)
Hha	*Hoedang hakpo* (悔堂學報)
HHPC	Han'gŭlbon Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ (한글본 한국불교 전서)
HIL	*A History of Indian Literature*
HiLi	*Himalayan Linguistics*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HLCP	*Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*
HMY	*Hanminjok munhwa yŏn'gu* (한미족 문화 연구)
HORIN	*Hōrin* (法輪)
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
HOSt	Handbook of Oriental Studies
Hosŏ sahak	*Hosŏ sahak* (湖西史學)
HP	*Pulgyo hakpo* (佛教學報)

HPSCWR	*Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*
HR	*History of Religions*
HRel	Historia Religionum
HSDX	*Huadong shifan daxue xuebao* (*zhexue shehui kexueban*) (华东师范大学学报 [哲学社会科学版])
HSY	*Han'guk siga yŏn'gu* (한국시가연구)
Hualin	*Hualin* (華林)
HY	*Han'gukhak yŏn'gu* (韓國學研究)
HYa	*Hanxue yanjiu* (漢學研究)
HYIS	Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies
HZ	Hansei Zasshi
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IAL	Indo-Asian Literatures
Iar	*Indian Archives*
IAS	*Indian Archeological Studies/Indo-Kōko-Kenkyū*
IAZ	*Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift*
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (印度學佛教學研究)
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
ICe	*Inscriptions of Ceylon*
ICK	*Indogaku chibettogaku kenkyū* (インド学チベット学研究)
ICRHCOP	The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Occasional Papers
IeT	Indica et Tibetica
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IGS	*Indogaku shi ronshū* (インド學試論集)
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
I[I]JBS	*Indian [International] Journal of Buddhist Studies*
IJAS	*International Journal of Asian Studies*
IJBTC	*Indogaku mikkyōgaku kenkyū: Miyasaka Yūshō Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū* (インド学密教学研究: 宮坂宥勝博士古稀記念論文集)
IJSL	*International Journal of the Sociology of Language*
IK	*Iran kenkyū* (イラン研究)
IKK	*Indo Koten kenkyū* (インド古典研究)
IL	*Indian Logic*
IMK	*Indogaku mikkyōgaku kenkyū: Miyasaka Yūshō Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū* (インド学密教学研究: 宮坂宥勝博士古稀記念論文集)
IMW	*Indonesia and the Malay World*
InAs	*Inner Asia*
IndS	Indiske Studier
IOCSS	Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series
IPSAS	Indian Philology and South Asian Studies
IRIMS	Intercultural Research Institute Monograph Series
IT	*Indologica Taurinensia*
ITB	*Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku* (印度哲学仏教学)
ITBK	*Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (インド哲学仏教学研究)
IUOS	Indiana University Oriental Series
IUOSSA.SM	Istituto Universitario Orientale. Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAAOS	*Journal of the American Association of Oriental Studies*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JArS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*

JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JASB (*Letters*)	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Letters*)
JASL	*Journal of Arts, Science, and Letters*
JASUM	*Joong-ang Saṅgha University Magazine*
JATBU	*Journal of the Association of Theravada Buddhist Universities*
JB(*O*)*RS*	*Journal of the Bihar* (*and Orissa*) *Research Society*
JBBRASNS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society New Series*
JBE	*Journal of Buddhist Ethics*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBS	*Journal of Buzan Studies*
JBSt	*Journal of Buddhist Studies, Colombo*
JBuRS	*Journal of the Burma Research Society*
JBuS	*Journal of Burma Studies*
JCBS	*Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*
JCP	*Journal of Chinese Philosophy*
JCR	*Journal of Chinese Religions*
JCS	*Journal of Chisan Studies/Chisan Gakuho*
JDS	*Journal of the Dunhuang Studies* (*Dunhuangxue jikan* [敦煌學輯刊])
JDTS	*Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* (*Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* [敦煌吐魯番研究])
JGIS	*Journal of the Greater India Society*
JH	*Japonica Humboldtiana*
JIAAA	*Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*
JIABS	*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JIATS	*Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*
JICABS	*Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*
JICPBS	*Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*
JIES	*Journal of Indo-European Studies*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JIP	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JIS	*Journal of Intercultural Studies*
JJRS	*Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*
JKR	*Journal of Korean Religions*
JMBRAS	*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JMS	*Journal of the Mongolia Society*
JNIBS	*Journal of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies*
JNRC	*Journal of the Nepal Research Center*
JOCBS	*Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*
JOI	*Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*
JOR	*Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*
JOS	*The Journal of Oriental Studies*
JPRJ	*Jñāna-Pravāha Research Journal*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
JR	*The Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*of Great Britain and Ireland*)
JRBTRD	*Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Department*
JRS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSEAS	*Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society*
JSYS	*Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*
JTibS	*Journal of the Tibet Society*
JTU	*Journal of the Taisho University*
JTuS	*Journal of Turkish Studies*
KBKK	*Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kenkyū kiyō* (京都大學文學部研究紀要)

KDBGKK	*Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* (駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要)
KDBGR	*Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu ronshū* (駒澤大學佛教學部論集)
KDK	*Kōyasan daigaku kiyō* (高野山大学紀要)
KDKK	*Kōyasan daigaku daigakuin kiyō* (高野山大学大学院紀要)
KDR	*Kōyasan daigaku ronsō* (高野山大学論叢)
KGKSh	*Kunten go to kunten shiryō* (訓点語と訓点資料)
KGR	*Kōbe gaidai ronsō* (神戸外大論叢)
KIDKK	*Kansai ika daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō* (関西医科大学教養部紀要)
KITLV	*(Verhandelingen van het) Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde*
KJ	Kulturwissenschaftliche Japanstudien
KJ	*Korea Journal*
KJDBK	*Kōbe joshi daigaku bungakubu kiyō* (神戸女子大学文学部紀要)
KMA	*Kalpataru: Majalah arkeologi*
KMHKH	*Kokuritsu minzokugaku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* (国立民族学博物館研究報告)
KNKB	*Kanshō Nihon koten bungaku* (日本古典文學)
KorSt	*Korean Studies*
KPKKJWN	Kementerian Penerangan, Komunikasi dan Kebudayaan, Jabatan Warisan Negara
KPTEKST	Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte
KRTDK	*Kyūshū Ryūkoku tanki daigaku kiyō* (九州龍谷短期大学紀要)
KST	Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte
KT	*Kōza Tonkō* (講座敦煌)
KULR	*Kyoto University Linguistic Research*
KYIK	*Kokuyaku issaikyō* (國譯一切経)
LIC	*Late Imperial China*
Ling-Son	*Ling-Son*
LL	*Language and Linguistics*
LOS	London Oriental Series
LSMS	Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series
LTBA	*Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area Orientations*
Lungta	*Lungta*
MAs	*Mélanges Asiatiques*, Saint Petersburg
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MB	Manuscripta Buddhica
MBISOR	Manuscripta Buddhica I, Serie Orientale Roma
MBRAS	Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
MBu	*Mikkyō bunka* (密教文化)
MCB	Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques
MCB	*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*
MCMSA	Memoirs of the Colombo Museum Series A
MDJK	*Meijō daigaku jinbun kiyō* (名城大学人文紀要)
MDWY	*Minzu dianji wenzi yanjiu* (民族典籍文字研究)
MFESU	*Memoirs of the Faculty of Education, Shiga University*
MFL	*Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters*
MgK	*Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* (密教学研究)
MGNVO	Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens
MHRJ	*Myanmar Historical Research Journal*
MIAKPh	Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie
MIASA	*The Memoirs of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MIOC	*The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture*
MKB	Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus
MKISEAB	Monograph of the Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism
MLAM	Monumenta Linguarum Asiæ Minoris

MM	*Mandala Magazine*
MO	*Manuscripta Orientalia*
Mongolica	*Mongolica*
MonN	*Monumenta Nipponica*
MOS	Münchener Ostasiatische Studien
Moussons	*Moussons*
MP	Mongol-piṭaka: Indo-Asian Literatures
MQ	*Minsu quyi* (民俗曲藝)
MR	*Material Religion*
Mro	*Minobu ronsō* (身延論叢)
MSC	Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection
MSOP	Mongolia Society Occasional Papers
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
MST	Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka
MSUAS	Maharaja Sayajirao University Archaeology Series
MTADC	*Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi Cilt*
MTB	*Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*
MTH	Monumenta Tibetica Historica
MTMD	*Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries*
MUSEON	*Le Muséon*
MY	*Minzu yanjiu* (民族研究)
MZ	*Mikkyō zuzō* (密教図像)
NAGK	*Inner Asian Languages*
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse
NBKK	*Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō* (成田山仏教研究所紀要)
NCGK	*Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō* (日本西藏學會會報)
NKJK	*Nagasaki daigaku kyōikugakubu jinbunkagaku kenkyū hōkoku* (長崎大学教育学部人文科学研究報告)
NNGMCP	*Newsletter of the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project*
NSBK	*Nihon shūkyō bunkashi kenkyū* (日本宗教文化史研究)
NSK	*Ningxia Shehui kexue* (寧夏社會科學)
NSS	Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series
NST	Nihon shisō taikei (日本思想大系)
Numen	*Numen*
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
ODDKK	*Ōtani daigaku daigakuin kenkyū kiyō* (大谷大学大学院研究紀要)
ODKN	*Ōtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* (大谷大學研究年報)
OE	*Oriens Extremus*
OG	*Ōtani gakuhō* (大谷學報)
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
OMS	Oriental Monograph Series
Orientations	*Orientations*
OrSue	*Orientalia Suecana*
ORT	Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina
OsG	*Ōsaki gakuhō* (大崎學報)
OT	*Oral Tradition*
OTDOMS	Old Tibetan Documents Online Monograph Series
ŎY	*Ŏmun yŏn'gu* (어문연구)
PB	Prasasti Bali
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PDI	Publications du département d'Indologie
PEFEO	Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient

PhI	*Philologica Indica*
PI	Prasasti Indonesia
PICI	Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain
PPV	Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka
PTSTS	Pali Text Society, Text Series
PTSTrS	Pali Text Society, Translation Series
Pulgyohakpo	*Pulgyohakpo* (佛教學報)
PW	*Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*
PX	*Pumen xuebao* (普門學報)
RASBMS	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Monograph Series
RBMUSSR	Rare Buddhist Manuscripts from the USSR
RBTS	Rare Buddhist Texts Series
RDBBKK	*Ryūkoku daigaku bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* (龍谷大學佛教文化研究所紀要)
RDDBKK	*Ryūkoku daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō* (龍谷大学大学院文学研究科紀要)
RDR	*Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* (龍谷大學論集)
RET	*Revue d'Études Tibétaines*
RH	*Religions & Histoire*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RIPh	*Revue Internationale de Philosophie*
RK	*Ryūkoku kiyō* (龍谷紀要)
RLFS	Routledge Language Family Series
Rlung rta	*Rlung rta*
RO	*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*
Ronshū	*Ronshū* (論集)
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
RSO Suppl.	*Supplemento alla Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
RSS	*Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici*
SA	*Social Analysis*
SACOOSS	Société asiatique. Collection d'ouvrages orientaux, Seconde Série
SACS	*South Asian Classical Studies* (*Minami-Ajia-kotengaku*)
SadT	Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden
SAJSAS	*South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*
SAR	South Asia Research
SarS	Sarasvati Serie
SAS	*South Asian Studies*
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SBK	*Setsuwa bungaku kenkyū* (說話文學研究)
SBSM	Seminar for Buddhist Studies. Monographs
SBKN	*Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nenpō* (三康文化研究所年報)
SBT	Studies in the Buddhist Traditions
SCEAR	*Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*
ScO	ScriptOralia
SIAL	Studies in Inner Asian Languages
Scripta	*Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography*
SEAB	Studies in East Asian Buddhism
SEAR	*South East Asia Research*
Seishin	*Seishin* (棲神)
SGDOS	Sri Garib Dass Oriental Series
ShtkK	*Shōtokutaishi kenkyū* (聖徳太子研究)
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden

SIAAC	*Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*
SI	*Studia Indologiczne*
SIr	*Studia Iranica*
SIS	*Sino-Indian Studies* (*Zhongyin yanjiu* [中印研究])
SJEAS	*Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*
SJKS	*Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*
SJŚŚ.SJS	Singhi Jain Śāstra Śikṣāpītha. Singhi Jain Series
SJTL	*SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics*
SKBAWM	*Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*
SKPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse*
SK	*Shūkyō kenkyū* (宗教研究)
SKYD	Shin kokuyaku daizōkyō, Nyoraizō, Yuishiki bu (新国訳大蔵経 如来蔵・唯識部)
SL	Sinica Leidensia
SMH	*Studies in Myanmar History*
SMSL	Série sur les manuscrits du Sûtra du Lotus
SNAK	*Seinan Ajia kenkyū* (西南アジア研究)
SO	*Studia Orientalia*
SOESOF	*Studia Orientalia edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica*
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma
SP	Saṅkāya Patrikā
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SPhS Suppl.	Specimina Philologiae Slavicae Supplementband
SPP	*Sino-Platonic Papers*
ŚPS	Śata-piṭaka Series
SR	*Sengokuyama ronshū* (仙石山論集)
SRAA	*Silk Road Art and Archaeology*
SRFRS	Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series
SRS	Silk Road Studies
SSAC	Studies in South Asian Culture
SSMBL	Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature
STi	Studia Tibetica
StII	*Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*
StOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
StPhB.MS	Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series
StPhB.OPS	Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Paper Series
STQSTL	Studia Tibetica: Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexicographie
STTAR	Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region
SUKHVL	Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
SUNYS.FP	SUNY Series, Feminist Philosophy
SWR	*Studies in World Religions* (*Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* [世界宗教研究])
SWTF Suppl.	Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden Beiheft
SzB	Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung
TangS	*Tang Studies*
TaR	*Taoist Resources*
TaS	*Tantric Studies*
TASJ	*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*
TB	*Tōyō bunka* (東洋文化)
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
TBKK	*Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* (東洋文化研究所紀要)
TDA	*Türk Dileri Araştırmaları*
TDBBKKSKK	*Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* (東京大学文学部文化交流研究施設研究紀要)

Wissenschaften zu München
der Wissenschaften, philologisch-
大蔵経 如来蔵・唯識部)
chaften
exicographie
amfundet i Lund
宗教研究])
Turfan-Funden Beiheft
kenkyū kiyō (東京大学文学部文化

TDBKN	*Tōhoku daigaku bungakubu kenkyū nenpō* (東北大学文学部研究年報)
TDG	*Taishō daigaku gakuhō* (大正大學々報)
TDK	*Tōyō daigaku kiyō* (東洋大学紀要)
TDKK	*Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (大正大学研究紀要)
TDSBKK	*Taishō daigaku sōgō-bukkyō-kenkyūjo kiyō* (大正大学綜合佛教研究所紀要)
TDSBKN	*Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyūjo nenpō* (大正大学綜合佛教研究所年報)
TeG	*Tendai gakuhō* (天台學報)
Terrain	*Terrain*
TFY	*Taida Foxue yanjiu* (台大佛學研究)
TG	*Tōyō gakuhō* (東洋學報)
TGjK	*Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* (東洋学術研究)
TgK	*Tōyōgaku kenkyū* (東洋学研究)
The Academy	*The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science and Art*
ThGh(K)	*Tōhō gakuhō* (東方學報)
THPS	Tibet House Publications Series
THT	Tocharische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden
TibJ	*The Tibet Journal*
TICES	*Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies*
TIES	*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*
TISGR	*Tōhoku Indogaku shukyo gakkai ronshū* (東北印度学宗教学会)
TP	*T'oung Pao*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
TRAS.KB	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*
TS	*Tibetan Studies*
TSS	*Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* (東洋の思想と宗教)
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
TSt	*T'ang Studies*
TSWS	Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series
TTKK	*Tōyō tetsugaku kenkyūjo kiyō* (東洋哲学研究所紀要)
TULIP	*Tōkyō daigaku gengogaku ronshū* (東京大学言語学論集)
Türük	*Türük: Dil, Edebiyet ve Halkbilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi*
Tyndale	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UAJb	*Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*
Udaya	*Udaya*
URP	University of Rangoon Publication
VBA	*Visva-Bharati Annals*
VBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
VF	Vinaya Forschung
VHGSM	Veröffentlichungen der Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung: Monographien
Viator	*Viator*
VIJ	*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*
VIK	Veröffentlichungen der Indologischen Kommission
VJASL	*Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters*
VKBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
VKSKS	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens
VMKAW	*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*
VMU	*Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*
VMVL	Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
VOHD Suppl.	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Supplementband
VSAO	Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient
VSUA	Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica

Wacana	*Wacana*
Wenshi	*Wenshi* (文史)
Wenxian	*Wenxian* (文獻)
WFBSR	*World Fellowship of Buddhist Studies Review*
WDDBKK	*Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō* (早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要)
WSIA	Worlds of South and Inner Asia
WSTB	Wiener Studien zu Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZKMUL	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx-Universität Leipzig*
WZKS	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*
WZKSO	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*
XLW	Xuanzangs Leben und Werk
XLYYJ	*Xiyü lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* (西域歷史語言研究集刊)
XLML	*Xuelin manlu* (學林漫錄)
XS	*Xixia Studies* (西夏學)
XX	*Xinguo xue* (新國學)
XY	*Xixia Yanjiu* (西夏研究)
YDGGKH	*Yamanashi daigaku gakugeigakubu kenkyū hōkoku* (山梨大学学芸学部研究報告)
YKBBTK	*Yūrashia kogo bunken no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*
YKDKBGK	*Yamaguchi kenritsu daigaku kokusai bunka gakubu kiyō* (山口県立大学國際文化學部紀要)
ZAS	*Zentralasiatische Studien*
ZC	*Zhongguo Chanxue* (中國禪學)
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZFYL	*Zhonghua foxue yanjiusuo luncong* (中華佛學研究所論叢)
ZHFXXB	*Zhonghua foxue xuebao* (中華佛學學報)
ZII	*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*
Zinbun	*Zinbun*
ZKK	*Zenbunka kenkyūjo kiyō* (禅文化研究所紀要)
ZNBNS	Zoku Nihon bukkyō no shisō (続日本仏教の思想)
ZNE	Zoku Nihon no emaki (続日本の絵巻)
ZNETDEH	Zokuzoku Nihon emaki taisei, denki, engi hen (続々日本絵巻大成，縁起編)
ZR	*Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft*
ZS	*Zentralasiatischen Studien*
ZVOIRAO	*Zapiski vostočnogo otdeleniâ imperatorskogo russkogo arheologičeskogo ošestva*
ZWLWYL	*Zhongguo weiwu'er lishi wenhua yanjiu luncong*
ZX	*Zangxue xuekan* (藏學學刊)

General Abbreviations

app.	appendix
approx.	approximately
Bact.	Bactrian
BE1	Buddhist Era
BE2	Burmese Era
BE3	Thai Buddhist Era
Bur.	Burmese
c.	circa
cent./cents.	century/centuries
Chn.	Chinese
comp.	compare
dem.	demonstrative
e.g.	for example
esp.	especially
ET	English translation
etc.	etcetera
exp. ed.	expanded edition
ext.	extended
f./ff.	following
fasc.	fascicle(s)
fl.	*floruit*
fol./fols.	folio(s)
Gandh.	Gandhari
Grk.	Greek
GT	German translation
i.e.	that is
Ita.	Italian
Jpn.	Japanese
Khot.	Khotanese
Kor.	Korean
l./ll.	line/lines
lit.	literally
Mid. Pers.	Middle Persian
Mong.	Mongolian
ms./mss.	manuscript/manuscripts
n.d.	no date
n.l.	no location
New.	Newari
no./nos.	number/numbers
Pal.	Pali
Pkt.	Prakrit
pl.	plate
Por.	Portuguese
pron.	pronounced
PTS	Pali Text Society
publ.	published by

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r.	reigned
rev. ed.	revised edition
Skt.	Sanskrit
Snh.	Sinhala
s.v.	*sub voce*
st./stt.	stanza/stanzas
Tam.	Tamil
Tan.	Tangut
Tha.	Thai
Tib.	Tibetan
Toch.	Tocharian
trans.	translated by/translator
Uig.	Uighur
v./vv.	verse/verses
vol./vols.	volume/volumes
vs.	versus

Introduction

Works sometimes considered to be "Buddhist Encyclopedias" have existed at least since the 7th century in China, compilations such as those of Daoshi (道世; 591?–683 CE), the *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林; The Pearl Forest in the Dharma Park; T. 2122) and the *Zhujing yaoji* (諸經要集; Collection of Key Passages from Scripture; T. 2123; for both see Teiser, 1985). But the categorization of such texts as "encyclopedia" indicates something rather different than what we generally intend by the term in modern usage. In traditional China, as earlier in the West, encyclopedias were anthologies of excerpts of previous works, rather than collections of contributions composed as independent productions. (On the Chinese genres of *leishu* [類書] and *congshu* [叢書], see Wilkinson, 2012, 955–964; on encyclopedias broadly, see Collison & Preece, 2015.) In contrast, Encyclopedias of Buddhism are much newer. The distinction between "Buddhist Encyclopedias" and "Encyclopedias of Buddhism" is important, not only with respect to the mode of collection of their contents: Buddhist Encyclopedias are emic works, produced within the tradition, while Encyclopedias of Buddhism are scholarly enterprises, accountings of what is known about Buddhism and Buddhist traditions, presented (ideally) in a non-apologetic, nonsectarian, impartial, and disinterested manner. However, the scope and volume of a reference work does not necessarily correspond in any clear way to its title. There exist, for instance, a number of works titled in English "Encyclopedia of Buddhism," ranging from the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* edited by an international team led by G.P. Malalasekera (1899–1973) in 8 large volumes (of about 800 pages each), published in Colombo between 1961 and 2009, to the 192 pages of the *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Buddhist Wisdom: A Complete Introduction to the Principles and Practices of Buddhism* (2000), authored by G. Farrer-Halls, "a trained aromatherapist." *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (2013), published under the general editorship of R.E. Buswell, Jr. and D.S. Lopez, Jr., calls itself a dictionary, but at 1,304 closely packed pages is more encyclopedic than many works which bear that word in their title. Since its entries, however, restrict themselves to terms and names, without explicitly engaging concepts or themes, it may be understood more appropriately as a dictionary than as an encyclopedia. One of the two editors, Buswell, already produced a work of the latter variety in his two volume *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (2004; just shy of 1,000 pages), whose "target audience is the nonspecialist reader." For such readers this is indeed a fine work which, within its scope, provides up-to-date and reliable coverage of a broad spectrum of Buddhist doctrinal, historical, biographical, and other kinds of information. Moreover, a number of single-volume works have also appeared in English in recent years, such as J. Powers, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (2000; in 277 pages), whose audience is students, and D. Keown and C.S. Prebish, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (2004; in 952 pages), who reach further, expressing their "hope [that] it will become an indispensable tool for students, teachers, and researchers from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds, as well as to [*sic*] the general reader" (Keown & Prebish, 2004, ix)

While Western language scholarship, then, primarily in English (but at least also in French and German), has certainly contributed a number of reference works on Buddhism, only a few of which have been noted here, if only in terms of sheer bulk the majority of scholarship, including reference works, has no doubt been published in Asian languages, most particularly in Japanese. In this language the gold standard of scholarly encyclopedic works is without question the monumental production overseen by Mochizuki Shinkō (望月信亨; 1869–1948), the *Bukkyō Daijiten* (佛教大辭典) published between 1932–1936 (Tokyo) in seven volumes, later expanded to ten (1954–1963). There is, however, virtually no domain in the study of Buddhism in which the advances made since the 1930s would allow the state of the field embodied in Mochizuki's great work to stand. Even when the facts recorded there have stood the test of time, they do not now stand in the same context as they did when they were first presented 80 years ago. Mochizuki's work is a landmark and its influence profound, reaching far beyond Japan. This is illustrated by a careful comparison of the primary sources prolifically cited by the great Étienne Lamotte in the justly legendary apparatus to his many works with the corresponding entries in the *Bukkyō Daijiten* – although Lamotte's failure to cite Mochizuki consistently obscures this debt. In addition to being inevitably dated, Mochizuki's work is also limited in its scope,

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being primarily an encyclopedia of East Asian Buddhism, and secondarily Indian Buddhism as filtered in East Asia. What is more, it is written in what is now even for Japanese scholars somewhat difficult language. In some respects, and mutatis mutandis, one might even say of it what has been said of one of the greatest Western works of a similar genre, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, namely: "Although the topical coverage of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is remarkably broad and the scholarship it contains is of very high quality, the project is not without its flaws. One general criticism that has been directed at it is that it is very difficult for ordinary readers to use and can be confusing even for professional Islamicists. A typical difficulty is that the articles, which are long on facts and short on explanation, can become opaque and bogged down by inordinate attention to complex and trivial details of little more than antiquarian interest" (Daniel, 1982). The value of Mochizuki's work is not reduced by appreciating its limitations: it is a great work, but it is not a work for our time, neither in its overall conception nor in its reflection of the state of Buddhist scholarship.

In Japanese there is also a plethora of sectarian reference works, which we might best think of as "Buddhist Encyclopedias," works such as the *Mikkyō Daijiten* (密教大辭典) on esoteric Buddhism, published originally in three volumes between 1931–1933 (Kyoto, later expanded to 6 vols., 1968–1970), Pure Land works in the lineage of the *Bukkyō Daijii* (佛教大辭彙), published in three volumes (Tokyo, 1914–1922; later in 6 vols., 1935–1936), such as the *Shinshū Daijiten* (真宗大辭典; 3 vols., Kainan city, 1935–1937,) and *Jōdoshū Daijiten* (浄土宗大辞典; 4 vols., Tokyo, 1974–1982), or the *Bukkyō Tetsugaku Daijiten* (仏教哲学大辞典), the title of which translates as Encyclopedia of Buddhist Philosophy but which is more correctly a six-volume work on Sōka Gakkai doctrine (Tokyo, 1963–1970). This is not the place to survey the wealth of Japanese scholarship presented in reference works (for a slightly outdated overview, see http://alc.ucla.edu/refguide/refguide.htm), or to offer an appraisal of Buddhist reference works in general, but a few words are necessary to explain the need for, and the timeliness of, the present project.

Malalasekera's *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* no doubt set out to present a comprehensive survey of the entirety of Buddhism, but the project was troubled from the outset, provincial and out of step with scholarly progress (de Jong, 1962). While even now there is information of value to be found within its pages, especially in the earlier volumes, it is often hard for the nonspecialist to discern what is reliable and what not, the problem made all the more severe by the age of the work and the tremendous progress made in Buddhist Studies in the last half century. The only other viable candidate for a comprehensive research tool could have been the *Hōbōgirin* (Tokyo, 1929–2003), founded in 1926 by Sylvain Lévi and Takakusu Junjirō, later edited for many years by Paul Demiéville. But its scope was intentionally restricted from the outset to consideration of sources in Chinese and Japanese (even when dealing with Indian Buddhism), and in other respects. The first volumes contain a number of short and medium length articles, arranged under alphabetic headings in Japanese pronunciations. However, by the most recent volume, published in 2003, the project had reached only *Den'e* (傳衣; "the transmission of the robe"), and in place of the smaller and therefore topically wider-ranging entries of earlier volumes had evolved already in 1979's volume V into a collection of a small number of lengthy articles, or even small monographs (anticipated already in Demiéville's 45-page contribution "Byō" [Illness] in 1937), thus moving the project into a significantly different genre. Despite recent discussions concerning restarting the work, since it managed since 1929 a mere eight volumes (of 1178 pages, an average rate of 14 pages per year), the last of which saw the light 12 years ago, it is in any case clear that at best the project will require many more years. (For a brief history, and an appraisal of future prospects, see Iyanaga, 2015.) It is at the least interesting that the last general editor of the *Hōbōgirin* project, Hubert Durt, in the context of a review of a Japanese reference work and albeit clearly speaking about such Japanese works, wrote, in a fashion that might seem prescient, that "one cannot but feel that the time is ripe for a truly extensive Buddhist encyclopedia, with signed entries and accurate references" (Durt, 1989–1990, 406).

Into this context steps, a quarter of a century later, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, the *BEB*. The project is ambitious: we have set out to create a platform for the creation of an overall treatment of the wealth of Buddhist traditions in their multiplicity. Thus, we conceive of this project on a long scale; it should, in fact, never be "finished" or "complete." By presenting the initial five-volume *printed* version of the *BEB* (see below) thematically, moreover, we strive to free ourselves from the limitations imposed by alphabetic schemes, such as are employed by most other projects. Our primary aim is to present a synthesis of the best knowledge attained by critical scholarship at the time of publication; the ability, however, to correct and update remains important (again, see below).

The *BEB* aims to cover, in principle, in the first place all aspects of "premodern" Buddhism, without too carefully defining this category, especially from a chronological perspective. Moreover, and in relation to the delimitation of the "premodern," we focus our attention on Asia, for as Buddhism becomes "modern" it also spreads beyond its historical grounds in Asia. This restriction in coverage in the initial printed volumes of the *BEB* is in large part both a function of the competence of the editorial team, and the scope, as we understand it, of "Buddhist Studies" as a discipline, at least in the narrow sense. It is important to stress, however, that any distinction between "modern" and "premodern" is not primarily a chronological one. Contemporary Tibetan monastic training is overwhelmingly "premodern," and the same classification would apply to numerous commentaries produced on texts in recent years by, for instance, Chinese scholar-monks. By the same token, in many important respects "modernity" begins in Japan, and in Japanese Buddhism, in the early Meiji period (shortly after 1868), thus almost 150 years ago. Any restriction to "the premodern" is therefore bound to appear to some extent ad hoc. In contrast, "modern" or "modernist" Buddhism has different characteristics, and is approached differently. It is in some respects often better treated by sociologists, anthropologists, and perhaps political scientists than by philologists, historians, art historians, and the like. Since, however, the continuities between premodern and modern Buddhism certainly far outweigh their differences, we intend in the future to integrate treatments of both modern and "modernist" Buddhism in the *BEB*. To clarify, in the case of the present volume, while it is true that there has been, especially in the last decades, a tremendous outpouring of publications on Buddhism, both in Asian and in Western languages – sermons, commentaries and the like – in principle this material is not discussed in the present volume, for the reasons just stated. This should not be understood to mean that the editors consider this material foreign to the Buddhist traditions, for it is certainly every bit as Buddhist as works produced in centuries past. It is rather that this literature is more fruitfully treated in a different context. This treatment, however, remains a task for the future, and the present volume, therefore, does not address modern or modernist Buddhist literature, although it does discuss works written in recent times. Again, the operative distinction here is much more conceptual than chronological.

In the context of defining the scope of the present project, it is vitally important to clarify the notion, deployed above and relevant here as well, of "tradition,"[1] which is intended to point to a more or less self-conscious stance by those within historically Buddhist contexts, not, of course, limited in any way to "elites," nor necessarily defined in contradistinction to "non-Buddhists." The crucial boundary is intended to avoid the non-sense that everything a Buddhist does is therefore Buddhist: Buddhists often eat rice, but eating rice is not – shorn of other context – a Buddhist activity.

The *BEB* is thematic and not alphabetical, nor is it arranged as a history in chronological order, nor regionally, although all of these facets are taken into account. Entries are meant, in so far as is possible, on the contrary to break down geographic, chronological, and other boundaries. Buddhism can be seen both as an overarching category, and as a synthesis of multiple Buddhisms. We hope that our manner of presentation will permit both of these standpoints to be made clearly available. In this respect, however, we immediately encounter the limitations imposed by the nature of present-day-scholarship itself. While it might be ideal, for example, to have a survey of Buddhist narrative literature which deals with the genre(s) across regions, and highlights pan-Buddhist continuities, no single scholar at present has the expertise to write such an article, and the secondary scholarship is not advanced enough to permit a specialist in one area to confidently rely on the results from another area available in accessibly published form. At the same time, it is also of course desirable to situate Chinese Buddhist narrative, for instance, within the context of Chinese narrative more broadly. This tension is generalized. Any topic sits on at least two axes, that of its vertical relation to the historical Buddhist tradition (in this case, Buddhist narrative from India onward), and that of its so to speak horizontal location within a cultural context (here Chinese culture and the Chinese literature tradition). One possible solution to the challenge of vertical integration would be to encourage several specialists to cooperate and together produce more sweeping surveys; we believe that this would produce not only potentially more interesting articles, but also forge bonds of cooperation between scholars that could generate new scholarship. Even success in facilitating such cooperation, however, would not in itself address the question of whether in any given presentation priority is better placed in situating the topic primarily within pan-Asian Buddhist culture or within a specific cultural framework. The answer to the question of which is more desirable hinges, in fact, on the interest of the individual reader, and it is very difficult to simultaneously achieve both presentations, even theoretically, much less in terms of the actual availability of capable scholars to author them.

An Encyclopedia of Buddhism has an obligation, one might think, to define the scope of "Buddhism" in general, but in fact this too is a difficult, and perhaps an impossible, task. Moreover, to define is by definition to exclude. The *BEB* takes a common-sense approach, and aims to be – if questions arise – rather too inclusive than too exclusive. While the editorial board proposes the list of desired entries, and sketches their intended scope, it naturally follows from the fact that each author is an expert in his or her subject that contributing scholars are given considerable latitude to define the actual scope of coverage of their entries as they see fit. What is much more important for us than maintaining any parallelism of treatment between related entries – something which is often not even desirable, given the diverse nature of the tradition – is to maintain throughout the editorial stance of disinterested scholarship.

The non-confessional standpoint of the *BEB* also highlights its intended target audience of both scholars and members of Buddhist communities, in Asia and beyond (although of course these categories may also overlap). While we expect that many users of the *BEB* will be scholars and students of Buddhist Studies, we also hope that scholars of other religious traditions, literature specialists, historians, anthropologists, and others will likewise find much here to stimulate and inform them. At the same time, we also very much hope that those within or from traditional and traditionally Buddhist cultures, with an appreciation for etic ways of conceiving of their past, and their present, will similarly find here both much that is familiar, and also much that is new, and further that they find this newness to be refreshing and even invigorating. We can only hope for this sort of reception for the *BEB* by offering a disinterested academic approach to our subject – by creating an Encyclopedia of Buddhism rather than a Buddhist Encyclopedia. Our stance will manifest itself not only with respect to our avoidance of confessionalism, but also regionally, in our attempts to avoid privileging any certain area, whether it be delimited linguistically, doctrinally or in any other dimension. All of this said, we are able to present only what scholars have investigated and discovered (and are willing to share with us), and scholarly foci are not, and will never be, wholly neutral and value free. A vision of Buddhist traditions that seeks to take into account all manifestations is by definition an etic project. An etic standpoint, however, takes emic standpoints as data: therefore, by approaching Buddhist traditions from a nondenominational, non-confessional, "outsider" perspective, we include "insider" views as well, taking care to avoid favoring any particular one. (Of course, Buddhists, scholars or not, Asian or not, may certainly take an etic stance toward their own tradition – just not simultaneously with an emic one.)

We aim to be inclusive and to do away with as many preconceptions as possible, but we are limited not only by scholarly attention but also by our sources. This first volume presents a case in point. Far from all Buddhist transmission or teaching takes place in written form: whether instructions be secret, or private or simply casual, this aspect of Buddhist teaching escapes the net which is meant to capture – if this is the right metaphor! – the scriptural. In the same way, most of what we know of the past is what was recorded by elites, by the powerful, by the wealthy, and overwhelmingly by men, just as most of the distant archaeological record preserves the monumental rather than the humble. We can work to fill in a history more representative of the stories of those who usually escape the historian's gaze, but we should remain aware of how partial our picture is. This partiality extends further. We know that a huge proportion – we do not know, however, how great –of the once extant literature has simply not survived. Thus, as we seek to state clearly what we know, and what we do not know, we must also remain aware of what we *cannot* know. In that sense, if we think of the *BEB* as a map of Buddhism, we must remain conscious that this map also plots two kinds of empty space. It plots empty space of areas not yet explored, but for which we know we have information: an example relevant to the present volume might be the massive commentarial literature on the Vinayas, as yet hardly explored (although this volume makes a start with its entry on Pali Vinaya commentarial materials). And it plots what we might dare to call "unknown unknowns," regions of which we are not even yet quite aware. We hope that in plotting the blank spaces on our map as clearly as we can, and drawing attention to these voids, we will encourage researchers, and particularly students, to see these vacancies as an opportunity, and strive to fill them, to shine light in the dark places, as well as attempting to mend and fill in what has already been sketched out.

The *BEB* is intended as a scholarly project, and it therefore expects its audience to be familiar with Buddhism and with Asia on something more than an introductory level. That said, we do make an effort to

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explain, to translate foreign terms, to contextualize and to make as clear as possible whatever assumptions stand behind a given assertion. As editors we try to make certain that a specialist in, for example, Japanese literature, should be able to understand an entry on Indian Buddhist literature, or that a graduate student focused on Sri Lankan commentaries be able to make sense of an article on Korean scripture exegesis. At the same time, we would hope – and if we have done our job right, we would expect – that the expert in biblical literature would be able, with some attention and care, to read and understand articles on Buddhist scriptures in the *BEB*, without the slightest knowledge of Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, or Tibetan.

The multiplicity of coverage and the breadth of approach of the *BEB* should also mirror the field of Buddhist Studies in other ways. The study of Buddhism encompasses different academic traditions, which we hope to represent in our contributors as far as possible. Every effort has been made to break down barriers between what are sometimes very compartmentalized domains. Where we have not yet achieved this, we hope to improve in the future. But anyone who has ever attempted to read a Japanese language article about Japanese Buddhist doctrine, for example, or a study on Buddhist logic in any language, immediately encounters the challenge of coming to grips with the vast network of unstated assumptions, of the "common knowledge base" upon which some scholars situate their presentations. While striving to present the appropriate level of specialized knowledge, the *BEB* simultaneously attempts to make that knowledge accessible to those who will not share the assumptions of background common to scholarly insiders.

Framing the *BEB* in the august company of "the Mochizuki" and the *Hōbōgirin* will not, we trust, be read as hubris: rather, it is an expression of our awareness of the height of the standard which we must strive to meet. We cannot expect instant success, and the editors are as aware as anyone of how very far we are from the ideal with this first volume. Its scope, to focus on just one issue, is inconsistent, especially in its tilt toward Indian materials and the correspondingly insufficient treatment of East Asia. In part this is intentional and justified, since the core of the Buddhist scriptural tradition is indeed Indian, whether or not the predominant weight of the traditions which transmitted and preserved that literature may belong to other regions entirely. However, our aim was to survey *all* Buddhist literature (an impossible task!), and not just its scriptural core, and in that respect our treatment is not as balanced as we would have liked it to be. This imbalance is due in part to the (im)maturity of the field, but also to the absence of timely contributions from some qualified colleagues. Other reasons include a growing academic culture ruled by metrics which consider encyclopedia entries to be something less than serious scholarship, a pressure which can affect untenured scholars to a very unfortunate extent.

In respect to its coverage and to its ability to represent the riches of the field, for better or for worse the *BEB* is, among other things, a kind of mirror of the study of Buddhism in the early 21st century. (It is not at all coincidental that the image of the mirror appears in the titles of many important encyclopedias, in Europe as well as in China; Sullivan, 1990, 319). While we attempt to make our mirror as free from distortion as possible, one of the facts it reflects, after filtering, is just how vast the tradition is, how little of Buddhist traditional culture has been subject to careful scholarly scrutiny, and how very few scholars are at work in so many subfields. While some subjects may attract a considerable number of specialists, others are represented, if at all, by only one or two. When these specialists have, for this volume, not shared their knowledge and insight, the result can be a consequent gap in our coverage. This is not reflected in our table of contents, which indicates as forthcoming only entries we are sure will appear, not those we simply wish we had.

While we maintain that there is a difference between etic and emic standpoints, as discussed above, and between scholarship and apologetics, this does not mean that the *BEB* wishes to reflect only a single vision. We strive, ideally, also to reflect interests wider than those of European and North American scholarship, a category which is not nearly as much geographic as it is conceptual. There is perhaps a divide in expectations among scholars (and not necessarily between scholars and practitioners), however, especially with regard to locating the right matrix of "haute vulgarisation." The editors have struggled, and continue to struggle, to overcome the conceptual distance between the poles of over-popularization and hyper-specialization.

This first volume deals with literature, and in a smaller way with the languages used for recording texts and the material substrata upon which they were written. "Literature" in the *BEB* has a broad sense, and is of course not limited to les belle lettres, but for our purpose covers written texts of various genres and purposes, including narrative, but also ritual, legal, and administrative materials. While we certainly could have easily begun with a first volume dedicated, for instance, to history, the reason to begin with scripture is that Buddhist texts represent, at least emically, the transmission of the religion as such. They embody one of the Three Jewels (the second of the set of Buddha, his Teachings and his Community), and provide – again, at least emically and normatively speaking – the basis for all practice and aspiration. The *BEB* begins with "literature" also because it is through literature that the field of Buddhist Studies has developed the majority of its insights into premodern forms of Buddhism. It thus claims a sort of privileged domain within the scholarly field. Of course, the various facets of the Buddhist tradition are distinct only from an analytical point of view. There is no real differentiation into aspects or facets or domains, because these are merely ways of interpreting what is, organically, an integrated whole. Thus by definition the lines we draw and the borders we create are, while helpful, adventitious and subjective.

Our division into volumes of the *BEB* is also convenient, subjective and provisional, as are the borders drawn by the individual contributions themselves. The subsequent planned print volumes will engage other general domains as follows:

- Volume II: Personages – both historical and mythical;
- Volume III: Life and Practice – including monastic life, social organization, ritual and education;
- Volume IV: Doctrine – including schools, traditions and concepts;
- Volume V: Space and Time – including history, the spread of the tradition, politics, and society; and
- Volume VI: Index.

The division of content into these respective volumes may in some cases seem arbitrary. It is not only for this reason – because of the organic wholeness of the tradition – that we look forward to the presentation of the *BEB* online as quickly as possible. This access will allow users to negotiate the relations between topics in the ways most meaningful for them, whether this means aligning topics geographically rather than subject-wise, or chronologically, and so on. The natural interrelations between topics, between individuals and their cultural backgrounds and productions, and every sort of complex network of interrelations is but poorly presented in linear text, and much better in a hyperlinked form.

Much is missing in this present, first volume. Some of this absence, as mentioned above, is owing to the fact that we were unable to locate able and/or willing scholars specialized in a certain field, some because the field itself, as the editors imagined it, has as yet been insufficiently investigated. Some gaps – many more than we wish – are due to the absence of articles that in the end were not submitted. We will do our best to make good these gaps in supplements that will appear as appendices to further volumes. More importantly, in due course the online version of the *BEB* will continue to grow, expand, supplement, and of course correct what we are able to present in print. Our ultimate and realistic goal is of an open-ended *BEB*, not only in the sense that we will continue to update and correct the entries already present in the current scheme. Rather, we hope and expect that the blank spaces on the map mentioned above will, over time, be filled by future scholarly work, and the results of these future studies will find a home in the *BEB*. Obviously, such a goal has no conceivable completion, because its open-endedness is the open-endedness of knowledge itself.

Open-endedness does not, however, mean anarchy or free-for-all. While we have sought to standardize some aspects of our presentation, such as romanization systems and references to standard primary works and journals, in other respects we have allowed our contributors to present their materials as they saw fit, so that, for instance, the reader should expect little standardization in the translations of technical terms. If there appear to be disagreements, on the other hand, on factual matters – such as the dates of a certain author – this is probably to be attributed to the failure of the editors to notice and clarify the discrepancy. We expect and hope that readers will bring such things, and any additional suggestions, to our attention and, again, we will aim to correct and supplement lacunae in the online version. We trust, however, that wherever the online version will take us, the printed volumes, the first of which you have before you now, will remain of value for a considerable period of time as the first reference for any student or scholar seriously interested in the Buddhist traditions.

Part of our quest for consistency involves the conscious decision to give priority to Sanskrit in terms of vocabulary. This is, of course, not always historical: early Buddhism certainly did not use Sanskrit, and it goes without saying that outside of the Indian cultural sphere it was rarely employed, other than as a system of mystical sounds. Nevertheless, it makes sense to take Sanskrit as the lingua franca of the tradition, and unless there is a reason to use another language, we prefer, for the sake of standardization, consistency and mutual comprehension, to use Sanskrit forms for technical terms, place and personal names, and the like. When other languages are used, we employ standard romanization schemes. For some languages, no standard transcription system yet exists. In these cases, we have relied on experts and followed their best

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advice. We trust that this will not lead to confusion. We have also striven to standardize references to primary and secondary sources, but in the vast tradition, we have encountered more than a few cases of well-established abbreviations which overlap with a different referent for the same abbreviation in another domain covered by the *BEB*. We hope and trust that the context and a bit of common sense will make the references clear. Following the practices of Brill, toponyms and names of languages have been written in popular forms, the former following Google Earth. It should be noted that some contributors – and the general editor – disagree with this decision, but in the end the publisher's desire for consistency, also with other reference works it publishes, won out over scientific accuracy.

A word of apology is due to some of our contributors. While we continued to receive contributions to volume I down to the very last moment, other scholars submitted the final versions of their entries in a very timely manner, some as long as two and a half years ago. I personally apologize to them for the delay, and to the reader for those cases in which this has meant that some of the most recent scholarly results may not have been taken into account. Future volumes will, we trust, appear much more quickly.

The general editor began this project with a huge ambition, perhaps far too huge. He was emboldened by the enthusiastic encouragement of friends and colleagues. But for various reasons, some of the original members of the board were unable to continue actively over the years since the project was first conceived. The original group of colleagues who met to discuss the viability of the project included Oskar von Hinüber, Harunaga Isaacson, Juhyung Rhi, Akira Saito, and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. The editorial team subsequently underwent a number of transformations, with various scholars offering their advice for longer or shorter periods of time, and it is unfortunately not possible to list the names of everyone who, over the years that the project evolved, generously offered their advice. In the end, in addition to the general editor, editorial responsibilities for the first volume were primarily undertaken in different measures by Vincent Eltschinger and Oskar von Hinüber, Lucia Dolce, Johan Elverskog, Harunaga Isaacson, Christian Lammerts, Robert Mayer, Juhyung Rhi, Francesco Sferra, and Stefano Zacchetti. One limitation of the original complexion of the advisory board, alluded to above and reflected to some extent in the eventual entries themselves, was the imbalance between South and East Asia, to the detriment of the later, and the relative neglect of Southeast and Central Asia. While we worked hard over several years to remedy this imbalance, given the vastness of Buddhist literature and the finitude of human capacities, the first volume is inevitably much more partial than it should, ideally, have been. For the second volume, now under preparation, our editorial team is renewed. Further details will be found in the introduction to volume II.

JONATHAN A. SILK
Leiden, August, 2015

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Scriptural

General

Canonicity

Canonicity as a general concept revolves around authority, and therefore around power and the exercise of power: assertions about canonicity are therefore ipso facto attempts at assertion of power. In a Buddhist literary context, such assertions most centrally relate to the acceptance of works as scripture or holy writ, the nature and definition of such works, and the manner in which they are so valued. The connection of canonicity with power is certainly not limited to Buddhism: we see prominent examples from the codification of the Hebrew Bible in the Temple in Jerusalem to the English translation project of King James and, according to traditional literary accounts, in the canonization of the Qur'ān under the third caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (Motzki, 2001). However, canonicity is a highly fluid notion and functions on virtually infinite levels, and thus the degree and manner of exercise of power and authority implicated in any given case of canonicity will necessarily differ. Although the acceptance of a work or body of works as canonical can also be enacted by a smaller group (or even by an individual), avowals on a societal level carry a correspondingly greater implication of the ability to enforce such pronouncements, and consequently denote their greater influence. In principle, it is community adoption of the dicta in question that signals canonicity. It is thus always vital to pay close attention to the question of who is asserting authority, and to whom those assertions are meant to apply, one implication of which is that canonicity can never be thought of in the abstract, but only within specific contexts. Claims of canonicity themselves may well be synchronic, ahistorical and alocal, asserting a universal authority, but the scholar must recognize such claims as in each case necessarily historically and locally grounded.

Any body of material upon which a tradition draws, or which it highlights in some fashion, may meaningfully be considered "canon." Thus, to take one example, while a "canon in use" may be considerably more limited in scope than a received "normative canon," it may also include material not actually found in that putative "canonical corpus." It is important, in this respect, for the scholar to distinguish between etic identifications of "actual" or "de facto" canon (canon in use) and emic designations, which are likely to be more normative and notional than the scholar's. For the same reason, the designations "canonical," "paracanonical," and "protocanonical" mix logical classes; the first is an emic designation, the latter two inherently etic; they should not be confused or conflated.

The Buddhist scriptural canons par excellence are the normative translocal collections variously called "the Pali canon (*Tipiṭaka*)," "the Chinese canon (*Dazangjing* [大藏經])," "the Tibetan canon (Kanjur [*bka' 'gyur*] and Tanjur [*bstan 'gyur*])," and so on. But at almost any level that one chooses to look, considering the local varieties of texts deemed authoritative, and the ways in which authority is deployed both normatively and tacitly, the enormous diversity of Buddhist literature manifests itself. In this sense, the diversity of Buddhist "canon" can fruitfully be seen as fractal in nature: variation occurs among texts from the level of spelling and wording in single manuscripts, up through the variety of expressions of an idea, to the organization and contents of collections. It is thus necessary to keep in mind what dimension of canonicity is in question at any given time.

Two Kinds of Canon

Many schemata have been proposed for the structure of canonicity. One of the most influential distinguishes between an "open canon," sometimes characterized as a "collection of authoritative literature" (Canon 1), and a "closed canon," correspondingly characterized as an "authoritative collection of literature" (Canon 2). Historically speaking, Canon 1 can lead to Canon 2, in that the literature collected in Canon 2 is eo ipso authoritative as well: Canon 2 is not only a closing but also a narrowing of Canon 1. However, even in the case of Canon 2, fixing and closing a canon does not imply its closure on an interpretive level; on the contrary, the interpretive scope of a canon is not closed along with the list of its contents, and virtually limitless possibilities have been discovered for the functional expansion of what are technically "closed" canons (Kraemer,

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1991, 615n12). In the Buddhist case (but generalizable for most scriptural religious traditions), even when a "closed" set of texts is assigned "canonical" status, interpretive text production continues, in such a way that most frequently it becomes virtually impossible to access the "primary" or "root" (*mūla*) texts save through the commentarial tradition. When, in this fashion, "canonical texts" are understood primarily, or even only, through the lens of later commentary, this commentary too takes on de facto canonical status. In Buddhism, we observe these processes with respect to the evolution of authority from the *sūtras* to their classical commentaries, and onward to the sectarian interpretations of the latter such that, to oversimplify, a Japanese Pure Land Buddhist may approach his tradition – the Buddhist teachings and their interpretations – from Kiyozawa Manshi (清沢満之; 1863–1903) to Shinran (親鸞; 1173–1263) to Nāgārjuna (2nd cent. CE?) to the Buddha. While in some sense the highest authority *should* rest with the Buddha, in fact each subsequent level is in its turn canonized, and focuses and directs the scope of available approach to the former – a structural inversion of what one might naively assume to be the case. This process of interpretation reciprocally furthers the canonicity of the root text: "the degree of canonicity of a text corresponds to the amount of charity it receives in its interpretation. The more canonical a text, the more generous its treatment" (Halbertal, 1997, 29). Correspondingly, even if de iure a canon may be "closed" in the sense that it is not possible to add texts to the body of literature considered to hold a special status, this in no way closes off the possibilities for innovation, and the interpretive vitality, far from challenging the core canon, actually reinforces it.

Reception and interpretation are always local. While different interpretive lenses may be applied in different times and places to the same core canonical work, at a given time and place a certain interpretive framework not only may share in the canonicity of the root text; it is likely, in fact, to surpass it. In vivid contrast to the case of the developed Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, the invariant *textus receptus*, or to the *Ṛgveda*, another virtually invariant text, to take two examples, in most Buddhist cases the literal text of a canonized work will not be invariant; on the contrary, in the earliest Indian Buddhism we know of, textual transmission was oral and thus fluid, and throughout most of Buddhist history there has been a rather undogmatic approach to the fixity of textual corpora. Although there is certainly no monocausality, the variety of "recensions" or "versions" of Indian Buddhist texts is, on the whole, intimately connected with the lack of centralized political power over most of Indian Buddhist history. Correspondingly, variations in textual fluidity in Southeast Asia, Tibet, and China probably could be fruitfully mapped against solidity and centrality of political power: the more centrally governments are able to exert control, the more stable and invariant we would expect Buddhist textual production and transmission to be. This in any event seems very much to have been the case in Tibet (Mayer, 1996, 18), and in many other places, although alternative scenarios (in which state suppression might promote textual diversity, for instance, or on the contrary in which invariance survives even in the absence of centralized power, as with the two examples above of the Masoretic Hebrew text and the *Ṛgveda*) can also be imagined. The distinction between open and closed canon thus does not map directly onto that between the notion of a canon (notional canon) and instantiations of canon as textual collections. We see instead a pairing of an abstract notion of embodied authority with concrete instances of the expression of that authority. Moreover,

> canonicity is not necessarily dependent upon the stabilization of a particular text, although these two processes are clearly to be joined in some way. At Qumran there apparently existed neither a fixed text nor a definitive list of canonical books, yet the idea of a cumulative body of authoritative scripture is everywhere evident. The "idea" of the canon *preceded* its precise definition. (Chapman, 2003, 49)

No doubt the same sort of thing is true in Buddhist traditions as well.

The term "canon" is often used to refer to physical collections of "books," although it is always acknowledged that such collections might also – or even primarily – exist in memory, and the earliest Buddhist canons are certainly imagined by scholars to have been established long before they were committed to writing. Moreover, throughout Buddhist history the memorization of written texts has been an important element of education; there is good evidence from a variety of Buddhist traditions that, for instance, authors frequently quote from memory rather than referring to written sources, and many of the missionaries who brought Buddhist texts from Central Asia or India to China did so in their

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memory (for a vivid, if ultimately perhaps ahistorical, episode, see Zürcher, 1999, 556n25), facts which again emphasize the nonlinear relation between writing and canon not only in preliterate periods but throughout history. This may also, but need not necessarily, contribute to the lack of fixity mentioned above.

A key concept is that expressed by the term *āgama*, roughly “what has come down to us, what has been transmitted, tradition,” and in a Buddhist context also a term for a collection of the Buddha’s sermons. What is inherited as holy scripture, what is transmitted, all falls under this general category. The term indeed is often an equivalent of “holy scripture” (although we note the apparent oxymoron of an “oral scripture,” an artifact of English usage; Eltschinger, 2007, 17–20).

The Early History of Buddhist Canonicity

We know nothing of the earliest development of Buddhist scriptural corpora. Our first reference to any such thing is found in the mid-3rd century BCE in the so-called Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict of Aśoka (Schneider, 1982; Falk, 2006, 106–108), among the first written records of India. In this edict the emperor lists seven expositions on the Dharma (*dhaṃmapaliyāya*; Skt. *dharmaparyāya*) which monks and nuns, as well as male and female lay followers (*upāsaka* and *upāsikā*), are advised to constantly listen to, and mentally reflect upon. However, while much discussed, there is little agreement among scholars as to the identity of these sermons, since most of the names are otherwise unknown (Hirakawa, 1959; Schmithausen, 1992, 113–117; Tsukamoto, 1970=1980, 566–573). Three of them *may* be identified with portions of what is now the *Suttanipāta* (von Hinüber, 1996, §97), otherwise identified (on linguistic and other grounds) as perhaps the very oldest known Buddhist literature, but it is significant that we cannot clearly identify the remainder of the names provided by Aśoka with known texts. Either the names under which discourses circulated were different from those now known, or Aśoka knew, and considered significant, discourses now lost to us. Given this state of ignorance, it is not possible to say anything further about the sermons mentioned by Aśoka, despite repeated efforts to identify their concerns or themes.

While the argument runs the risk of being circular, it should not be overlooked that the very first evidence for Buddhist “canonicity” comes in an imperial edict. However, since we lack any other comparably old evidence, this may not after all carry great weight. Nevertheless, especially in light of the crystal clear connection between (royal) power and canon through later Buddhist history, that the source of this earliest reference of “recommended texts” was the emperor Aśoka should be borne in mind.

The same Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict of Aśoka also contains an expression of great significance for understanding the scope of Buddhist notions of canon and their growth. Prefacing his short list of discourses, the emperor emphasizes that the scope of reliable *ipsissima verba* is vastly wider than the few texts he mentions by name: “Whatsoever,” the edict says, “has been said by the exalted Buddha, all that is undoubtedly well said” (trans. Schneider, 1982). It is of the highest importance for the hermeneutics of canonicity that this expression is reversed in (almost certainly chronologically later) Buddhist literature, in the Pali Nikāyas (AN iv.164,7–9) and in a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana* (quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* anthology; Bendall, 1897–1902, 15.19; Snellgrove, 1958), whence it is frequently cited, as “What has been well-said, all of that is the word of the Buddha.” This inversion is more than rhetorical flourish; it effectively expands the scope of “the word of the Buddha” virtually without limit.

Despite what this principle might seem to imply, however, the question of what to include in and what to exclude from the category of “the canonical” was not left entirely open to whim. Already relatively early in Indian Buddhist circles, formal criteria were proposed for the inclusion and exclusion of sermons from the category of “scripture”. The authentic teaching (Dharma) is to be understood to be what is proclaimed by the Buddha and by his disciples, with some lists adding also the preaching of sages, gods, and “apparitional beings” (Lamotte, 1947; Davidson, 1990). In some cases the Buddha is present and may inspire (*anu√bhū*) the eloquence (*pratibhāna*) of another speaker, while in other cases the Buddha need not be present at all, and some sermons spoken by disciples are recognized as scripture even though explicitly set after the Buddha’s death. The often-cited list of the four “principal appeals to authority” (Pal. *mahāpadesa*; DN ii.123–126, AN ii.167–170, and in many other sources, noted in Lamotte, 1947) refers to four possible scenarios of authentic textual transmission. A monk could learn teachings in four different situations: from the Buddha himself, from a community of elders, from a group of elders specialized in the transmission of one of the divisions of the teaching (Sūtra, the sermons, Vinaya, the monastic code, or *mātṛkā*, matrices which became the Abhidharma, i.e. systematic dogma), or from a single monk so specialized (Davidson, 1990, 300). However, this simply amounts to granting an individual or community authority, and at least formally Buddhist traditions agree that after the death of the Buddha he appointed no successor, proclaiming instead that the monks were to take the teaching, Dharma, as their lamp/island (perhaps punning on the ambiguity of Middle Indic *dīpa*) and as their refuge (Pal. *saraṇa*; DN ii.100, 20–22). Therefore, assuming a situation in which one does not hear a teaching directly from the Buddha himself, a further test is necessarily to be applied to what is heard: does it conform to what is found in the (already accepted) Sūtra and Vinaya? Some sources add a third criterion, namely that it not contradict reality (*dharmatā*, or in other sources, *yukti*, reasoning). While perhaps not originally intended to specify actual textual corpora, at least Sūtra and Vinaya came to be understood in this sense by some, such as the most influential Ceylonese commentator, the 5th-century Buddhaghosa (An, 2002). Historically, no doubt the motivation for the development of such criteria was the geographic growth and subsequent diversity of the flourishing Buddhist communities. Such communities needed criteria to enable authentication of unfamiliar teachings encountered in various places (Eltschinger, 2014, 202).

Evidently these standards did not suffice in all cases, however, since a few centuries after the earliest sources, we find another articulation (in the Pali *Nettipakaraṇa* and in Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika and Mādhyamika sources; Lamotte, 1944–1980, 536–540; 1949/1988), that of the four interpretive bases/refuges (*pratisaraṇa*). These four are, to rely on: (1) dharma not persons (*pudgala*); (2) meaning (*artha*) not letter (*vyañjana*); (3) explicit meaning (*nītārtha*) not intentional meaning (*neyārtha*); and (4) insight (*jñāna*) not discursive knowledge (*vijñāna*). The first echoes the four principal appeals of authority, noted above, and the proviso that one must check against the accepted teachings what one hears from (otherwise reliable – see below) individuals, and aims to ward off the dangers of personal charisma. The second is straightforward, and refers to an avoidance of overliteralism, and is plainly soteriological in intent. The third (see below) refers to a concept of broader interpretive importance, namely that not everything in the scriptures agrees, and it is necessary in some cases to understand some statements as metaphorical or allusive, in order to avoid mental confusion. The fourth category refers to true insight instead of discursive knowledge, and by somewhat later philosophers is connected with the scheme of the three successive insights (*prajñā*): that consisting of what is learnt (*śrutamayī*), what is reasoned (*cintāmayī*), and what is mentally cultivated (*bhāvanāmayī*). The first requires learning what is taught in scripture, only upon which basis may one reflect with reasoning. The progress, then, is from scriptural education to insight born of reasoning, and thence to intensive cultivation of salvific intellectual contents (Eltschinger, 2014, 203, 318ff.). Rote learning is not sufficient, and the scriptures, while providing fuel for the processes of reasoning and cultivation, are not in and of themselves salvific.

In spite of the unambiguous caveats set forth in the schemata noted above, and setting aside what obviously happened in practice, even some theorists accept the idea that persons of authority can indeed be relied upon. A relatively early text of logic and epistemology, the **Upāyahṛdaya* (*Fangbian xin lun* [方便心論]; T. 1632 [XXXII] 25b18–22), relates scriptural knowledge to highly authoritative individuals such as elders, buddhas, and bodhisattvas. For the perhaps 6th-century commentator Sthiramati (Yamaguchi, 1934, 128,21), "Scripture consists of the word of trustworthy [persons, termed *āpta*]; trustworthy persons are free of [all] causes of untruth," while for the 7th-century philosopher Candrakīrti (La Vallée Poussin, 1903–1913, 75,6–7), "scripture is the word of trustworthy [persons] cognizing supersensible things in a direct [perceptual] manner" (Eltschinger, 2014, 208). According to Dharmakīrti, individuals who have shown themselves to be reliable in matters which can be confirmed may be presumed to be reliable also in regard to those matters beyond the ken of ordinary persons: such individuals are trustworthy. This said, most articulations of matters of authority focus not on persons but on the content of the speech in question. If the speech is confirmed to be that of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), this is not a problem, but as noted above, the speech of others is also acceptable if they are inspired. For several sources, most centrally the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra*, inspired speech (*pratibhāna*) is *buddhavacana* if it (1) has sense and is not nonsense, (2) accords with the doctrine and does not contradict it, (3) destroys defilements and does not cause their increase, and (4) illuminates the good points and advantages of nirvāṇa and does not increase the evils of saṃsāra

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nstead of discursive knowledge, and
ter philosophers is connected with
e three successive insights (*prajñā*):
of what is learnt (*śrutamayī*), what
tāmayī), and what is mentally cul-
āmayī). The first requires learning
n scripture, only upon which basis
with reasoning. The progress, then,
al education to insight born of rea-
nce to intensive cultivation of salvific
tents (Eltschinger, 2014, 203, 318ff.).
not sufficient, and the scriptures,
fuel for the processes of reasoning
are not in and of themselves salvific.
e unambiguous caveats set forth in
oted above, and setting aside what
ened in practice, even some theo-
idea that persons of authority can
d upon. A relatively early text of
mology, the **Upāyahṛdaya* (*Fang-*
便心論]; T. 1632 [XXXII] 25b18–22),
l knowledge to highly authoritative
h as elders, buddhas, and bodhi-
perhaps 6th-century commentator
aguchi, 1934, 128,21), "Scripture con-
d of trustworthy [persons, termed
thy persons are free of [all] causes
ile for the 7th-century philosopher
Vallée Poussin, 1903–1913, 75,6–7),
e word of trustworthy [persons]
sensible things in a direct [per-
r" (Eltschinger, 2014, 208). Accord-
kīrti, individuals who have shown
e reliable in matters which can be
be presumed to be reliable also in
matters beyond the ken of ordinary
dividuals are trustworthy. This said,
ons of matters of authority focus
but on the content of the speech in
speech is confirmed to be that of the
avacana), this is not a problem, but
the speech of others is also accept-
inspired. For several sources, most
dhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra, inspired
āna) is *buddhavacana* if it (1) has
ot nonsense, (2) accords with the
oes not contradict it, (3) destroys
does not cause their increase, and
the good points and advantages of
es not increase the evils of saṃsāra

(quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Bendall, 1897–1902, 15.14–16; Snellgrove, 1958, 621; see also Skilling, 2010, 1, quoting *Ratnagotravibhāga* V.18).

Even confirming the reliability of a scriptural source may not be sufficient, however, as scriptures may appear to be in conflict. In order to avoid the idea that the Buddha taught contradictory ideas (as a common trope has it, just as an entire ocean has the single flavor of salt, so the Buddha's teaching has the single taste of liberation; Vin ii.239,32–34), some sources deploy the notion of *sūtra*s whose meaning is manifest or explicit (*nītārtha*) and those whose meaning requires exposition or is intentional (*neyārtha*; Lamotte, 1949/1988, 16–23). This notion is further related to the categories of ultimate and provisional truth (*paramārthasatya*/*saṃvṛtisatya*), as well as the more general category of skillful means (*upāyakauśalya*). According to the former dichotomy, truth claims are of two varieties: those that relate to the ultimate nature of reality, and those whose truth is conditional. Without such tools, it would have been impossible for the wide variety of philosophical and doctrinal positions which came to characterize Buddhism to develop, for it is through such means that scholars could maintain the orthodoxy of their positions even when they might appear to be in sharp contrast to statements otherwise judged to be canonical or orthodox. The notion of skillful means is deployed as a tool for explaining – or explaining away – actions or statements attributed to the Buddha which seem to contradict assertions or principles established elsewhere (for general considerations, see Pye, 1978). Perhaps the most famous example is found in the parable of the "Burning House" found in chapter 3 of the *Lotus Sūtra*. There the scene is set of a house in flames, within which are three children blithely at play, oblivious to the danger they face. The Buddha, homologized to the children's father, is made to offer three carts drawn by different animals to each of the three, in order to lure them outside to safety. However, when the children emerge from the burning house, the Buddha rewards them not individually with different carts but rather all with the same, very best cart. This parable serves as a metaphor for the Buddha's teaching of different paths to awakening (*yāna*, vehicles), including that of the *śrāvaka*s (auditors) and pratyekabuddhas (lone buddhas), when actually it is only the path of the bodhisattva, the One Vehicle (*ekayāna*), that he really advocates. In light of his salvific aims, however, he does not lie by teaching as valid aims paths which are less than ultimate. Rather, he deploys his skillful means in ways appropriate to the capacities of his audiences.

Although in some foundational senses authenticity is equivalent to *buddhavacana*, the definition of the source of this authenticity can be elusive. An extreme example comes again from the *Lotus Sūtra*, in chapter 7 of which the Buddha recounts the story of the past buddha Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū, who preaches to the 16 sons of a king (Eubanks, 2011, 37–38). After the passage of huge periods of cosmic time, this buddha again preaches to these young men, this time the *Lotus Sūtra* itself, which they memorize. Practicing again for very long ages, the 16th of these princes, like his brothers, becomes a buddha himself, none other than our Śākyamuni, who in this self-same *Lotus Sūtra* recounts this very story. In this fashion the *sūtra* effectively places its own revelation out of time, rendering it both timeless and authorless. For the authors of the *Lotus Sūtra*, it is not only the Dharma which is true and eternal, but its expression in scripture as well.

Contents of the Canon(s)

In earlier Indian Buddhism, the status of the *sūtra*s and the Vinaya as *buddhavacana* – in this context, what is taught directly by the Buddha – is not in doubt, although the exact contents of these collections (the particular *sūtra*s and rules of monastic conduct, their orderings, and their exact formulations) may be subject to debate. The archetypal status of these collections is reinforced by the usage of the compound *dharmavinaya* (lit. the Teaching and the Vinaya, found as early as DN i.229,2, Vin ii.238,26, etc.) in the broad sense of "Buddhist teachings," or even "Buddhism" as a whole. What is less settled is the status of the Abhidharma. This material is avowedly a rational organization of the vision of reality taught by the Buddha in a more haphazard way in the *sūtra*s. In other words, the *sūtra*s – to speak emically – were taught by the Buddha as various situations demanded; he did not attempt to present the entirety of his understanding of the totality of reality in any particular sermon. This totalized and totalizing picture emerges only from the systematization of all that the Buddha taught. The Abhidharma represents this attempt to gather together and rationalize the Buddha's teachings. In his enormously influential *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (*ad* I.3), the 4th–5th-century philosopher Vasubandhu thus states the Vaibhāṣika position that the (canonical) Abhidharma, though collected by the monk Kātyāyanīputra, is still the word of the Buddha, in the same way that the *Udānavarga* (the Sanskrit equivalent to the *Dhammapada*), a collection of verses spoken by the Buddha and accepted as canonical, was nevertheless gathered and arranged into a single collection by the monk Dharmatrāta (La Vallée Poussin, 1923–1931, I.6). For the Vaibhāṣikas and those who follow them, the Abhidharma books are thus indeed *buddhavacana* – utterances of the Buddha, though presented by another – while for others, such as the Sautrāntikas, they are not. (The Sautrāntikas nevertheless claim to possess a *Tripiṭaka* including an Abhidharma, because this is constituted for them of certain *sūtras*, such as the *Arthaviniścaya* [Wogihara, 1936, 11.33].) This has implications for the organization of canons as collections of literature, and in Tibet some editions of the Kanjur, the collection of *buddhavacana*, contain Abhidharma texts, while other editions relegate these texts to the Tanjur, the collection of works of other authorship. (Note, however, that the Abhidharma is placed in the Kanjur only in cases in which there was no corresponding Tanjur, i.e. in which only a Kanjur was produced.) Of course, this rejection of the Abhidharma as *buddhavacana* does not directly imply that in practice Abhidharmic filtering of the Buddha's teaching was any less influential. Other approaches to the question are also found. In Theravāda doctrine (and apparently in this tradition alone; Skilling, 2010, 30, 2008, 51–54; on the contested appropriateness of the label "Theravāda," see Skilling, 2012; Gethin, 2012; and Anālayo, 2013), the Buddha literally taught the Abhidharma: the well-known story of the Buddha's visit to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven is adopted to make his sojourn there the scene of his preaching of the Abhidharma to his mother, who was reborn in that realm. Upon his return to our world, the Buddha taught the Abhidharma to his disciple Śāriputra, who subsequently recited it at the First Council (Davidson, 1990, 304). (The Theravāda tradition is actually somewhat more complex than this, since one of the seven core canonical Pali Abhidhamma texts, the *Kathāvatthu*, dates itself to 218 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa [von Hinüber, 1996, §144]. Furthermore, it is important in a broader context to remember that in Cambodia, as one instance, the term Abhidhamma is widely used to refer to a range of texts quite different from the canonical Pali Abhidhamma [de Bernon, 2012, 383].) The Abhidharma texts, moreover, were considered to present the manifest meaning of the Buddha's teaching (*nītārtha*), and thus to provide an authoritative standard by which the *sūtras* whose meaning requires exposition (*neyārtha*) were to be interpreted (Cox, 1995, 14).

Buddhist tradition virtually universally holds that after the death of the Buddha, a council (*saṃgīti*, communal recitation) was convened, at which the Buddha's preachings were collected. This included minimally his *sūtras* and the Vinaya (but see immediately above, and note that certain Pali materials hold that the *aṭṭhakathā*, commentaries, were also recited at the councils, while other traditions speak of a simultaneous Mahāyāna council; see below). It is usually recounted that the Buddha's closest disciple, Ānanda, recited the *sūtras*, and the monk Upāli the Vinaya. This differs from the question raised above with respect to the Abhidharma, since here there is no question of compilation or organizing, but only of literal reporting. A certain amount of exegetical effort has gone into addressing the question of the reliability of these recitations, for it is upon this basis that one leg of the authenticity of the Buddha's word rests. One strand of this exegesis takes as its starting point the stock (and virtually obligatory) opening expression of Buddhist *sūtras*, "Thus have I heard" (Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*). Among the points put forward is that the word "thus" is a seal of authenticity, since it serves to certify that the speaker ("I," usually Ānanda, but in some, perhaps later, texts, Vajrapāṇi) recounts the Buddha's words precisely as he heard them. Several commentaries connect this account with the "biography" of Ānanda. Although he was the Buddha's constant companion, until the very moment before the council was set to begin, he had not realized awakening (arhatship). Some interpreters take what might otherwise seem a weakness in the postulation of Ānanda as a reliable reporter and turn it into a strength: since, while accompanying the Buddha during his teaching career, he did not fully understand what the Buddha taught, Ānanda had no choice but to memorize it word for word. Thus, his very spiritual backwardness, so to speak, makes him a reliable witness: being unawakened he was unable to paraphrase or interpret, but could only parrot.

In the account in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, the fixing of the canon (in the sense of the core texts) is described as follows:

> Then Mahākāśyapa said to Ānanda, "There are just this many *sūtras* in the *āgamas*; beyond this there are none." Having said this he descended

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> śyapa said to Ānanda, "There are
> *sūtras* in the *āgamas*; beyond this
> e." Having said this he descended

> from the high seat. Then the Venerable Kāśyapa addressed the great gathering: "Be it known that the *sūtras* spoken by the World Honoured One have now all been assembled." (T. 1451 [XXIV] 407c3–6; trans. MacQueen, 1981, 306)

Although the mythology of the First Council is central, even within traditional sources there is ample recognition of the fact that not everything accepted as *buddhavacana* was recited at that council. In the Pali Vinaya (Cullavagga XI.1.11; Vin ii.289,34–290,8; Horner, 1938–1966, 5.401–402), and Vinaya texts belonging to the Mahīśāsakas (*Mishasaibu hexi wufen lü* [彌沙塞部和醯五分律]; T. 1421 [XXII] 191c19–192a5; Przyluski, 1926–1928, 159–161), Dharmaguptakas (*Shifen lü* [四分律]; T. 1428 [XXII] 968b27–c17), and Haimavatas ([?]; *Pinimu jing* [毘尼母經]; T. 1463 [XXIV] 818c29–819b1; Przyluski, 1926–1928, 195–200), though not in the collections of other traditions, is found a story of a large group of monks, led by Purāṇa ("The Old One"), who were unable to reach the site of the First Council in time to join the deliberations. Being told shortly afterwards what the council had decided, namely the scope and content of the Buddha's preaching deemed "canonical," Purāṇa proclaimed it well recited (*susaṃgīta*), yet averred that he would hold in mind the Buddha's teachings just as he had heard and received them directly from the Buddha himself (Przyluski, 1926–1928, 314–323). This story may be read as already a relatively early acknowledgment of the possibility of legitimate *buddhavacana* having been transmitted outside the officially approved canon. Somewhat later, we find mention of what has been recited at the First Council, and what has not been recited (Sp i.18,3–4; Jayawickrama, 1962, 15), though there is here no attempt to connect this with the story of Purāṇa. Elsewhere we find mention of a "*sutta* which was not handed down at a council" (As 65,18–19; Hallisey, 1993, 99). There is, in other words, within the orthodox scholastic tradition explicit acknowledgment that canonicity is not coextensive with recitation at the First Council.

Some sources further acknowledge, if implicitly, the possible flexibility in the contents of authentic *buddhavacana*, and suggest the perceived necessity for a council to certify that authenticity. The Sarvāstivāda **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545 [XXVII] 929c18–20; Lamotte, 1947) predicts that "[a]fter the demise of the Buddha, in the *sūtras* will be placed false [*wei* (僞)] *sūtras*, in the Vinaya false Vinaya, in the Abhidharma false Abhidharma." This signals a recognition of the circulation of texts of which the authors of this work do not approve, but which, evidently, were accepted by others, highlighting the fact that canonicity is an issue of claims toward authority.

Despite our tendency to refer to collections in Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan in the singular, as "*the* Tipiṭaka," "*the* Dazangjing," or "*the* Kanjur," in fact we know that these collections were always diverse in their composition. Moreover, the referents of the terms are frequently not what we expect them to be. In Southeast Asia, *Tipiṭaka* is often a blanket term for Buddhist literature, whether or not that literature would find a place in a collection of Pali *buddhavacana* (de Bernon, 2012, 379). In this sense *Tipiṭaka* "refers less to a collection of texts than to an ideological concept" (Bizot quoted by Hallisey, 1993, 105n2), and there are a large number of "allegedly non-canonical suttas" in Pali found in Southeast Asia (Hallisey, 1990, 1993; von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 436–437). These texts are characterized as "allegedly non-canonical" in view of the problematic nature of canonicity their existence and reception implies, although this designation is one applied by modern scholars, and thus signals first and foremost their discomfort with the tradition. This is not to say that such questions come only from without. In Burma, although the phenomenon may be older, "[d]ebates about the proper boundaries of Buddhist scripture characterise a significant proportion of seventeenth through nineteenth-century Burmese monastic writings." Although there was an awareness of the normative Sri Lankan Mahāvihārin framework for the parameters of the *Tipiṭaka* in Pali as established by Buddhaghosa, this was clearly not universally accepted (Lammerts, 2013, 120). Thus, while scholars acknowledge the existence of sectarian recensions of the *sūtras* in the Pali Nikāyas and Āgamas in Sanskrit and Chinese, and of the Vinayas, even when the exact sectarian identification of a given text may remain unsettled, it may be that even this picture is not sufficiently nuanced. Even the extant "Theravāda" *Tipiṭaka*, as transmitted in Sri Lanka and in Southeast Asia, does not necessarily represent a unanimous selection of all Theravāda stakeholders, although the main political rivals of the Mahāvihārin fraternity

> the Abhayagirivāsins used the same collection of sacred scriptures in Pāli which has been handed down to us by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsins and which formed the

> common heritage of all of the three nikāyas, or sects of Buddhism, in mediaeval Ceylon. (Bechert, 1992, 96)

Similar is the often repeated claim that the Pali canon is the only extant "complete" South Asian canon. Understanding, however, the complexity of the actual situation, we can recognize both that the claim is in some respects true, and that it does not quite say what it seems to say. As a point of contrast, our Sarvāstivāda evidence, extant in sporadically preserved materials from Central Asia and in some Chinese translations, is so partial and fragmentary that even the existence of a recension of a text which, for instance, differs from that transmitted in Pali does not prove that all Sarvāstivādins had canonized that particular version. Likewise, our evidence does not allow us to speculate on what a "complete" Sarvāstivāda canon may have looked like, even if we assume that such a unitary thing ever existed at all. When we do have evidence for larger-scale collections, as with some Vinaya literature, in fact this evidence suggests precisely the opposite, namely the existence of multiple versions of texts belonging, at best nominally, to the same tradition. (There is, for instance, good evidence suggestive of variant versions of "the" Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.) For works and collections identified as belonging to other groups, we are even less well informed. Therefore, given the extremely selective nature of the extant evidence, we must be very cautious about what conclusions can reliably be drawn from such partial data. When these data suggest anything, it is that canonization did not imply uniformity, even within what might, at least retrospectively and translocally, appear to be single lineages (sects).

Different canons have different scopes; the Pali canon as we have it preserves in principle not only Theravāda materials, but in fact only those associated with the politically triumphant Mahāvihārin lineage, to the exclusion of Abhayagiri and Jetavana materials (von Hinüber, 1996, § 43). The Tibetan collections, Kanjur and Tanjur, in principle collect only materials belonging to the Mahāyāna, or the Mūlasarvāstivāda, although they are drastically incomplete in the case of the latter, as it is really only the Vinaya which is represented; almost none of the *sūtras* or treatises of this school are preserved in Tibetan. One exception is the ten Mahāsūtras (Skilling, 1994; 1997), and another the *Arthavistaradharmaparyāya* (D 318/P 984), in addition to the voluminous quotations of *sūtras* which served as the sources for Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, preserved in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikāṭīkā* (D 4094/P 5595). There do exist references to a large-scale translation of collections into Tibetan – an *Ekottarikāgama*, *Dīrghāgama*, and seven Abhidharma treatises (Skilling, 1997b, 96) – but if these references reflect a historical reality, the translations themselves are not known to survive, and were certainly not included in any known Kanjur. Of the Abhidharma, only the **Lokaprajñapti* (D 4086/P 5587), **Kāraṇaprajñapti* (D 4087/P 5588), and ** Karmaprajñapti* (D 4088/P 5589) are available. The Tanjur however, it must be noted, also contains considerable material which at least modern scholars would classify as non-Buddhist, even the poet Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Cloud Messenger), for instance, alongside such diverse works as dictionaries and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, a work on poetics. How and why such works were considered Buddhist enough to find a place in the Tanjur remains to be explained. The Chinese *Dazangjing* in contrast are truly nonsectarian collections, representing seemingly nearly all officially acknowledged Buddhist literature available in Chinese translation, although occasionally even more: the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* is also preserved in Chinese (*Jin qishi lun* [金七十論]; T. 2137; Takakusu, 1904), as is a Vaiśeṣika text (*Shengzong shi gouyi lun* [勝宗十句義論]; T. 2138; comp. Frauwallner, 1955), both works explicitly acknowledged in the enormously influential *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄; Catalogue of Śākaymuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era), compiled by Zhisheng (智昇; 669–740) as non-Buddhist (T. 2154 [LV] 624a9–18).

A complement to the above-mentioned expansionist tendency, which recognizes as canonical materials not necessarily classified as such by certain normative sources, alongside the theoretical acceptance of a "standard canon," is the absence in many traditional monasteries of a "complete" set of authoritative scripture, however defined. This is true of most locations in the premodern Buddhist world, where monastic libraries rarely if ever contained manuscripts of the entire range of texts normatively regarded as canonical. In Laos, L. Finot in 1917 made a point that he could identify not a single monastery with full set of core texts of the Pali *Tipiṭaka*. The Abhidhamma was well represented, a fact he attributes to the practical function of these works as texts recited in funeral rites (perhaps in the form of a short collection, *Aphitham chet gamphi*). However, although certain monastery libraries in such areas may not contain a normatively defined

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complete, or even substantially partial, collection of core and commentarial Pali texts, they will likely include a diverse range of scriptural materials locally regarded as authoritative, including Pali and vernacular *jātaka*s, cosmologies, historical narratives, Vinaya manuals, Buddha biographies, liturgical works, and so on. (Comp. Keyes, 1983, 272; McDaniel, 2008.)

This said, canons were not by any means neglected. In Burma, "[d]uring the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was common for Burmese kings to sponsor the copying of a new edition of the Piṭakat during their reign." This required demarcating those texts that were included in the category (which in all cases far exceeded merely the core texts and *aṭṭhakathā*), and an influential genre of Burmese literature, "Bibliographies of the *Tipiṭaka*" (*Piṭakat samuiṅḥ*), developed to realize that aim (Lammerts, 2013, 119n1). There is thus a tension between a tendency to concretize a "complete canon" and a complementary tendency to particularize, select, and, simultaneously, expand or constrict the borders of the canonical. This situation is not unique to Southeast Asia. There is no census of canonical collections, or of libraries at all, in premodern Tibet, and after the ravages of the Cultural Revolution, there never will be. But here and there we may find some hints. One such is found in a "guide to holy places" (*gnas yig*) compiled by Ka' thog si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho in the early 20th century (Almogi, 2012). In his travels, this scholar found more than 169 sets of the Kanjur, of which at least 55 were manuscripts, and more than 35 Tanjurs, of which at least 4 were manuscripts. Almost none of this once rich literary heritage is known to have survived. We also learn from this survey that not every monastery could boast of its own copy of the Kanjur, much less the Tanjur as well.

In Tibet it was only the advent of printing, a technology learnt from China (and unknown for most of history in South and Southeast Asia), that allowed the standardization of some textual corpora; manuscript Kanjurs contain different contents, organized differently, although there are general trends toward unity. The role of political power here is plain:

> With the rise of the central Tibetan rulers who gained the leadership over Western Tibet in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the canonical literature manufactured in central Tibet and in China began to spread all over the country, and was used as "standard," but it did not manage to completely supplant the local production of [Kanjurs]. (Lainé, 2009, 5)

The mere physical presence of texts in Tibet, however, is no more significant than it is in Southeast Asia, given that the texts might not have been made freely available, even to monks, on the one hand, and that there was little interest in the majority of the texts theoretically available, on the other. (This is a different question from what may be ideologically based restrictions, such as the prohibition against teaching the contents of the *Prātimokṣa* to laypeople, or restrictions placed on access to tantric literature, for which certain initiations, for instance, may be requisite.) In Tibet, even leaving the laity aside, monastic curricula require studies of a limited body of texts, almost none of which would qualify as "canonical" under normative definitions. Study is mostly restricted to textbooks (*yig cha*), or at most to a small number of treatises; even the Vinaya is not directly consulted, but studied through its systematic summary, the *Vinayasūtra* and its autocommentary of Guṇaprabha (preserved in Tibet in the Tanjur; D 4117, 4119/P 5619, 5621). In particular, *sūtra*s, although certainly acknowledged as the authoritative word of the Buddha, are rarely studied in Tibet and, apart from the ritual placement of Kanjurs on altars or the placement of texts inside images (see below), aside from *dhāraṇī* texts, they are rarely even used at all. This lack of general interest extends to scholars; although Tibetan scholars may cite scripture, in almost all cases they do so on the basis of previous citations in other works, ultimately going back either to anthologies (such as the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* or Atiśa's *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*) or to traditional works which have earlier deployed the same scriptural citation as a proof or illustrative text (such as Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*; for a study of the 14th-cent. scholar Tsong kha pa's sources for his scriptural citations, see Langelaar, 2012). This distant relation to scripture may qualify as a form of de facto decanonization (see below).

Local Canonicity

In light of the fact that a "canon" may, on the one hand, have existed notionally, though not actually been accessible, while, on the other hand, materials not nominally included in a normatively standard canon were nevertheless also more or less freely available, and even elevated to a central position of attention and authority, it is evident that the concept of canon has been simultaneously deployed in more than one way. "Functional" canons have always been in use in almost any context (comp. Blackburn, 1999, 284, 303 on "practical canon"). Any canon must belong to a community: a text or body of texts is canonical only for some group. Therefore, any canon must be localized in time and space (geographical, in addition to social). Tensions may, but need not necessarily, arise, however, when a community asserts the canonicity of a body of literature which it nevertheless does not actually utilize. Categories such as "'functional canon,'" "practical canon," "curricular canon" or the like, however, assume the inherent priority of the inherited scriptural canon, which is honored only in principle. A distance between "notional" and "practical" canons is a sign of multiple communities and an inheritance by one group of persons of a value system initiated by others. As an example, Lao monks certainly knew that there were Vinaya texts that did not exist in their monasteries. These included core (*mūla*) texts, commentaries, manuals, and so on. They did not possess them, but would not dispute their authority. What they did have was a local collection, parts of the *mūla* texts, parts of commentaries, parts of manuals, and so on. This, then, was their "practical canon," the texts that were actually read and recited. We need not imagine either that these Lao monks felt that the texts available to them were deficient, or on the contrary that they were honoring texts not authorized by some central and higher authority.

That formal canons are absent does not imply the absence of canons. Every scriptural religious community at a given time and place holds a certain body of literature to be authoritative, whether that acknowledgment is made explicit or not, and the utilization of certain texts to the exclusion of others is one form of canonization. In this regard, the expression "protocanon" acts as an assertion of unity that functions, however, only retrospectively: "proto" in relation to "canon" invokes a community different than that which is the focus of the determination (full, mature) "canon" in question. Any appeal to "protocanon" is therefore inherently teleological. It is thus not historically helpful to speak of a "proto-Kanjur" as a "collection of canonical texts which aims at encompassing the maximum available canonical literature, but does not reach the extent of a [Kanjur] and lacks a systematic classification" (Lainé, 2009, 5). Such a formulation assumes that Kanjurs represent an inevitable result of a process, when the reality is rather that each collection is – or is not – deemed canonical in light of its local conditions, not as seen retrospectively in view of later developments – a chronological impossibility.

In many, if not most, cases, we cannot know why materials of evident value to one community were not shared by others. Scholars gloss over this question by referring to some materials as "local," but the only difference between a local text and a translocal one is that the latter was able to spread and be accepted and adopted outside its home range; all texts have a home range, so it is only their later history, not something about their nature, that qualifies them as "local" or as "translocal." Canonical collections such as a *Tripiṭaka*, *Dazangjing*, or Kanjur by means of their publication and circulation render their contents translocal, but prolific finds of texts not enshrined in collections – for instance, at Dunhuang – demonstrate how much has not been transmitted, in most cases without our having known even that it had once existed. We have no choice but to presume that these materials were once and at some place every bit as canonical, authoritative, and valued as materials much more familiar to us. This fact calls for our careful attention whenever we attempt to understand the scope of the canonical.

Albeit perhaps for different reasons, less historical than ideological, traditional sources are also clearly aware of losses of text. One of the most important statements about the authenticity of Buddhist scriptures is articulated by Vasubandhu in his *Vyākhyāyukti* (D 4061/P 5562), the arguments of which are rehearsed elsewhere, notably in Bhāviveka's *Tarkajvālā* (D 3856/P 5256; Eckel, 2008). Among the assertions of the Mahāyāna apologist Vasubandhu is that, just as in the Mahāyāna itself, in the Śrāvakayāna canon too – using the Mahāyāna terminology for the non-Mahāyānā scripture corpus – there once existed sermons of the Buddha which are now lost, and thus the Śrāvakayāna canon is incomplete (Horiuchi, 2007). At least part of Vasubandhu's argument is that the Śrāvakayāna canon is incomplete not only because there is reference to nonextant *sūtras* but also because it does not admit Mahāyāna *sūtras*, which were surely also preached by the Buddha. The **Mahāyānāvatāra* (*Ru dasheng lun* [入大乘論]; T. 1634 [XXXII] 37a) offers the argument that while Ānanda received some teachings from the Buddha, there are many he did not receive, those of the Mahāyāna among them (Horiuchi, 2007). For Bhāviveka in his *Tarkajvālā* (D 3856, 166b–167a; Eckel, 2008, 149), Ānanda did not memorize everything that the Buddha taught: "Therefore, the full teaching of the Buddha does not appear in

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the collection made by those who were taught by [Ānanda] and who collected [his teachings]." Following Vasubandhu, Bhāviveka recognizes not only the loss of texts legitimately taught by the Buddha, but the existence of variant versions of some that do exist, such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (D 3856, 168a; Eckel, 2008, 152). Moreover, Bhāviveka is well aware that different traditions pass along as *buddhavacana* different texts (D 3856, 166a; Eckel, 2008, 147), and even names texts which certain schools do not accept, or Vinaya rules which are found in some Vinaya traditions but not in others (D 3856, 167ab; Eckel, 2008, 153). An interesting parallel comes in a passage from Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*:

> The Vātsiputrīyas do not take this text as authoritative. But why? They say: "The text which you cite from is not read in our sect." But, we ask, is it their sect that is authoritative, or the word of the Buddha? If it is their sect that is authoritative, then the Buddha is not their teacher, and they are not Buddhists. But if the word of the Buddha is authoritative, why is the text we cite from not authoritative for them? Because, they say, this is not the word of the Buddha. But why? They say: "It is not read in our sect." Now, this is unjustified. And what is unjustified here? Because to claim, as they do, that a text that is transmitted in all other sects and contradicts neither the *sūtra* nor the fundamental nature of things is not the word of the Buddha on the grounds that they don't read it, this is purely and simply inconsiderate. (Pradhan, 1975, 466.14–17; trans. Eltschinger, 2014, 199–200n26, brackets removed)

While Bhāviveka spoke of absent texts, many traditions emphasize a different sort of loss of text, namely that there once existed much more extensive versions of texts now available only partially. This may be especially evident with respect to some tantric literature, in which there was thought to be an "idealized tantric canon, replete with massive ur-texts, at the author's disposal" (Gray, 2009, 10). Access to this corpus was not limited to the past; rather there was a "pervasive notion that the true tantric canon exists in the heavens of pure lands, and that fragments of it are periodically revealed to exemplary individuals in fortunate human communities" (Gray, 2009, 11).

> One of the most important implications of the myth of the tantric canon is the idea that our knowledge of *tantras* is always fragmentary and incomplete, which leaves open the door to further revelation, and creates the space for the construction of a hierarchy to mediate access to the inaccessible store of wisdom. (Gray, 2009, 15)
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> The collection of *tantras* that came to be the Bka' 'gyur [Kanjur] is thus replete with references to absent root *tantras*, with various texts that refer to a greater canon that exists not in this world, but was imagined by Buddhists as existing in the more glorious past, or in more glorious realms of reality. The myths of larger tantric canons bolstered the truly *conservative* efforts of scholars such as Bu ston [1290–1364] to preserve what they surely believed were fragments of a much larger, but largely lost (in this world and time period) tantric canon. (Gray, 2009, 21)

This concept is not limited to the *tantras*. In East Asia there is an idea of three variants of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*: a small version in our world, a large version with "a number of verses equivalent to the number of atoms in ten great trichiliocosms" and the number of characters equal to "the number of atoms in the world of Mount Sumeru," and a medium version with 498,800 verses and 1,200 chapters. The longer versions are retained in the Dragon Palace (*longgong* [龍宮]), the same location in which, tradition holds, the Perfection of Wisdom *sūtras* were preserved after being preached by the Buddha, to be revealed only centuries after his nirvāṇa (Rambelli, 2007, 116; Hamar, 2007, 139–140). (A similar idea of three versions of the Prajñāpāramitā of varying lengths is found in the *Da zhidu lun* [大智度論; T. 1509 (XXV) 756a28–b4], each intended for a different group of recipients according to life-span and strength of memory.)

Organization

Collections of Buddhist literature arrange their contents differently. There seems little doubt that the oldest arrangement of Buddhist literature was that into nine "branches" (*aṅga*). These divide the genres of literature into *sutta, geyya, gāthā, udāna, veyyākaraṇa, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma*, and *vedalla*. A further and later twelvefold classification (*dvādaśāṅga*), not found in Pali sources, adds three items: *nidāna, avadāna*, and *upadeśa*. The meaning of these categories is very far from clear. One thing that is clear, however, is that the first grouping, *sutta*, includes both what we think of as the *suttas*, sermons, as well as the Vinaya, the monastic code. (The most exhaustive treatment of this category is Maeda Egaku, 1964, 181–549 [sic!];

see also Lamotte, 1944–1980, V.2281–2304; von Hinüber, 1994.)

Another undoubtedly old arrangement is that into "Three Baskets" (Pal. *tipiṭaka*; Skt. *tripiṭaka*). The meaning of this term is also not altogether clear. One explanation refers to the expression that a preacher teaches what has been passed down in a lineage "basket-wise" or "according to tradition" (*piṭakasampadāya*; MN i.520,10). When, however, the set was fixed at three is not known.

While the reference is not datable (but the text belongs to 1st-cent. CE Sri Lanka; von Hinüber, 1996, § 42), the "appendix" (*Parivāra*) to the Pali Vinaya (Vin v.3,14) mentions a monk as very wise and a *tipeṭakin*, probably meaning that he is conversant with the three divisions of scripture. (There may be an analogy with the term *trivedin*, one who knows by heart the three Vedas.) In terms of fixed chronology, the first attestation of a related term is much older, found in an inscription of the 2nd or 1st century BCE at the stūpa site of Bhārhut in central India, which characterizes a noble (*ārya*) as *peṭakin* (Lüders, 1963, § A 56), which may indicate familiarity with one of the divisions of the *tripiṭaka*, although there is no reference here to any such threefold division. The word *trepiṭaka* itself is, however, found in 129/130 CE on an inscription from Sarnath which so labels two monks (Salomon, 1998, 270–272). In a 159/160 CE Mathurā inscription, we find not only a monk but also a nun given the same title (Lüders, 1961, § 24; Schopen, 1988–1989, 243–248). Slightly later, in the early 3rd century CE, we find the title again on the so-called Brussels Buddha of 231/232 CE (Fussman, 1974, 54–58), but it seems to virtually disappear from the inscriptional record thereafter. The attribute *trepiṭa* found in the *Divyāvadāna*, and almost certainly originally belonging to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (Silk, 2008, 144), may have a similar meaning, but it is in any case a rare form. There is no indication from these references, however, either to content meant to be encompassed by the category of "*tripiṭaka*" or precisely what is meant by the term *peṭakin*/*trepiṭaka*, which grammatically suggests an individual who has done something with a *piṭaka* or the/a *tripiṭaka*. There is no necessary suggestion, in particular, that this indicates that the individual in question has committed some body of text to memory, let alone the "canon" as we know it – even leaving aside the question of what the contents of the more limited body of texts in question might be. A possible indication of the scope of a "canon" at an early period is, however, provided by inscriptions at Bhārhut and at the stūpa sites of Sāñcī and Pauni which, rather than invoking a three-fold division, use the term *pañcanekāyika* (Lüders, 1963, § A 57; Majumdar, 1940 I.324, #242; Kolte, 1969, 171–173), an apparent reference to five *nikāyas* (under the term which becomes current in Pali, rather than Skt. *āgama*). (Lamotte, 1958/1988, 157/143 suggests that the reference is to '"the canonical doctrine as a whole,"' but without proper grounds.) Terminology which might be (but is not necessarily) more precise includes *sūtradhara* and *vinayadhara*, (up)holder of *sūtra* and *vinaya*, respectively. The latter at least is attested in mid-2nd century CE, at the stūpa site of Amarāvatī (Sivaramamurti, 1942, #25 [*mahavinayadhara*], #70). Much earlier at Sāñcī we find the term *bhāṇaka* (reciter; Majumdar, 1940, I.353, #529), but again, the scope of its meaning is not clear. (For all such inscriptional citations, it is very convenient to refer to Tsukamoto, 1996; 1998; 2003.)

With the exception of what has come down to us as the Pali canon, we do not have direct evidence for even the existence of canons belonging to other sects or schools of Indian Buddhism, nor good indications of the contents or organization of those putative canonical collections. The *sutta* portion of the *Tipiṭaka* in Pali is organized into collections by length (*Dīghanikāya* [Long Discourses] and *Majjhimanikāya* [Middle-Length Discourses]), by number (*Aṅguttaranikāya* [Numerical Discourses]), grouped by topic (*Saṃyuttanikāya* [Connected Discourses]) and minor texts (*Khuddhakanikāya* [Miscellaneous Discourses]). It is, again, not known how old these classifications might be, but the term *Ekottarikā* is known in Gandhari sources from the first half of the 1st century CE (Baums, 2009, 513), though again, we cannot know what form such a collection may have taken. We do know through comparison of Pali collections with those preserved in Chinese that even when individual *sūtras* may find parallels, the organizational structures within which they are found often differ: individual texts preserved in one collection in Pali may be found in another, not otherwise corresponding, collection in Chinese. The parallel to a Pali *sutta* found in the the *Aṅguttaranikāya* may thus appear rather in a Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*, a comparison made all the more problematic by the fact that the four Āgamas preserved in Chinese belong to different sects and were apparently originally composed in different languages: the *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing* [長阿含經]; T. 1: Dharmaguptaka), *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* [中阿含經]; T. 26: [Mūla]

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Sarvāstivāda), *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing* [雜阿含經]; T. 99: Sarvāstivāda), and *Ekottarikāgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing* [增壹阿含經]; T. 125: Sarvāstivāda).

This tendency away from parallelism may go further: in the *Ekottarikāgama* there may be a

> general tendency...to present as a canonical discourse what in the Theravāda tradition is only found in commentarial literature.... the *Ekottarika-āgama* clearly remained open to the inclusion of later stories to a greater degree than the Pāli *Nikāyas* and other Chinese *Āgamas*. (Anālayo, 2014, 120)

In addition to the Pali and Chinese collections, we also have a largely intact Sanskrit *Dīrghāgama* affiliated with the (Mūla)Sarvāstivāda (Hartmann and Wille, in Harrison & Hartmann, 2014), the contents of which, however, do not wholly agree with either the Pali *Dīghanikāya* or the *Chang ahan jing*.

The historical diversity of the Vinaya collections is similar, except that here we have slightly more diverse material available. With the exception of a portion (the Skandhaka) of the collection belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika tradition, the bare structure and rule content of the other extant Vinayas largely agree with each other. Note however that "even the formation of the Prātimokṣasūtra texts was not completed in the first or even second centuries CE, but seems to have undergone substantial changes in the process of writing down" (Strauch, 2014, 820). The same scholar stresses the importance of writing in the development of the Vinaya literature, saying the early Gandhari manuscript he studied belongs to

> a state when a living oral tradition, which was rooted in a distinct local or probably regional context, was confronted with a growing production of written texts, which somehow petrified these local versions and distributed them into different contexts. The process of harmonisation had of course to take place between the oral versions and the written texts and between the different written texts themselves. Only such a process could eventually result in the emergence of generally accepted and supraregionally used canons with a codified and authoritative textual shape. (Strauch, 2014, 825)

Where the extant Vinayas do not agree is, most notably, in their narrative content, which constitutes the bulk of most of the Vinaya literature. It is a conceit of the Vinayas that they represent case law: they recount, in explanation of their rules, how the Buddha was presented with a problem, concerning which he then issued a ruling. The stories told to provide the background and context for this ruling are, in contrast to the rules themselves, significantly variable, and in many cases it cannot be that they go back to a common source. A part of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas is organized significantly differently, although it too contains largely the same basic rule content (Clarke, 2004). It is also of importance to recognize that *sūtras* were both extracted from their original home in the Vinaya and, on the contrary, embedded in Vinaya texts from an originally Āgamic source, this speaking again to questions of the fluidity of the organizational principles of Buddhist canons (Yao, forthcoming; von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 67, 80).

Concerning the Abhidharma, we have quite little information, but what we do know suggests a much wider diversity than is the case with either the *sūtras* or the Vinayas. Given the even basic disagreement over the extent to which the Abhidharma is to be considered *buddhavacana*, this is understandable. While both the Pali and Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma collections contain seven works, on the text level there is virtually no overlap between these collections, although naturally the general content is largely in agreement. In this respect, we should note that while there are sectarian recensions of *sūtras*, there are no known cases of sectarian versions of any treatise (*śāstra*); even when there exist distinct treatises with the same title (such as the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, of which two distinct texts are now known), they are not historically related, much less sectarian variants of a common core.

While there certainly are correlations between the contents of various collections both in Indic language sources and in translations (primarily in Chinese), such that it is possible to line up, for instance, an individual *sutta* in Pali with a Chinese parallel, it is not just the contents of the particular Nikāya-Āgama complexes that differ; the overall organizations of the respective collections themselves are quite different. Although a word equivalent to *tripiṭaka* exists in Chinese (*sanzang* [三藏]), Chinese canons from the earliest period of their compilation were organized on different principles, based first of all on a separation of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scripture, and only then into the three categories of *sūtra* (*jing* [經]), Vinaya (*lü* [律]), and treatises (*lun* [論]). The overriding category is therefore the polemical duality of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, rather than the "three baskets." The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* contains the following main headings of translated works:

1. Bodhisattva (i.e. Mahāyāna) works:
   a. Sūtra:
      i) Prajñāpāramitā
      ii) Ratnakūṭa
      iii) Mahāsaṃnipāta
      iv) Buddhāvataṃsaka
      v) Nirvāṇa
   b. Vinaya
   c. Śāstra
2. Śrāvaka [i.e. Hīnayāna] works:
   a. Sūtra
   b. Vinaya
   c. Śāstra

In Tibetan the difference is even more stark. Again, an equivalent for *tripiṭaka* exists (*sde snod gsum*), and is used in exegesis, for instance in Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang's (1385–1438) discussion of the structure of the Buddha's preaching, which includes this threefold analysis (Lessing & Wayman, 1968, 56–57). However, the actual Tibetan collections (Kanjur [*bka' 'gyur*] and Tanjur [*bstan 'gyur*]) follow another organizing principle, related historically to the Chinese model in some respects, but again not on the highest level. What is attributed to the Buddha is separated from what is not (*bka' 'gyur* means "translated [Buddha's] word" and *bstan 'gyur* "translated treatises"). Placing together the Sūtra and Vinaya as the word of the Buddha, internally the Kanjur is divided into Sūtra (with almost no non-Mahāyāna content), Vinaya, and Tantra (a category unknown in Chinese collections, although tantric texts were translated and composed in China). The *sūtra* section is further subdivided along largely Chinese lines, while the Tanjur is divided largely doctrinally, into categories such as Madhyamaka, Cittamātra (Yogācāra), Logic and Epistemology, and so on. The arrangement of materials in the Kanjur Tantra sections in particular differs among various Kanjurs, again for doctrinal and sectarian reasons.

Preservation

This sketch of the canons in Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan might lead to an impression of a greater uniformity than actually existed. It has been stressed above that Pali canons were characterized by a certain fluidity, and it was, in part, this fluidity that contributed to the perceived necessity for a series of Councils, during which (among other discussions) revisions to the theretofore accepted canon were debated. Councils, whether historical or notional, are moments of assertions of canonical authority. (It is doubtless for this reason that the 14th-cent. Tibetan scholar Bu ston and others report the idea of a council, simultaneous with the well-known First Council, at which the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, Vinaya, and Abhidharma were recited [Lamotte, 1944–1980, II.939–942; Davidson, 1990, 308].) While earlier Councils in South and Southeast Asian Buddhism may be of dubious historicity, at least those of 1477/1478 in Chiang Mai and 1788/1789 in Bangkok (von Hinüber, 1996, § 199), as well as the two most recent Councils, the Fifth and the Sixth (respectively held in 1871 in Mandalay, and 1954–1956 in Rangoon), are certainly historical. The Fifth, under the sponsorship of King Mindon, and at which only Burmese monks were in attendance, was meant to approve the inscription of the text of the core of the *Tipiṭaka* (without commentaries) placed onto 729 stone stelae at the Kuthodaw Pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill; editorial work was initiated by Mindon in 1856, texts were copied onto palm leaf, and subsequently inscribed on stone during the period 1860–1869, and the Council was held in 1871. The Sixth was sponsored by the Burmese government, and the results were published as the Sixth Sāsana Council edition beginning in 1956; this edition has been broadly influential in the Theravāda world (an influence which continues with its wide circulation in print and electronically by the Vipassana Research Institute [http://www.tipitaka.org/]). In 1962 there began to appear a modern Burmese translation of the whole of the core texts, which remains incomplete (as of 2014 seven texts remain). The basic motivation for such projects in Burma was always the preservation of the texts from their predicted disappearance and the attendant demise of the teaching (the Sixth Council being held at the exact midpoint of the predicted 5,000-year life-span of the Buddhist teaching, i.e. 2,500 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa). The Sixth Council was directly motivated by this belief, with the Sixth Council editions containing an introduction explicitly stating this.

Although efforts have been made to preserve the teachings against the predicted end of their circulation in this world (see below), no such Councils are recorded to have been held elsewhere in the Buddhist world. In contrast, what one encounters in East Asia and in Tibet is the compilation of, in the first place, catalogues of scriptures, and then, after the 11th century, a series of woodblock printed editions, the existence of which contributes to standardization and preservation. In China, the Tang-period catalogues, in the age of manuscripts, can be seen as

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prescriptive, while after the 10th century, with the rise of printing, such catalogues become descriptive (Tokuno, 1990, 32). Earlier however, and alongside the existence of printed editions, *Dazangjing* and Kanjurs were produced by hand, and there were often considerable differences between copies, both in terms of organization and contents, not to mention the actual literal readings of the texts they contain. In China, a significant number of editions of *Dazangjing* were produced, while in early Japan the case may have been even more extreme. "[T]here was no single Buddhist canon in ancient Japan; each was created at a particular moment in a unique configuration to respond to the needs of the patron and the monastic community" (Lowe, 2014, 224). The term *issaikyō* (一切經), which refers literally to "the entirety of the *sūtras*" and is treated as a synonym of *Dazangjing* (attested at least as early as the 5th cent. in a Dunhuang manuscript, S. 996), is to be understood in Nara-period Japan as "all the scriptures available," rather than a particular collection of texts (Lowe, 2014, 225). Although the *Kaiyuan* catalogue was the structural basis for such canons, the listing of texts in this catalogue (in its *Ruzang lu* [入藏錄]) was itself rewritten in Japan (Lowe, 2014, 231), an astonishing intervention in the inherited orthodoxy. It should not be overlooked that the copying activities referred to here took place in a political climate: in 7th–8th-century Japan,

> the decision to copy the canon came at a time when the patron needed to demonstrate newly gained power. Canon copying by royals from this early period, therefore, functioned within the broader Buddhist and non-Buddhist symbolic strategies of legitimation employed by the court at this time. (Lowe, 2014, 229)

While most Chinese canons were official projects, this was not always the case. There were both public and private canons, and their contents could differ: for instance, the Jiaxing (嘉興; 1598–1712) private edition contained more Chinese compositions than did the Tang official canon. Moreover, "it was not before the Sui dynasty that there was a 'Chinese manuscript canon' in a proper sense, even if the first manuscript copies of the entire canon produced by imperial order date to the Six Dynasties period," a fact which shows "the close relationship existing between the birth of the canon and the process of bringing Buddhism under the control of the state, in full swing during the 6th century, especially in North China" (Zacchetti, forthcoming).

A further contrast between the Tibetan and Chinese canons is that while the former in principle preserves only a single translation of a given text, Chinese canons generally attempt to include all known translations. Texts were certainly translated into Tibetan more than once, but as a result of this self-conscious policy, perhaps introduced by the 14th-century polymath Bu ston (Skilling, 1997b, 100n96), only a single version was included into a Kanjur or Tanjur in almost all cases. We know of the existence of alternate versions in Tibetan from references to their translation, from quotations, and in some cases from the adventitious preservation of such translations themselves, for instance in Dunhuang. A number of *sūtras* appear to have been translated from Chinese before Indic versions were available, but it seems that after the Tibetans gained direct access to a text from India, they no longer were interested in the (re)translations from Chinese. In a number of cases, such translations were made from *sūtras* actually composed in China (Li & Silk, forthcoming; and see below).

The case in China was quite different with respect to the preservation of multiple translated versions. Virtually all versions of a given text were preserved in principle (although catalogues suggest that much was lost as well). Careful comparison of multiple Chinese translations of the same text reveals the extent to which translators certainly closely studied the work of their predecessors, and utilized it to a greater extent than might at first be obvious. Even the work of the giants of Chinese Buddhist translations, Kumārajīva (334–413) and Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664), reveals their profound debts to earlier translators (Harrison, 2008). Catalogues confirm that texts were, when recognized as variant translations of the same original, felt to correspond, being noted as "the same" (*tong* [同]). It is possible that the Chinese tolerance for multiple alternate versions is based on an approach to the source text somewhat different from that which held sway in Tibet. The Chinese may have sought the Buddha's message in as many forms as possible, while the Tibetans preferred to focus on an authoritative version, although it must be noted that the pattern applies not only to scripture, and to Vinaya (of which several distinct versions were translated in Chinese), but also to treatises. The Chinese canons commonly preserve multiple versions of such treatises, which is almost never the case in Tibet. Tibetan scholars, however, were perfectly aware of Indian textual fluidity, and took it into account in their translating and editing efforts. We know that in the Indian sphere, multiple versions of scriptures could circulate at the same place and time, as demonstrated vividly by the case of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* found at Gilgit (Schopen, 2009). Tibetan scholars note how, in revising translations, they made use of Indian manuscripts which contained variant readings to those used by the original translators of the Tibetan version. They dealt with this variety by editing and revising, while the Chinese for the most part preserved separate versions, related though they might be. Tolerance for a certain flexibility of wording or even structure in texts does not, however, necessarily imply the total absence of concern with exact wording in every case or in every context. Stories in Japanese *setsuwa* (説話) or tale literature, for instance, emphasize the importance of letter-perfect recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, thus both promoting and assuming an invariant shape of "the" text, in casu Kumārajīva's translation in the form of the *textus receptus* current in medieval Japan, as illustrated by the story of Kusakabe no Saru (日下部猿) in the *Nihon Ryōiki* (日本靈異記; Watson, 2013, 38). At the same time, much of the apparent uniformity we do perceive, not only in Indic texts – for which we may have very few witnesses, all stemmatically related to each other – but also for example in Chinese text transmissions, is probably due precisely to our poverty of evidence; so much has been lost that the tradition appears to us to be more monolithic and stable than it actually was. That the tradition itself expresses concern with textual corruption, even from a relatively early period, is attested in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya's story of a monk reciting a verse incorrectly and nonsensically. His own preceptor rejecting the correction offered by the Buddha's direct disciple Ānanda, the monk continues to recite the meaningless verse, and, thoroughly disgusted, Ānanda deems it time to enter nirvāṇa (Brough, 1962, 45–48). This story also bears witness to the anxiety, already evident at this stage of the tradition, over the future loss and decay of the teachings. But variety, as noted above, need not originate in error; it is often an integral part of the textual tradition ab initio, this only magnified in the translation and transmission process.

Relatively early on in Chinese Buddhism, as a way of coming to terms with multiple versions of a single text, synoptic editions (*heben* [合本]) were prepared, through which Chinese exegetes tried to get close to the meaning of a text by comparing different translations (Zürcher, 1959, 99–100). There are also a number of examples of attempts in various regions of the Buddhist world to establish, in something approaching a scientific fashion, forms of texts which reveal an awareness of textual change, and the need for textual criticism. In fact, most canon projects require, explicitly or implicitly, a form of textual criticism, and some of the results of those processes have been recorded. One dramatic example is found in the notes of the 13th-century Korean editor Sugi (守其; Buswell, 2004), who collated the texts for the so-called Second Koryŏ edition in his *Koryŏguk sinjo taejang kyojŏng pyŏllok* (高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄; Supplementary Record of Collation Notes to the New Carving of the Great Canon of the Koryŏ Kingdom; K. 1402). In the course of his collation project Sugi frequently criticizes and corrects the authoritative *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, arguing for the establishment of texts on remarkably modern-sounding philological grounds. A somewhat different task was taken up by an 18th-century Mongol scholar, probably A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar (alias Bstan dar Lha ram pa; 1754-1840), who collated, in the first place, the Narthang Kanjur, comparing it with the editions of Urga, Cone, Derge, and Peking (Anonymous, 1982; the work is found at TBRC W00EGS1016292; see Damdinsuren, 1983).

As mentioned above, in another contrast to the intentionally sectarian organization of the Tibetan canons, from which non-Mūlasarvāstivāda material was in principle excluded, the *Dazangjing* was seen as a homogeneous collection, in that materials with demonstrably diverse sources, from a sectarian or other point of view – as for example the above-mentioned four collections of Āgamas – are nevertheless treated on even ground. When they are treated differentially, the basis for this is doctrinal, as demonstrated in the various *panjiao* (tenet classification [判教]) systems (in general, Mun, 2006).

The first to have presented such a system may have been the monk Daosheng (道生; 317–420), a disciple of the famous Kumārajīva (Hu, 2014, 70), but a number of systems competed over time; as the author of the most influential system, the Tiantai (天台) founder Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597), noted, there were three such systems in southern Chinese Buddhism, based on the chronological order of Buddha's preaching (the Three Periods [三時], Four Periods [四時], and Five Periods [五時]), while in the north there were seven systems (Hu, 2014, 71). The chronology of the Buddha's preaching is considered here to be of utmost significance, with priority placed on his last and final teaching. This contrasts with at least some Indian interpretations of the stock phrase introducing *sūtras*, "at one time the Blessed One . . .": some commentaries suggest

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1. Buddha's first preaching, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* for all disciples (3 weeks);
2. the *Āgama* for Hīnayāna generally (12 years);
3. the *Vaipulya* (*Fangdeng jing* [方等經]) for Mahāyāna common teaching (8 years);
4. the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* for Mahāyāna special teaching (22 years);
5. the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtras*, for the perfect teaching of Mahāyāna (8 years; Hu, 2014, 82).

Different *panjiao* systems advocate different final and ultimate teachings, even while acknowledging the validity of all the Buddha's teachings. For Jizang (吉藏; 549–623), all Mahāyāna *sūtras* display the path without ever the slightest difference (*Fahua xuan lun* [法華玄論]; T. 1720 [XXXIV] 378c14–15; and *Fahua yishu* [法華義疏]; T. 1721 [XXXIV] 518c16; Hu, 2014, 89). In contrast to this perspective, however, many believed that the scriptures could be arranged into hierarchies of importance.

Decanonization

De facto functional canons, as groupings in which some texts receive attention while others do not, are probably ubiquitous. But a more specific tendency is the generation of a self-conscious focus on a limited body of literature, a narrowing of attention which sometimes has extreme results. This process of focusing perforce excludes other materials, and while it need not, in some circumstances it can, be understood as "decanonization," namely, the logical opposite of canonization, with the difference that decanonization begins with an assumption of canonicity: otherwise, disregard of some work or text is simply benign neglect. Decanonization is a more violent and aggressive process.

We do not know how decanonization functioned in Indian Buddhism. What evidence we have suggests, for example, that Mahāyāna Buddhists, while vastly expanding the realm of the canonical with new scripture production, did not reject outright, or explicitly contradict, the existing body of scripture; to do so indeed would have constituted a rejection of Buddhism tout court. Rather, they both reinterpreted this material (through categories such as the above-mentioned "skillful means"), incorporating and reemphasizing elements (the central doctrine of emptiness, for instance, is a logical extension of pre-Mahāyāna ideas), and otherwise simply disregarding or ignoring some things. Mahāyānists did, however, have to face the rejection of their own textual productions by non-Mahāyānists, and not only early on. The Pali anthology *Sārasaṅgaha*, which may belong to the 13th or 14th century (von Hinüber, 1996, § 385), rejects Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *tantras*, even by name, as "not the word of the buddha," (*abuddhavacana*; Sasaki, 1992, 46,6–11), demonstrating thereby a familiarity with this literature in some detail. Mahāyāna texts themselves frequently report their own rejection (as a class), as we see for instance in the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (VII.22–23), which reports the accusation that "[t]his is not the word of the Buddha; this has been said by Māra" (Tola & Dragonetti, 1996, 234–236; and elsewhere for other examples from a wide variety of sources). Theravāda sources, at least as far back as the *Samantapāsādikā* commentary on the Vinaya (Sp iv.742–743), criticize what they call the *Vedaḷapiṭaka* or *Vedallapiṭaka*, again characterized as not the word of the Buddha (*abuddhavacana*), this being generally understood also to be a reference to Mahāyāna teachings (Skilling, 2013b, 89, with notes). At least one polemical context of this is clear, in that the Mahāvihārins deploy this criticism against their rivals the Abhayagiri monks for using texts of the *vetullavāda* (extensive doctrine). The role of political power here is clear:

> Later triumphalist chronicles [such as the 14th-cent. Singhalese *Nikāyasaṃgrahawa*] condemn with increasing vehemence the heresy of these unacceptable texts, and tell of repeated book-burnings by pro-Mahāvihārin kings. (Collins, 1990, 98)

A different type of decanonization can be seen in the case of the *Mahāvastu*, a portion of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda Vinaya. Like other such texts, it is full of stories, and comes, rather late, to be called an *avadāna*, a collection of story literature, erasing its identity as a Vinaya text (Tournier, 2012, 92–93).

Specific texts, as well as classes of texts, can be explicitly rejected as well, sometimes with great energy. In the late 8th century, the monk Kaimyō (戒明) brought to Japan the ten-fascicule *Śūraṃgamasūtra* (*Da foding jing* [大佛頂經], from Chn. Great Scripture on the Buddha's Crown), which a group of monks demanded be burnt because they rejected its authenticity, this taking place in the context of a doctrinal debate between Sanron (三論) and Hossō (法相) school monks over emptiness (Lowe, 2014, 243–244). Sometimes the opposition is not quite so fierce. The *Renwang boruo boluomi jing* (仁王般若波羅蜜經; Perfection of Wisdom Scripture for Humane Kings; T. 245) is of great importance in East Asia, but that did not prevent Emperor Wu of the Liang (梁武帝; 464–549) from declaring that "it is already widely recognized as an apocryphal *sūtra* (*yijing* [疑經]), so I will set it aside and not discuss it" (T. 2145 [LV] 54b19–20; Swanson, 1998, 251; Orzech, 1998, 75). Just what should be accepted remained a contentious issue into modern times, as demonstrated by debates at the dawn of the 20th century in Japan over the status of the Mahāyāna as the teaching of the Buddha (*Daijō hibussetsuron* [大乘非佛說論]; Sueki, 2005). These discussions, however, are at least as old as the early Mahāyāna, as discussed above, and were theorized already by Indian scholastics.

Although not a rejection of scripture as such, much less one of specific scriptures in the fashion just described, a different approach to a normative vision of canon can be noticed among Indian Buddhist philosophers, particularly Dharmakīrti, albeit in an abstract, theoretical mode.

> [W]hereas early Yogācāra views scripture as a means of proof working additionally but co-equally to perception and inference, the epistemologists deny scripture any probative value, at least as far as the empirical sphere is concerned. (Eltschinger, 2014, 198)

Before the 6th century CE, at least ideally arguments were offered on the dual bases of reasoning (classified most compactly as perception and inference, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*) and scriptural authority, *yukti* and *āgama*, respectively. However, appeals to the authority of Buddhist scripture avail only if one's opponent is equally a Buddhist, accepting the authority of such scripture. It is for this reason – namely that their opponents are non-Mahāyāna Buddhists – that in principle many Mahāyāna treatises rely for their proof texts on Āgamas, rather than Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and it is possible to speculate about the imagined opponent of a certain argument in part on the basis of the sort of evidence deployed on its behalf. (However, it is also a pattern that some argumentation begins with reference to non-Mahāyāna sources, but ends with Mahāyāna *sūtras*. "[I]n [Candrakīrti's] *Prasannapadā* . . . chapters . . . usually begin with Nikāya scriptural sources justifying the counterargument at the beginning, which are generally contrasted with the Mahāyāna *sūtra* passages marking a triumphant end. Thus, this pattern structurally signifies the supersession of Nikāya Buddhist scriptures by their Mahāyāna counterparts" [Li, 2012, 185].) Dharmakīrti goes further by engaging not with fellow Buddhists but with outsiders. For him, moreover, as a partisan of reason, authority cannot come even from authoritative persons (see above), and thus scripture in itself can only be reliable with regard to the supersensible realm. Once scripture is proved reliable in realms in which reason applies (through direct perception and inference), then and only then are we authorized to accept its claims about domains which remain beyond our ken. As a Buddhist, Dharmakīrti cannot explicitly reject the word of the Buddha, but he goes very far along the path toward so doing (Eltschinger, 2014, 201). This stance, moreover, finds some sanction in considerably older sources, such as a verse in the *Buddhacarita* of the 2nd-century CE poet Aśvaghoṣa, in which the Buddha is made to say:

> Clever people should accept what I say after putting it to the test, just as they accept gold after testing it by melting it, scratching it and scraping it on whetstone. They should not believe what I say out of deference to me. (*Buddhacarita* 25.45, rephrased by Śāntarakṣita in his 8th-cent. *Tattvasaṃgraha* [Shastri, 1981–1982, 1063,18]; trans. Hayes, 1984, 664; Eltschinger, 2014, 215)

Whether through direct appeals to the Buddha's criteria or not, many in positions of power throughout Buddhist history rejected materials some others were willing to accept as scripture. Some control over acceptable scripture involves what lawyers might call "prior restraint." During the reign of King Khri gtsug lde btsan (Ral pa can; r. 815–838), by royal edict the Tibetan court forbade translation of any non-Mūlasarvāstivāda Śrāvakayāna texts, saying "it was prescribed that the Hīnayānistic Scripture other than that acknowledged by the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the secret charms [*dhāraṇī*] were not to be translated" (Obermiller, 1932, II.197, modified; Vogel, 1985, 109–110; Szerb, 1990, 46.6–9, and n8). In spite of this sectarian restriction, Tibetan Kanjurs contain 13 Theravāda texts, with a few further examples found as well in the Tanjur (Skilling, 1993). In the commentary on the *Mahāvyutpatti*, the bilingual glossary compiled to assist in the systematization of translations from Sanskrit, the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (On Word-Compounds in Two Volumes), written during the reign of King Sad na legs (c. 800–815 CE), the translation of tantric works was prohibited without special permission: "[H]enceforth with regard to

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dhāraṇīs, mantras and tantras, unless permission for translation is given, tantras and mantra expressions are not permitted to be collected and translated" (Ishikawa, 1990, 4; Snellgrove, 1987, 443). Sometimes the perceived risk is stated explicitly: in the Ordinance (*bka' shog*) of King Ye shes 'od of approximately 985 CE, the ruler says that the false doctrine (*chos log*) of the Rdzogs chen, identified by its opponents with the tradition of the Chinese Chan monk Hva shang (< Chn. *heshang* [和尚], "monk," properly named Moheyan [摩訶衍], Mahāyāna) rejected at the so-called Bsam yas debates in the 8th century, was able to flourish in Tibet due to the deterioration of rule of law (*rgyal po'i khrims*; Karmay, 1980, 156). This statement demonstrates a conscious awareness of the role of authority and power in enforcing canonicity.

Choosing to ignore some texts is one thing. Decanonization proper concerns not the mere rejection of certain texts but their wholesale refusal. One example can be seen in the reception accorded "Old Tantras" of the Rnying ma in Tibet (see below), and again from the official prohibition against publication of a modern Burmese translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (from Kern's English; personal communication from U Bo Kay, Pagan, 1982). This differs importantly from the focus seen, for instance, in some East Asian traditions, which direct the bulk of their attention to an attenuated body of literature. Pure Land traditions such as the Japanese Jōdoshin shū (淨土眞宗) concentrate on the so-called Pure Land Triple *Sūtra*, the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtras* along with the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* (觀無量壽經; T. 365), and a few other works. But as the magnum opus of Shinran, his *Kyōgyōshinshō* (教行信證; more fully *Kenjōdo Shinjitsu Kyōgyōshō Monrui* [顯淨土眞實教行證文類]; T. 2646), replete with extensive scriptural quotations, so dramatically demonstrates, at least the masters of the tradition in no way ignored other literature. Moreover, even a rhetoric of rejection can be deceptive.

An often cited "catch phrase" of Chan Buddhism claims that it is a tradition of "A separate transmission outside the teachings; not dependent on words, it directly points to the human mind, enabling one to see one's nature and become a buddha" (教外别傳 不立文字 直指人心 見性成佛). The first line of this verse is probably earliest found in a text of 952 (in the *Zutang ji* [祖堂集; Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall]; Foulk, 1999), and only later attributed to the putative founder of Chinese Chan, Bodhidharma. What is most important, however, is that there is a historical context for this apparent rejection of scripture, or seeming radical decanonization, namely, that the claim occurs in a context of contention for court patronage, a battle the Chan lineage eventually would win. The teachings (*jiao* [教]) rejected here refer to the Tiantai lineage, and its tradition of scriptural exegesis. The Chan claim is that by creating buddhas it provides direct access to awakening and buddhahood, whereas its opponents the Tiantai offer no more than secondary and textually mediated access. However, when we recall the considerable attention given texts such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* by Chan scholars, and their own massive textual production (mocked already in the 13th cent. within the tradition through a homophonous play on *bu li wenzi* [不立文字, "not dependent on words"], reading it as 不離文字, "never separated from words"; Schlütter, 2004, 181–182), we see this famous expression of "decanonization" in a different light. The Chan tradition does not, even theoretically, reject scripture or teachings. Rather, it argues for the greater legitimacy of its own transmissions, and thus its greater qualification for state patronage and support (see Foulk, 1999, 221).

Clear examples of true decanonization may be seen in Japan, often if not always in highly polemical contexts. For example, Hōnen's (法然; 1133–1212) Pure Land followers claimed that those who recite the *Lotus Sūtra* would fall into hell (Stone, 2013, 116). Although this example focuses on the rejection of the *Lotus Sūtra*, it is the partisans of this very *sūtra* who would go the furthest. For Nichiren (日蓮; 1222–1282), it is only the *Lotus Sūtra*, and especially its chapter 16, which conveys the essence of the Buddha's awakening. But Nichiren went further still. For him, the text is so special that its very title consolidates its power, this title to be recited in the form *namu myōhō rengekyō* (南無妙法蓮華經), "Hail to the Wonderful *Lotus Sūtra*!" Nichiren, however, did not innovate this approach: a story of the 12th century tells of a Chinese Sui dynasty monk taught to recite only the *Lotus Sūtra*'s title, and while it was certainly not an exclusive practice, the oldest Japanese source for *namu myōhō rengekyō* dates to the late 9th century (Stone, 1998, 131–132). Moreover, Nichiren did not quite reject all other literature, and in fact explicitly accepted as an authority not only the Triple *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua sanbu jing* [法華三部經]; Jpn. *Hokke sambukyō*, namely, the *Lotus* along with two other texts, which precede and follow it as a triad: *Wuliangyi jing* [無量義經; Innumerable Meanings *Sūtra*; T. 276] and the *Puxian jing* [普賢經; *Sūtra* of [Meditation on] Samantabhadra; T. 277]), but also the commentaries of the Tiantai founder

Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597), the exegesis of Zhanran (湛然; 711–782), and the works of the Japanese Tendai founder Saichō (最澄; 767–822; Dolce, 1998, 235). Still, for Nichiren, a single utterance of the title of the text itself, the *daimoku* (題目), was equivalent to reciting the entire *sūtra* (Stone, 1998, 138). As he wrote,

> The five characters *Myō hō ren ge kyō* . . . are the essence of the eight volumes of the *sūtra*. Furthermore, they are the essence of the whole canon (*issaikyō*). They are the correct Law [that stands] above all buddhas and bodhisattvas. . . ." (*Hōonshō* [報恩抄], Teihon 1241, in Dolce, 1998, 240)

Nichiren's argument for the priority of the title itself is that since in editions of the *sūtra* the title is written before the opening phrase of the scripture itself, "Thus I have heard," it must be even more important, the very pith of the entire teaching.

The focus on the *daimoku* highlights another interesting and wide-spread phenomenon, namely the retention in memory, or reading and recitation, of texts which one does not necessarily understand. In fact, generally speaking, in most places and times in Buddhist history, most texts have probably not been "understood" by most who have used them. Transmission and understanding need not go hand-in-hand. A particularly interesting example is found in Tibet with the institution of the *lung*, "reading transmission." Receiving a *lung* is often a prerequisite for studying and debating the contents of a text. Sometimes such a teaching transmission is given before, other times after, the teaching of the text.

> It is clear from the importance placed on this practice that, written or oral, a text is not words or meaning alone. Texts also include sound, power, and blessings . . . During the transmission of *lung* the text is read so rapidly that conceptual grasp of it is minimal; this is a time when the spoken word must be heard, not necessarily understood. (Klein, 1994, 293)

In this practice,

> an audience receives the transmission just by hearing it. A text becomes authoritative in the act of its being recited out loud by an authorized teacher, who has himself received the transmission from his teachers and so on.

Although G. Dreyfus somewhat downplays the role of the *lung* in Dge lugs scholasticism, he emphasizes that it is more important for the Rnying ma tradition (Dreyfus, 2003, 155–156). The example of the *lung* highlights the central role of language.

Language

In receiving and transmitting sacred texts, any community, whether it "understands" a text or not, has the option of retaining the text in the language in which it is received, or of translating it into their own. Even in early India this was an issue, with the tradition deciding that local adaptation was preferable. As a result, *buddhavacana* was transmitted in a variety of linguistic forms. The original form of any teaching must, of course, have been directly comprehensible to its audience. At some point, however, and in some places, different decisions were made. Therefore, although Pali is an "artificial language," in the sense that it does not represent an actually spoken dialect of a particular time and place, being an amalgam of various sources, it is nevertheless a form of Middle Indic. However, the Pali literature transmitted to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia entered a domain which was, linguistically speaking, utterly foreign (in the case of mainland Southeast Asia, even the language family was different, Indo-European in contrast to Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman, to which belong Pyu and Burmese). The texts, however, were not translated into local languages as such, but rather retained in the form in which they were received (although interlinear or interphrasal translations [*nissaya*] and vernacular retellings of Pali sources did exist since at least the 15th cent., if not already in the 13th). Pali in Southeast Asia then takes the form of a "Church Language" (Nattier, 1990) and a prestige medium of expression. (In Sri Lanka, the process, at least according to tradition, also worked in reverse: commentaries composed in the local Sinhala language – which themselves were originally in Pali – were translated into Pali, and retained and transmitted only in the latter form.) Direct access to core Buddhist literature requires knowledge of Pali (although, as e.g. in contemporary Thailand, the pronunciation of the language may be highly localized), or one may approach the literature through vernacular retellings – of Buddha biographies, Vinaya texts, cosmologies, chronicles, and much more –through oral renditions in the context of preaching, but also through mural paintings (with captions), dramatic performances of Buddhist literature, puppet plays, and so on.

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A somewhat different model is found in Khotan, in Central Asia. According to the famous statement from the scripture anthology called the *Book of Zambasta*,

> the Khotanese do not value the Law [i.e. the Buddhist teachings] at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Law. For the Chinese the Law is in Chinese.... To the Khotanese that seems to be the Law whose meaning they do not understand at all. (Emmerick, 1968, 343–345; VI.4)

This does not mean, however, that Khotanese translations were not produced, but at least to the author(s) of the *Book of Zambasta*, these were not as respectable as texts in Indic form which, however, the Khotanese could not well understand. In contrast, as this passage states, when Buddhist texts were transmitted to China, they were translated into a form of written Chinese (often accompanied, it is clear, by oral explanation), rather than being retained in their Indic form, and the same phenomenon of translation took place in Tibet. However, once Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese, they were retained in this form as the texts were subsequently transmitted throughout East Asia. The Chinese shape of the texts thus became a second form of Church Language in Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, despite the fact that the local languages of these regions differ dramatically from Chinese. While Buddhist texts were also translated into Mongolian and Manchu, in fact these translations were carried out for political reasons, and despite the existence of Kanjurs in Mongol and Manchu, Buddhist texts were generally accessed in their, respectively, Tibetan and Chinese forms, and at least Mongol authors as a rule wrote in Tibetan as well. In the Tangut Kingdom, texts apparently circulated both in Chinese and in Tangut, a phenomenon of bilingualism (or in some cases multilingualism) we also see elsewhere.

Despite these general patterns, even in contexts in which translation is otherwise the rule, some materials were judged inherently incapable of translation. In the Chinese case in particular, this includes some significant vocabulary, including as common examples *buddha* (Chinese *fo* [佛], a loan word probably from Gandhari, through the form **but/bud*), *nirvāṇa* (*niepan* [涅槃] or *niehuan* [泥洹]), and *bhikṣu* (*biqiu* [比丘]), words which quickly became entirely absorbed into Chinese. Modern translators into Western languages have made similar choices: in English, for instance, we retain terminology such as buddha, nirvana (naturalized without diacritical marks), and so on (Jackson, 1982). In addition to the case of specific words, there is the matter of "magical formulae," *dhāraṇī*. These texts are in fact usually not understandable even in their original Indic form, at least in a normal linguistic sense; hence, it would be impossible to "translate" them as such: it is only and precisely their sound which is powerful. They were, moreover, not merely transliterated into Chinese script; at least in some cases in later Chinese imperial history, the importance of the proper pronunciation of the transcribed sounds was acknowledged, and in light of an awareness in shifts in the pronunciation of Chinese characters, the *dhāraṇīs* were rewritten in characters which would allow the proper pronunciation of the intended sounds.

When Sri Lankan lay followers recite *paritta* or protection texts, they do not, as a rule, understand the Pali they recite. When Japanese Pure Land Buddhists recite the Smaller Pure Land *Sūtra* (*Amidakyō* [阿彌陀經]), they do so in the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese translation; but since Japanese and Chinese are entirely different languages, those who recite the text cannot, with very few exceptions, understand the text they are reciting either (comp. Rambelli, 2007, 88). A further step in this process is seen in modern Buddhism, in which, for example, American followers, reading a romanized text, recite the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese translation of an Indic text. This process, however, is not new. The Dunhuang manuscripts contain a number of examples, at least as old as the 8th century, of texts written in the Chinese language, but in Tibetan script, evidently for the use of those who wished to recite texts in Chinese but who, while able to read the Tibetan script, could not read Chinese characters (Thomas & Clauson, 1927). Chinese scripture is also found in Brahmi script (Emmerick & Pulleyblank, 1993). In Japan from at least the 17th century, we have transcriptions of *sūtras* in a combination of the phonetic *katakana* script and characters, the latter however chosen entirely for the sound value in order to serve as bases for recitation (Watanabe, 2015, 328–330). Use of such objects, however, requires some familiarity with writing, even if not an ability to read Chinese as such. A further step is the so-called blind *sūtra* (*mekurakyō* [盲經], which refers not to a visual disability but to illiteracy), in which the entire text of a scripture is represented not in Chinese characters or Japanese syllabary but rather in rebus form. The first element of the title of the so-called *Heart Sūtra*, *mahā* in Sanskrit, is written 摩訶 in Chinese, pronounced *maka* in Japanese. This is represented by an image of an upside-down rice kettle, *kama*, inverted *maka*. Such a presentation serves as an aide-mémoire; one cannot read it as such, but it serves as a reminder of the sounds one is expected to produce in recitation. An early example of such a "blind *sūtra*" dates from the beginning of the 18th century (Watanabe, 2012; 2015, 331–334).

It is a very small step from individually reciting a text one does not understand to doing other things with the text that do not involve reading comprehension at all. In Tibetan areas, mass recitations of the Kanjur are undertaken, in which the entire collection is voiced, but individuals read, out loud, different texts simultaneously: the result is a cacophony. In a Sherpa community in Nepal, an abbot averred that the reason for such mass recitations, which are common, include "for rain, for the crops, for less sickness and misfortune, for peace in the villages and so that in the future, we will all be like the Buddha" (Childs, 2005, 48n3, and passim). One Japanese parallel to this mass recitation might be the *ichinichi issaikyō* (一日一切經), the group copying of the entire Buddhist canon of over 5,000 volumes in a single day (O'Neal, 2012, 122). A perhaps even closer Japanese parallel to the Tibetan mass recitation of the Kanjur is the very striking *tendokue* (轉讀會), during which the entire Chinese canon, or a section thereof (such as the Larger Perfection of Wisdom *Sūtra*), in woodblock-printed accordion-fold booklets, is "read through" by recitation of a few lines from the beginning, middle, and end of each fascicule, after which each accordion book is dramatically fanned through the air to expose all of its pages. Much more can be done with texts that does not involve reading them at all, one aspect of which has to do with their production.

In South Asia, Buddhist texts are normally written on palm leaves or birch bark and later on paper, but a variety of other surfaces have been used. Most writing was probably intended in the first case to present a readable text, but throughout the Buddhist world we find examples of many other goals as well. The "tamarind-seed" script used to write richly decorated Burmese and Mon *kammavācā* manuscripts, containing texts recited in formal acts of the saṅgha (*saṅghakamma*), clearly privileges scriptural ornamentation and the adornment of text-as-object over readability. (for examples, see the beautifully illustrated Singer, 1993). *Sūtras* were, of course, also illustrated with manuscripts adorned with painted images and woodblock prints furnished with elaborate frontispieces. In Japan a number of highly elaborated variants were developed, such as the *Kinji hōtō mandara* (金字寶塔曼荼羅), in which text is written in gold in the shape of a pagoda, the *Ichiji butsu Hokekyō* (一字佛法華經), in which each character of the *Lotus Sūtra* is accompanied by a Buddha, or the *Ichiji rendai Hokekyō* (一字蓮台法華經), in which each character of the *Lotus Sūtra* sits upon its own lotus pedestal (O'Neal, 2012).

Much has been made of the hypothesis that one key characteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its earlier Indian phases was its "cult of the book," in which worship of physical books and the places in which they were enshrined replaced an earlier focus on stūpa worship (Schopen, 1975; Drewes, 2007; Schopen, 2010). While the hypothesis in its strong form seems to go too far, Buddhist traditions in general do pay very special attention to books as physical objects, as just mentioned with respect to their preparation. After their production, they may be placed on altars, in special kinds of bookcases, within stūpas, and into images. Ritual treatment of the canon has a long history in Tibet. For example, already in 797, the emperor Mu ne btsan po "instituted the ritual worship of the Tripiṭaka at Bsam yas," the first Buddhist temple in Tibet (Skilling, 1997b, 90). The ritual placement of Kanjurs on altars is also a common feature of Tibetan monastery main halls. The display of books need not be merely static, however. While it is not known just how old revolving bookcases are, they were known in China by the 9th century (an inscription of 823 mentions *zhuanlun jingzang* [轉輪經藏], "revolving *sūtra* storehouse"; Goodrich, 1942, 133), although legendarily they go back to the mid-5th century (Goodrich, 1942, 132). The principle of their use is the same as what we find in Tibet, where so-called prayer wheels are, of course, quite famous, and may have been inspired by the Chinese model. Inside these sometimes very large, but more often handheld, devices are placed texts, usually but not always *dhāraṇīs*. The revolution of the device "substitutes" for recitation of the texts contained therein. Texts are also placed within images as part of their consecration, these objects then sometimes being explicitly considered a type of relic, not of the body of the Buddha or as a relic of use but as a relic of the dharma itself (Skt. *dharmaśarīra*; Bentor, 1995; 2003; and the striking visual documentation in 1994).

Of course, the above should not be understood to mean that Buddhists do not ever read their texts, or do not care what is written within them. They do, both in detail and collectively.

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the *Kinji hōtō mandara* (金字寶塔曼
h text is written in gold in the shape of
Ichiji butsu Hokekyō (一字佛法華經),
character of the *Lotus Sūtra* is accom-
uddha, or the *Ichiji rendai Hokekyō* (—
), in which each character of the *Lotus*
n its own lotus pedestal (O'Neal, 2012).
been made of the hypothesis that
acteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism in
ian phases was its "cult of the book,"
hip of physical books and the places
were enshrined replaced an earlier
a worship (Schopen, 1975; Drewes,
, 2010). While the hypothesis in its
ems to go too far, Buddhist traditions
ay very special attention to books as
ts, as just mentioned with respect to
ion. After their production, they may
ltars, in special kinds of bookcases,
and into images. Ritual treatment of
a long history in Tibet. For example,
the emperor Mu ne btsan po "insti-
l worship of the Tripiṭaka at Bsam
Buddhist temple in Tibet (Skilling,
ritual placement of Kanjurs on altars
n feature of Tibetan monastery main
ay of books need not be merely static,
e it is not known just how old revolv-
re, they were known in China by the
inscription of 823 mentions *zhuan-*
[轉輪經藏], "revolving *sūtra* store-
ich, 1942, 133), although legendarily
the mid-5th century (Goodrich, 1942,
iple of their use is the same as what
t, where so-called prayer wheels are,
famous, and may have been inspired
model. Inside these sometimes very
often handheld, devices are placed
ut not always *dhāraṇīs*. The revo-
evice "substitutes" for recitation of
ined therein. Texts are also placed
as part of their consecration, these
metimes being explicitly considered
not of the body of the Buddha or as
t as a relic of the dharma itself (Skt.
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tation in 1994).

e above should not be understood to
hists do not ever read their texts, or
at is written within them. They do,
d collectively.

Focused Canons or Canons within Canons

A counterpart of the exclusive focus on a small body of material, such as we see in Nichiren's exclusive focus on the *Lotus Sūtra*, is the attempt to collect a larger but still limited "functional canon," albeit in a quasi self-conscious fashion. While it is clear that "canon" is an entirely relative, rather than an absolute, concept, it is still the case that, alongside the functional canons discussed above, we find numerous more formal attempts in Buddhist history to create either what were intended to be, or might look to us like, "mini canons," subsets, as it were, of materials which were imputed special status, what might be called, "canon with the canon," an expression used, for instance, by Biblical scholars. Such formations do not necessarily imply that their creators rejected other works, much less all other works, but only that, perhaps for limited, circumstantial reasons, they felt it important to create a smaller body of work set apart, to which they paid special attention. One example of this sort of project may be the assembly of anthologies of passages, such as is found in Sanskrit with the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, while in Pali we have at least one text which assembles a small collection of whole (although compared to Mahāyāna scriptures, quite short) texts, the *Suttasaṅgaha*. It is not possible to judge whether or in what sense such anthologies are attempts at mini-canonization, but other examples are clearer. It is possible that the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection is one such case.

This grouping of 49 texts is extant as a unit only in Chinese (T. 310) and Tibetan (D 45–81/P 760), and despite the emic claim that its Chinese form represents a rendering of an Indian prototype (Pedersen, 1980, 60), it seems most likely that it was organized (finalized in 713) by its editor, Bodhiruci (?–727), although perhaps on the basis of some preexisting notion of affinity so far unknown. A number of factors suggest the collection as a Chinese creation, including the absence of any trace of the grouping of the texts in any known Indian source, and the fact that the Tibetan collection is based on that found in the Chinese *Dazangjing*, as well as the inclusion of two versions of the same text, the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra* (Kritzer, 2014; T. 310 [13, 14]), a *sūtra* which exists in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya's *Kṣudrakavastu* as well. It is very suggestive that the range of texts assembled together gives the impression of being a survey of influential earlier Mahāyāna works, including the so-called *Kāśyapaparivarta* (more properly the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*), the obvious core of the collection; the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*; the *Akṣobhyatathāgatavyūha*; the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*; and the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, among others. That several texts are dedicated to Maitreya and a number involve strong female characters (including the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda*) is very suggestive in view of the fact that, although finished only some years after her downfall, the bulk of the collection was edited and translated during the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian (武則天), the Zhou (周; 690–705) interregnum in the Tang, and it is more than plausible that a number of texts in the collection were selected for their possible associations with strong women and Maitreyan millenarianism, important tropes during the Zhou.

Other examples of "mini canon" include the *navadharma* or *navagrantha*, the Nine Dharmas of Nepalese Buddhism, a group of nine texts whose preservation is due to their ceremonial rather than any doctrinal importance in Nepal. This collection, whose fame in the West is out of proportion to its historical significance, can thus be considered a "mini canon" defined by ritual use in *maṇḍalas* and in recitations. The texts included in this category were originally the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Pañcarakṣā*, *Nāmasaṅgīti*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Samādhirāja*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Lalitavistara*, and *Laṅkāvatāra*, but at some point the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṅgīti* were replaced by the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and *Tathāgataguhya*. The last named was in its turn at some point confused with a similarly titled tantric text, the *Guhyasamāja*, this process resulting in three distinct sets of the Nine Dharmas (Skilling, 2013a, 229; Tuladhar-Douglas, 2003; 2006, 130–133). It is thanks to the ritual status of these texts in Nepal that their Sanskrit manuscripts were regularly copied, making possible their preservation until today.

De facto "mini canons" can be formed in any number of other ways as well. For example, we are fairly sure that the texts translated into Chinese, at least in earlier periods, arrived in China in an entirely unsystematic fashion. While not everything that arrived in China in manuscript or in the memory of monks made its way into Chinese translations, it was upon the basis of available materials that doctrinal systems were constructed in China. Thus, to take a very early example, the relatively limited translation output of the first translator on Chinese soil, An Shigao (安世高; late 2nd cent.), was taken to form a hermeneutical continuum (Zacchetti, forthcoming). We are, in fact, particularly poorly apprised about the supply side of the process through which Buddhist literature was brought to China. That we simply do not know what shape and content Buddhist literature had in India and Central Asia makes informed discussion of the process of adoption and adaptation in China next to impossible. For example, An Shigao prepared *Ekottarikāgama* and *Samyuktāgama* anthologies (Harrison, 1997; 2002, 24–25). While it is not unlikely that these are translations of existing anthologies, they might also represent selections made in China; in light of our ignorance of the source materials available to Chinese translators, we cannot determine the true situation.

Another factor to consider in this regard is the question how readers conceptualized the locations of texts they knew or used. Did they think of the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta* (Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Teaching, the putative first sermon of the Buddha) as part of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, or the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* as belonging to the Mahāratnakūṭa collection? We usually do not know how the placement of texts within collections was understood, although manuscript evidence suggests that in circulation texts were often grouped together entirely differently from the way in which they are arranged in formal canons. This fact is brought to the fore by the differences we confront when examining the diverse texts gathered together in single manuscripts. An example is the so-called "Mahāyāna *Sūtra* Manuscript" in the Schøyen collection (Braarvig, 2000, 63) which contained (in addition to other materials now lost) the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa*, *Pravāraṇāsūtra*, *Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśa*, and *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra*, or the manuscript from the same collection which contains together the *Vajracchedikā* and *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (Harrison & Watanabe, 2006, 95), both displaying conjunctions of texts unknown to canonical collections. Another example is the partially preserved Sanskrit *sūtra* collection which contains 20 texts (how many more were in the complete manuscript is unknown; Vinītā, 2010; Silk, 2013). Some of these texts were previously unknown, or are excerpted versions of known texts, but even when known, their arrangement is new. Another example of such an arrangement, this time however rather better known, is the collection of six *sūtras* called *ṣaṭsūtraka* that appear to have been very popular at least in Central Asia. This collection contains the *Daśottara*, *Arthavistara*, *Saṅgīti*, *Catuṣpariṣat*, *Mahāvadāna*, and *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtras*, a grouping which "appears to be based on a balanced and deliberate arrangement" (Hartmann, 2014, 144). While it may be, on the whole, better to think of the known arrangements found in canonical collections as to some extent random (albeit perhaps indeed intentional and purposive) preservations of one type than as normative, instances such as the *ṣaṭsūtraka* collection appear to serve as counter examples.

All collections start out as local, and all collections are, typologically, anthologies by nature. Therefore, it should not be surprising that what we actually encounter in specific times and places is a great variety of such combinations of sources. In most of the cases noted here, the ways in which the *sūtras* are placed together are uninstanced elsewhere. Although limited in extent, these examples suggest that the actual organization of texts was much more flexible and variable than the ordered presentations in canonical corpora would suggest.

What independent evidence we do have suggests that our picture of the scope of premodern Buddhist literature as a whole is fragmentary, perhaps radically so. A series of discoveries over the past century and a half, including the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Gilgit, in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent, the recently discovered Gandhari manuscripts from Afghanistan and Pakistan, Sanskrit manuscripts from the Silk Road and those from Tibetan collections (Harrison & Hartmann, 2014), Chinese manuscripts from the Nanatsudera (七寺) in Nagoya, Japan, and other Japanese temple archives, the multilingual treasures from the Dunhuang caves, and much, much more, give us some vibrant hints as to how much has been lost, usually without our knowing even that it once existed.

Meanings of Canon

The mere existence of Buddhist texts and even of canonical collections does not necessarily signal an interest in the corpus in itself. The case of the Manchu canon is illustrative. In this collection, the *sūtras* were translated from Chinese, the Vinaya from Tibetan. The work was ordered by the Qianlong emperor in 1772, completed around 1790, and printed by 1794. However,

> [t]here is no evidence that Buddhism was part of the Manchu religious identity before their takeover of China, and it did not play a privileged role among them in the centuries that followed it. The translation of the Buddhist canon into Manchu was one of the many imperial ges-

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> tures, both helpful and commanding, by which Buddhism was co-opted into Manchu rule. (Bingenheimer, 2012/2013, 206)

Most canon projects were probably not carried out for such blatantly and baldly political ends. Such projects often aimed at multiple goals, as described above. One of those goals was the preservation of the Buddha's liberative teaching, securing it against both loss and distortion.

One prominent purpose of preservation is connected with the ideology of the decline of the teaching (Chn. *mofa*; Jpn. *mappō* [末法]). In light of the perception, present in virtually every age, that times were difficult and getting worse, it was felt important to preserve the Dharma against its future disappearance. This led not only to copying and publication through printing, but more permanently to projects such as the inscription of scriptural corpora in stone in Chinese caves and mountainsides (Ledderose, 2005) or the ritual preservation, in Japan, primarily from the early 11th through the 12th century, of *sūtras* against the future apocalypse. Texts were placed into stūpa-shaped containers and interred. (A subset of this practice is the preparation of *gakyōzuka* [瓦經塚], roof-tile *sūtra* mounds; the inscribed roof tiles were "permanent," and therefore could remain until the coming of the next buddha, Maitreya [Muraki, 2002–2003]. In contrast, according to Theravāda ideas, all texts *must* disappear before the next buddha, Metteya, can appear.) In apparent contrast to the practice at at least some sites in China, at which complete canons were inscribed, in Japan not all *sūtras* received such treatment, but the choice was not random. The most common text treated in this manner was no doubt the *Lotus Sūtra*, often interred together with the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and the Scripture of Benevolent Kings. Occasionally, burials are found with the three Pure Land *sūtras*, or the three Maitreya *sūtras* (T. 452, 453, 456). The choice of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and the Scripture of Benevolent Kings was motivated by their close relation to the ideology of Buddhist support for the state, although somewhat later the main purpose of the practice shifted from the preservation of the teaching against the future advent of Maitreya to the production of merit toward rebirth in the paradise of Maitreya or Amitābha (Moerman, 2010). The Tibetan practice of *gter ma*, "treasure [texts]," is also palpably related to protection of the Dharma from difficult times. Such Tibetan practices are foreshadowed by the mention in the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* of the practice of the writing of copies of a text and placing it in a sealed casket, which is then hidden in a stūpa against the future destruction of the dharma (Mayer, 1996, 76–77), and by the *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (D 134/P 802; also known as the *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā*), which speaks of "treasures of the dharma . . . deposited in the interiors of mountains, caves and trees for bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas wanting the dharma, and endless dharma-teachings in book-form come into their hands," quoted in this regard for instance by the contemporary Rnying ma master Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, 743, 747, 928; Harrison, 2003, 125). In the *Pratyutpanna* the Buddha is the originator of the treasure teaching, but in the contemporary Rnying ma system it is Padmasambhava, or Samantabhadra with Padmasambhava as the medium of transmission of his teachings (Mayer, 1996, 79). The practice of *gter ma* differs from the burial of scriptures in East Asia, however, in that the latter are intended for a future aeon (*kalpa*), not for recovery in our own times. For the Rnying ma, *gter ma* serve as a source of ongoing revelation, either from the past or from buddhas outside of space and time. This type of revelation, and the claim more broadly to a certain kind of textual transmission, is not universally welcomed in Tibet, however, and while some schools like the Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud, and some Sa skyas and Dge lugs accepted the Rnying ma collections into the canon, others did not, holding the Rnying ma *tantras* to be "apocryphal" (Mayer, 1996, 14).

It is not only in Tibet that there is a culture of ongoing scripture production. This continues at least into the Medieval period in a variety of regions in Buddhist Asia. In 13th-century Korea we find a dialogue between the monks Wŏnsan (元昰) and Naksŏ (樂西) presented in a text titled *Hyŏnhaeng sŏbang kyŏng* (現行西方經), that is, the work is labeled with the word which normally signifies "*sūtra*" (經), even though it purports to record a historical discussion between two monks; the Buddha does not appear at all (Yamanaka Yukio, 2009; Han Taesik, 1996). (Such usage is, however, not entirely uninstanced earlier: the *Milindapañha*, for example, was translated into Chinese under the title *Naxian biqiu jing* [那先比丘經; T. 1670B].) Similar texts include the *Samsipp'al pun kongdŏk sogyŏng* (三十八分功德疏經) and the *Yŏmbul inyu gyŏng* (念佛因由經), all advocating a Pure Land approach to salvation. Other examples of ongoing scripture production in East Asia must include the so-called Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth [Chan] Patriarch (*Liuzu tanjing* [六祖壇經]), probably originally composed in the 8th century, but heavily revised and supplemented in following centuries (Schlütter & Teiser, 2012). This text, as the Korean works, despite its title does not resemble a traditional *sūtra* in respect to its formal structure, personae, and so on. In other regions, scripture production also continued, although formally speaking in somewhat more traditional form, in that the products looked more like traditional *sūtras*. As mentioned above, in Southeast Asia, scriptures continued to be produced in Pali, only a few examples of which have been studied so far (Hallisey, 1990; 1993; Skilling in Harrison & Hartmann, 2014, 355–361), but these closely resemble other *suttas* in the otherwise accepted Pali canon. (Likewise, commentarial literature, much of which for the tradition was equally "canonical," also continued to be produced.)

In China from a relatively early period there was a vibrant production of revelation, presented as *sūtra*, and accessed in a variety of ways: genuine teachings of the Buddha could have been learnt in a former life and spontaneously recalled and chanted; they could have been heard in a dream or presented by a god who, long-lived, heard the preaching in question directly from the Buddha in India, or from the future buddha Maitreya, now a bodhisattva in his heaven Tuṣita. This type of access, which cannot but appear to us highly shamanic, transcends gender boundaries, and a number of the documented cases involve young female oracles (Campany, 1993). This type of scriptural revelation was often perceived as dangerous, though this response is not universal. One fear was that contemporary political issues could be addressed in the guise of, and with the authority of, the Buddha's teachings. We see the reactions most clearly in the work of the normative bibliographers, in which, alongside the political context, doctrinal concerns can also be particularly visible.

> [U]nlike many other scripture cataloguers, Daoxuan [道宣; 596–667; author of the *Datang neidian lu* (大唐内典録); T. 2149] was most likely to label texts suspicious or spurious not because of their indigenous origin but because of what he regarded as their popularizing contents. Texts which catered to the interests of non-elite Buddhists by adapting doctrine to fit the capacities of common people were, in his eyes, suspect. (Campany, 1993, 12)

From a different perspective, and in a much later period, the monk Qisong (契嵩; 1007–1072), thinking this was the best way to assure preservation of such works, campaigned for the inclusion of Chan texts into Imperially sponsored collections, following on earlier successful arguments for the inclusion, for instance, of several Chan lineage works and the works of Zhiyi, the Tiantai founder (Morrison, 2010, 146). Similar debates are recorded elsewhere. In Tibet, Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) in his *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* (Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes) speaks of *sūtras* which, he says, were composed by Tibetans, and therefore are not to be accepted (Rhoton, 2002, 167, vs. 539). For Sa skya Paṇḍita there are five types of inauthentic works: (1) volumes recovered from hidden caches, (2) religious traditions stolen from others, (3) doctrines one has composed [oneself], (4) doctrines based on dreams, and (5) doctrines which had been [merely?] memorized (Jackson, 1994, 105–116). It is interesting, however, to note that the same author's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, a Tibetan composition, is called in all editions *Pramāṇayuktinidhi* (van der Kuijp, 2014, 172), which perhaps reinforces rather than challenges the value which the author placed on Indian origins. To ascribe a Sanskrit title to a work is not necessarily to claim for it Indian authorship, but it certainly is a strong indication of the authority and charisma attached in Tibet to both the Sanskrit language and to Indianness. For this reason, Tibetan scripture catalogues regularly offer Sanskrit titles for works, including those modern scholarship determines to have no genuine Indian origin at all, such as works composed in China or in Tibet itself. This tradition continues into modernity, and one all too often encounters entirely spurious Indic titles for non-Indic works, one classic example being the citation of the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* as **Amitāyurdhyānasūtra*, a pure fiction. This is, however, not the only form of fiction imposed by modern scholarship.

Into the Present

Modern editions can promote a form of canonization which, while seemingly scientific, is as ideological as any traditional system. The laudable and much appreciated efforts of the Pali Text Society since 1881 to produce editions of Pali texts, and accompanying English translations, have, however, resulted in a tacit concealment of the complexity of the historical textual situation (and a normative definition of the scope of the canonical). As was inevitable, the first editions were produced on the basis of the narrow available textual basis. Yet, after more than a century, very few of these have been replaced with scientifically established editions (despite the existence of, e.g. numerous Thai and

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stence of, e.g. numerous Thai and

Burmese editions, not to mention manuscripts), and comparatively little attention has been paid to "extra-canonical" materials. A different but equally clear case is that of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), published between 1922/24–1934 at the astonishing rate of one volume a month. This edition, while based of course on Chinese canons, rearranged texts – which in traditional *Dazangjing* editions were organized as discussed above – into a putatively chronological sequence, entirely disrupting and effacing the indigenous ordering. On the other hand, the Taishō edition is traditional in that, like many earlier canons produced in China, it continues to include materials not found in other canons, including texts which were earlier explicitly decanonized, such as those found in the Dunhuang caves (included mostly in volume 85), and works written in Japan. During the same or a similar period, other large-scale projects were also undertaken in Japan to collect, and in some cases translate, Chinese and/or Japanese Buddhist literature. Examples include the *Nihon Daizōkyō* ([日本大藏經]; 48 vols. between 1914–1921); *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho* ([大日本佛教全書]; 150 vols. between 1912–1922); *Kokuyaku Daizōkyō* ([國譯大藏經]; 30 vols. between 1917–1928); *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* ([國譯一切經]; 155 vols. between 1930–1936, and another 66 volumes of Chinese texts between 1936–1944); and *Kokuyaku Nanden Daizōkyō* ([國譯南傳大藏經]; from Pali; 65 vols. between 1935–1941; Stone, 1990, 227). A further step still toward a modern canonization can be seen in projects of individual sects in Japan to publish the "collected works" of the sect, such as the *Shinshū Zensho* (眞宗全書; 74 vols. between 1913–1917), *Shinshū Taikei* (眞宗大系; 37 vols. between 1917–1925); *Jōdoshū Zensho* (淨土宗全書; 22 vols. between 1928–1936); *Sōtōshū Zensho* (曹洞宗全書; 20 vols. between 1929–1935); *Shingonshū Zensho* (眞言宗全書; 44 vols. between 1933–1939); *Tendaishū Zensho* (天台宗全書; 25 vols. between 1935–1950), and so on. Other efforts are even more explicitly "canonizing," such as the publication of the self-consciously normative *Sōtō kyōkai shushōgi* (曹洞教会修証義; Meaning of Practice and Verification for the Sōtō Sect Teaching Assembly), published at the end of the 19th century and subject to an extraordinary degree of well-documented debate (LoBreglio, 2009). It is important to notice that publication and canonization, while certainly related, are not the same processes, nor even on the same logical level: the latter must precede the former, even if it does so primarily implicitly, as in most of the cases noted above.

Modern scientific editions and studies of Buddhist literature approach the history of texts in a way unique in Buddhist history, in that they are often avowedly non-sectarian, and confront and juxtapose witnesses which, historically speaking, were never in contact with one another. As an example, a modern edition of the *Dharmapada* may align versions of a verse in Pali, Sanskrit, Middle Indic, Chinese, and Tibetan, mixing sources which belonged to distinct sectarian lineages and stem from different places and times. While this can promote a sophisticated diachronic view of Buddhist literature, highlighting textual history and variety, it also runs the risk of creating a new and unprecedented form of imagining the Buddhist literary tradition, one which synchronically conflates historically distinct evidence. In the quest to better understand not only what texts say but also what they mean, it is certainly advantageous to draw upon the largest and best body of evidence possible. One result of such studies is also the preparation of accessible versions of texts, including translations into modern languages.

In Japan until relatively recently, despite the fact that Japanese cannot read Chinese without considerable training, there was little tradition of translating Buddhist texts into modern Japanese, and projects such as the just mentioned *Kokuyaku Daizōkyō* are less translations than grammatical reading guides to the base Chinese text. These remain inaccessible to most Japanese (although at the time they were produced they were no doubt quite readable by their target audience of scholars). There is probably still a sense in Japan that the authentic language of scripture is Chinese, despite the existence since at least 1905 of a sort of "Buddhist Bible" in the modern language (*Bukkyō Seiten* [佛教聖典], lit. Buddhist Holy Texts; Maeda & Nanjō, 1905), followed by several similar efforts. Since the 1970s, with the publication of the series Daijō Butten (大乗仏典; Nagao, 1973–1976), there has been an increasing trend for modern translations, not only from faith-based groups but also among scholars. The same trends can be seen in the West, as it were in the opposite direction, with most earlier translations produced by and for scholars, while more recently and at an increasing rate, faith-based translations have appeared. Some anthologies were published quite early, such as S. Beal's *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* (1871), or the English-language *Buddhist Bible* of D. Goddard (privately published in 1932, more formally in 1938), interesting among other things for the explicit canonizing intent of its title. In this regard we should note the observation of F. De Simini and F. Sferra (forthcoming) that early modern efforts to translate Buddhist texts into Latin in Europe (such as the *Dhammapada* of Fausbøll, 1855) were at least in part motivated by the idea of legitimately setting them beside other "canonical" classics, by definition those of the Classical world. Efforts are not only continuing, but surely growing in volume and scope, to render Buddhist scriptures into modern languages. Alongside many translations of, for instance, classic Tibetan works, often accompanied by contemporary commentaries of living teachers, at present there are at least two major canon-scale projects, the 84000 (http://84000.co; the reference is to the mythical number of the Buddha's teachings), which aims in principle to translate the entire Derge Kanjur into English, and the project of the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai to translate the Taishō Tripiṭaka into English, the BDK Tripiṭaka Translation Series, as well as projects devoted to translation into other languages (Chinese, Thai, and so on).

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Tripiṭaka

Tripiṭaka is the title of the collection of Buddhist canonical scriptures in three parts: rules for the Buddhist monks and nuns (Vinaya), discourses of the Buddha (Sūtra), and texts on things relating to the teaching (Abhidharma). Only the Tripiṭakas extant in Indian languages are dealt with in the following mostly under formal aspects. For the Chinese and Tibetan Tripiṭakas, see the articles "Dazangjing" and "Kanjur/Tanjur," and for details of the content, see "Vinaya," "Āgama/Nikāya," and "Abhidharma" (bibliographical survey: Grönbold, 1984; Oberlies, 2003).

Tripiṭaka is a Sanskrit word (Pal. Tipiṭaka) used by Buddhists and Jainas to describe the divisions of their canonical scriptures. In spite of the straightforward translation of the word Tripiṭaka/Tipiṭaka ([A Unit of] Three Baskets), it is not clear why this division was chosen. Various explanations have been put forward (Winternitz, 1913, 8n1). Moreover, the Danish pioneer of Pali studies, C.V. Trenckner, pointed out that the oral Vedic tradition is once called *piṭakasampadāya* (a tradition [like (?)] baskets; MN I.520.5; II.169.13; Trenckner, 1908, 119; comp. Eltschinger, forthcoming, § 1.4 with n43). This is perhaps to be understood as a simile: "handed down like a basket from one worker to the next when digging the earth(?)." At any rate, this paragraph in the *Majjhimanikāya* underlines that the word *piṭaka* was used to describe text traditions by different communities. Various collections of Buddhist texts called "*piṭaka*" are discussed by P. Skilling (2009 [2013], 201; comp. Pagel, 1995).

Besides Tripiṭaka, there is a second principle to arrange the scriptures also known and used by Buddhists and Jainas alike, when the canon is divided into *aṅga*s (limbs). While the Buddhists ultimately gave up the division into *aṅga*s and preferred the *piṭaka* division, the Jainas did the opposite, opted for the *aṅga*s, and only rarely employed *duvālasaṅga gaṇipiḍaga* (Ardhamāgadhī; the basket of the teacher containing 12 *aṅga*s; Schubring, 1935, § 37).

As the principle of a division of texts into *aṅga*s was also applied to Vedic literature to arrange the exegetical appendices to the Veda into the six *vedāṅga*s (limbs, i.e. appendices, to the Veda), it was perhaps common at the end of the Vedic period when Buddhism and Jainism originated.

Only three *aṅga*s are mentioned in the earliest occurrence of this text division (von Hinüber, 1994b) in the *Majjhimanikāya: suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ* (MN III.115.18) arranged as formulas (2+2+5) are in the oral tradition of Buddhist texts (von Hinüber, 1994a). The number of *aṅga*s was expanded soon by adding *abbhutadhamma*: *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ abbhutadhamma* (2+2+5+5).

To understand the meaning of these terms, it is necessary to recall that within the Theravāda Tipiṭaka, *sutta* and *suttanta* are two distinct designations, the former referring to the *Pātimokkha*, the only "true" *sutta* (Skt. *sūtra*) text in the canon, while *suttanta*, side by side with the perhaps earlier terms *veyyākaraṇa* (explanation) or *dhammapariyāya* (discourse on the teaching), designates the individual texts in the *nikāya*s. Within the *aṅga*s, the word *veyyākaraṇa* was preferred to *dhammapariyāya* (six syllables), because the latter is longer than *abbhutadhamma* (five syllables) and therefore does not fit into the formula from a rhythmic point of view. The term *geyya* (what is to be sung/recited) is a very rare word even in the Vedic language and probably was obsolete at an early date. It occurs in the Theravāda Tipiṭaka only in this formula obviously referring to verse texts. Lastly, *abbhutadhamma* (wonderful things [events]) seems to comprise early texts concerning the life of the Buddha such as the *Acchariyabbhutadhammasuttanta, Majjhimanikāya* 123 (no. 123; MN III.118–124), describing the descent of the Bodhisatva from the Tusita heaven and the subsequent events until his birth.

Consequently, this is a systematic enumeration, because all four terms refer to groups or categories of texts. In course of time, though still at a very early date, the sequence of four *aṅga*s was expanded in different ways, when various individual texts were added. This process destroyed the formulaic structure of the enumeration: *sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma, vedalla* (2+2+5/2+3+5/3+5+3). Perhaps another formula is added with *gāthā udāna itivuttaka* (2+3+5), where *gāthā* (verse), a term borrowed from Vedic literature (Horsch, 1966), might replace the perhaps outdated *geyya*, while *udāna* can refer to the text of that name or to a class of "utterances" and

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itivuttaka to a collection of *suttantas*, both found in the *Khuddakanikāya*. The inclusion of *jātaka* confirms the high age and early popularity of “birth stories” of the Bodhisatva, while the exact meaning and etymology of *vedalla* (Skt. *vaipulya*) is obscure (for different attempts to explain this word, see Skilling, 2013, 84). The enumeration of the nine *aṅgas* is found only in the Vinaya, the *Majjhimanikāya*, and the *Aṅguttaranikāya*.

Formulations in canonical texts such as “he masters the *dhamma*,” explained by the list of the nine *aṅgas*, demonstrate that, at an early date, the *aṅgas* – the expression *navaṅga* (nine *aṅgas*) occurs only in later canonical texts – once comprised the complete corpus of Buddhist literature. Therefore, it does not seem unlikely that at least the three or four *aṅgas* date back to the period of the “pre-canonical language” (*langue précanonique*) postulated by S. Lévi (1863–1935; see Lévi, 1912), and consequently, they represent the pre-canonical text structure. Once the nine *aṅgas* were superseded by Tripiṭaka/Tipiṭaka as the predominant principle of arranging texts, their original meaning was soon forgotten in spite of the fact that the list of *aṅgas* was expanded even further, finally into 12 limbs (Lamotte, 1980, 2281–2305), perhaps following the Jaina model(?). The original meaning of the *aṅgas* – particularly that both text divisions *aṅga* and T(r)ipiṭaka are mutually exclusive, one replacing the other – was forgotten very early. Therefore all attempts, ancient or modern, to harmonize the two divisions in order to explain their origin are doomed to failure.

In canonical Theravāda literature, the word *tipiṭaka* occurs only once in a late appendix to the Vinaya, the *Parivāra* (1st cent. CE[?]) in an enumeration of 30 Vinaya teachers, who handed down this text in Ceylon. The 14th is Khema Tipeṭaka (“Khema Who Knows the Tipiṭaka”; Vin V.3.14). Moreover, *piṭaka* as a text division is mentioned in the *uddāna* (summary of content; see below) to chapter 11 in the *Cullavagga* of the *Khandhaka* (Vin II.293.5), which, however, may also be a later addition to the text. In noncanonical literature, the first reference is in the *Milindapañha*, where the monk Nāgasena is said to have grasped the complete “word of the Buddha as arranged in the Tipiṭaka” (*tepiṭakaṃ buddhavacanaṃ*; Mil 18.10) after one single instruction, and all the monks accompanying him were also versed in either the Tipiṭaka or at least four or five *nikāyas* (Mil 22.10).

The first roughly datable references to *tipiṭaka* are, however, found in the Bharhut inscriptions dating from the 2nd century BCE (Lüders, 1963, 37, no. A56), where a monk is called *peṭakin* (versed in the [Tri]piṭaka), while a *trepiṭikā* (a nun versed in the Tripiṭaka) appears in an inscription from around 100 CE (Lüders, 1941, 175; Lamotte, 1958, 164). Most likely, the change from *aṅga* to *tipiṭaka* had taken place long before the 2nd century BCE, according to the Buddhist tradition already during the first council as described in the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Dīp IV.14–16), where it is said that the *aṅga* division was superseded at that occasion when the Vinaya texts were recited by Upāli and the texts of four *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka/Sūtrapiṭaka* by Ānanda respectively.

This, at the same time, may be considered the beginning of the *bhāṇaka* (reciter) tradition, a term designating monks specializing in different parts of the *Suttapiṭaka*. The first *bhāṇaka* of the *Dīghanikāya* was Ānanda himself, of the *Majjhimanikāya* the pupils of the deceased Sāriputta, of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Mahākassapa, the leader of the first council, and of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* Anuruddha (von Hinüber, 1996, § 228); there were, moreover, also *Jātakabhāṇakas* (Adikaram, 1946, 25). The *bhāṇaka* traditions seem to have lost their importance when Buddhaghosa composed his commentaries on the four *nikāyas*, although texts continued to be memorized and recited.

During the period of oral text transmission, the texts were also divided into *bhāṇavāras* (units of recitation) comprising eight thousand syllables (Pal. *akkhara*; Skt. *akṣara*) equaling 250 “texts” (*ganthas*) with 32 syllables each, which equals one verse in the *śloka* meter (4x8 syllables). The *bhāṇavāras* are, however, kept even in the manuscript tradition to determine the length of texts with, for example, the *Dīghanikāya* comprising 64 *bhāṇavāras* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 12n29). In order to facilitate memorizing voluminous texts, some were handed down in a compressed form such as *Dīghanikāya* no. 14 with *Mahāpadānasuttanta* abbreviated into three *bhāṇavāras*, which can be expanded to 21 or even 2,600 (!) *bhāṇavāras*. Consequently, this *suttanta* is considered the “king of *suttantas*” (*suttantarājā*; von Hinüber, 1996, § 237). Furthermore, a large part of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* is handed down only as a “skeleton text” that can be expanded from certain key words (von Hinüber, 1996, § 70); a complicated method is used to expand Vinaya texts. Among all texts of the Tipiṭaka, the *Paṭṭhāna* in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* is considered the longest with an incalculable number of *bhāṇavāras*, because it can be expanded almost infinitely (von Hinüber, 1996, § 154).

The correct arrangement of the huge mass of texts was guaranteed particularly during the period of oral text transmission by using *uddānas*, which are lists of key words referring to *suttantas* or parts thereof arranged in verses: "The *uddāna* verses were inserted by the participants of the (first) council in order to help the monks studying the Vinaya to learn more easily" (Sp 272.4). Thus, for example, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is divided into *vastus* (chapters); within the *vastus*, *piṇḍoddānas* (core *uddānas*) containing key words extracted from *uddānas* fix the correct sequence of texts. Occasionally *antaroddānas* (inner *uddānas*) refer to the arrangement of individual chapters (von Hinüber, 2003/2009, 222ff. /944ff.).

At an uncertain but later date, an inventory of the complete Theravāda Tipiṭaka was prepared in Southeast Asia(?), the *Piṭakamālā* (Garland of the Piṭakas), which enumerates all texts of the Tipiṭaka down to even the shortest *suttanta* (Pakdeekham, 2011; see also Borsani, 1942).

The report of the first council mentions neither the fifth *nikāya* (*Khuddakanikāya*) nor the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. The first trace of the fifth *nikāya* is preserved in an inscription at Sanchi: *pa(ṃ)canekāyika* (versed in five *nikāyas*; Lüders, 1941, 175), while Abhidhamma specialists (*ābhidhammika*) are first mentioned in the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Milindapañha*.

Once there was a complete set of the Tripiṭaka, it could be and was compared to the three Vedas of the Brahmanic tradition (*Ṛgveda, Yajurveda,* and *Sāmaveda*): *tayo vedā viya… tīṇi piṭakāni* (the three Piṭakas are like the three Vedas; Ps I 195 138,5 [commentary on MN no. 5 Anaṅgaṇa-s]) or *tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ uggahaṇaṃ tiṇṇaṃ piṭakānaṃ uggahaṇaṃ* (learning the three Vedas, learning the three Piṭakas; Buddhaghosa, Vism 384.3). It is even claimed that at the time of the Buddha Kassapa (Skt. Kāśyapa), the content of the Tripiṭaka and of the three Vedas was identical, and only later Brahmans introduced contradictions to the *buddhavacana* into the Vedic texts (Sv 273.31–34).

The arrangement of the Tripiṭaka varies from school to school. The only complete Tipiṭaka extant in an Indian language is that of the Theravāda Buddhists, which is preserved in Pali in Ceylon and Southeast Asia (Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia). In this tradition, the first part of the Tipiṭaka is the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Basket of the Discipline) divided into two parts to which the *Parivāra* (Appendix [?]) is added as a kind of handbook (von Hinüber, 1996, § 12). The *Vinayapiṭaka* begins with the *Suttavibhaṅga* (Exposition of the [*Pātimokkha*] *sutta*). *Pātimokkha* as the title of a set of rules is derived from Pali *pātimokkhuddesa*, perhaps meaning "obligatory recitation" originally (von Hinüber, 1985, 61).

The *Pātimokkha*, or *Prātimokṣa(sūtra)* of the schools using Sanskrit, is divided into seven groups of rules arranged according to the gravity of offences:

1. offences entailing expulsion from the saṅgha: *pārājika* (What Leads to Expulsion; derived from Vedic *parā + aj-*, to chase away);
2. offences entailing temporary suspension: *saṃghādisesa* (Where the *Saṃgha* is the Beginning and the End [(? i.e. Decides]; von Hinüber, 1995, 9);
3. undetermined offences: *aniyata* (Undetermined);
4. offences entailing giving up possessions: *nissaggiya* (What Ought to Be Abandoned);
5. offences entailing atonement: *pācittiya* (What Entails Atonement; derived from Vedic *prāyaścitta*, expiation);
6. offences that need confession: *pāṭidesanīya* (What Ought to Be Indicated); and
7. offences concerning correct behavior: *sekhiya* (What Needs Training)
8. The last part is called *adhikaraṇasamatha* (Settlement of Legal Questions) and does not contain rules of conduct but an enumeration of legal procedures (for the corresponding Skt. terms, see von Hinüber, 1985, 67).

The *Pātimokkha* for nuns runs parallel to that for the monks but contains many additional rules.

The text of the *Pātimokkha* is embedded in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, where all rules are introduced by a story, which gives the background for laying down the rule. Not all stories really fit the following rule in the Theravāda tradition (Schlingloff, 1964) and, moreover, Vinayas of different schools may attach different stories to the same rule. Both point to a certain distance in time between rule and story. After a rule is formulated in its final form, it is commented on. The meaning of individual words of the rules is explained, and different applications of the rule are enumerated in a casuistry. At the end, the conditions are given under which there is no offence.

The *Pātimokkha* is generally ranked among the older texts in the Buddhist canon. Still, it is possible to trace the development of the shape of the *Pātimokkha* over a period of time (von Hinüber, 1999; 2001).

The second part of the *Vinayapiṭaka* is the *Khandhaka*, called *Vinayavastu* in Sanskrit. The *Khandhaka* is divided into the *Mahāvagga* (Great Section) and *Cullavagga* (Small Section), both

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equally divided into ten chapters. The starting point of the *Mahāvagga* is the enlightenment of the Buddha. After beginning to teach at Sarnath, the Buddha lays down the rules for ordination to establish the community of Buddhist monks. At the end of the *Cullavagga*, there is a chapter on the foundation of the order of nuns, which in all probability happened only after the death of the Buddha (von Hinüber, 2008a), followed by two appendices (chs. 11 and 12) describing events also occurring after the nirvāṇa: the story of the first council at Rājagaha (Skt. Rājagṛha) and the second at Vesāli (Skt. Vaiśālī). Thus the plan according to which the *Khandhaka* was built seems to be a description of the sequence of events from the enlightenment up to the second council. If this explanation of the *Khandhaka*'s structure is correct, this is the first attempt in ancient India to compile a large structured textual unit with innumerable small texts embedded (see below on the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*).

The *Khandhaka*/*Vinayavastu* of the different schools was investigated by E. Frauwallner (1956), who provided a still very useful survey of the texts. E. Frauwallner surmised that the *Khandhaka* may have been structured following a model from Vedic literature, particularly the Brāhmaṇas, which also collect many separate small texts putting them together without, however, any overarching structure as found in the Vinaya. Some of the results of E. Frauwallner's pioneering investigations need correction or improvement (Lamotte, 1958, 195; Clarke, 2004).

The largest Vinaya text that survives in Sanskrit is a substantial part of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* discovered in Naupur near Gilgit in 1931 (Wille, 1990; Clarke, 2014). Numerous but generally small Sanskrit fragments – particularly of the *Sarvāstivāda*, but also of the *Dharmagupta* Vinayas – were recovered from Central Asia. The *Mahāsāṃghikalokottaravāda* version of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is extant in a Sanskrit manuscript preserved in Tibet (Tatia, 1975) and in fragments from Afghanistan (Karashima, 2013) besides fragments from the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (von Hinüber, 1986) and the *Mahāvastu* preserved in Nepal (Tournier, 2012).

While the *Suttapiṭaka* is the second part of the Tipiṭaka in the Theravāda tradition, the canon of most schools begins with the *Sūtrapiṭaka* (Lamotte, 1958, 164ff./149ff.). The subdivision of the *Suttapiṭaka*/*Sūtrapiṭaka* found in all schools are the four *nikāyas* (groups [of texts]) in Thervavāda, and *āgama* (tradition) in other schools, though neither is the term *āgama* totally alien to Theravāda literature, nor is *nikāya* to the Sanskrit tradition (Tournier, 2014, 25n95). The fifth *nikāya*, the *Khuddakanikāya* (Skt. *Kṣudrakāgama*; Group [Skt. Tradition] of Small Texts), is a later collection that did not find universal recognition as part of the *Suttapiṭaka*. Its content and position consequently vary from school to school. In the following, the structure of the *nikāyas* is described following mainly the Theravāda tradition, in which all five *nikāyas* are completely preserved in their original Indian language. Fragments of texts from various *nikāyas* are extant in Gandhari (Allon, 2008) and in Sanskrit from Turfan and Gilgit.

The four collections of *suttantas* are the *Dīghanikāya*/*Dīrghāgama* (Group/Tradition of Long Texts), *Majjhimanikāya* / *Madhyamāgama* (Group/Tradition of Middle[-length] Texts), *Saṃyuttanikāya*/*Saṃyuktāgama* (Group/Tradition of Connected Texts), *Aṅguttaranikāya*/*Ekottarik* (or *Ekottar*) *āgama* (Group/Tradition of Texts [Arranged according to an] Increasing [Number of] Items).

The *Dīghanikāya* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 52–62) comprises 34 *suttantas* divided into three groups: the *Sīlakkhandhavagga* (Section [*vagga*] of the Collection [*khandha*] on Good Behavior [*sīla*]) comprises *suttantas* 1–13, followed by the *Mahāvagga* (Great Section); *suttantas* 14–23) and the *Pāṭikavagga* (Section Beginning with the *Pāṭika*[*suttanta*]; *suttantas* 24–34). The individual *suttantas* begin regularly by *evaṃ me sutaṃ* in Pali (thus I have heard; Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*; Klaus, 2007; on the *Itivuttaka*, see below). The person speaking is Ānanda, who “heard” the texts immediately from the Buddha himself, and who, according to tradition, answers the questions of Mahākassapa (Skt. Mahākāśyapa) during the first council at Rājagaha (Skt. Rājagṛha). This introduction called *nidāna* (ground) of the *suttanta* continues with a place name, very often Sāvatthi (Skt. Śrāvastī), followed by the name of a monastery or other locations where the Buddha was staying while delivering a discourse. An ancient form of the *nidāna* preserved only in the Theravāda tradition gives the place name using a particular formulation found otherwise only in Vedic texts and mentioning Brahman villages (never towns) without ever giving the name of a monastery. Obviously, this points to a very early stage of the text formation (von Hinüber, 2006).

The middle part of the *suttantas* (and Vinaya texts) contains conversations among different persons with the Buddha as the prominent interlocutor.

In this way, they seem to mirror the early oral text formation by creating a "fictitious orality" (von Hinüber, 1996, § 55).

The end of the *suttantas* is less formalized than the beginning and may contain formulations such as "thus spoke the Buddha (or a monk, who delivered the discourse). Delighted, the monks (or a person addressed in the text) approved to what the Buddha said." Sometimes, the Buddha names the title of a discourse, for example, *Brahmajāla* (DN no. 1) but never *Brahmajālasuttanta*.

The first section of the *Dīghanikāya* contains many debates (Manné, 1990; 1992), while the second preserves texts on the Buddha legend and on his death in the long *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* (DN no. 16; Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*), of which also substantial Sanskrit fragments exist (Waldschmidt, 1951). This *sūtra* is the first attempt in ancient India to create a long literary composition (von Hinüber, 1996, § 60). A text unusual in many ways is *Sakkapañhasuttanta* no. 21 (The Discourse on Sakka's [Indra's] Questions). The location of the discourse in the Indasālaguhā near Rājagaha is described with unusual precision. To please the Buddha, the *gandhabba* (celestial musician; Skt. *gandharva*) Pañcasikha sings a very erotic love song of which the Buddha enthusiastically approves (fig. 1).

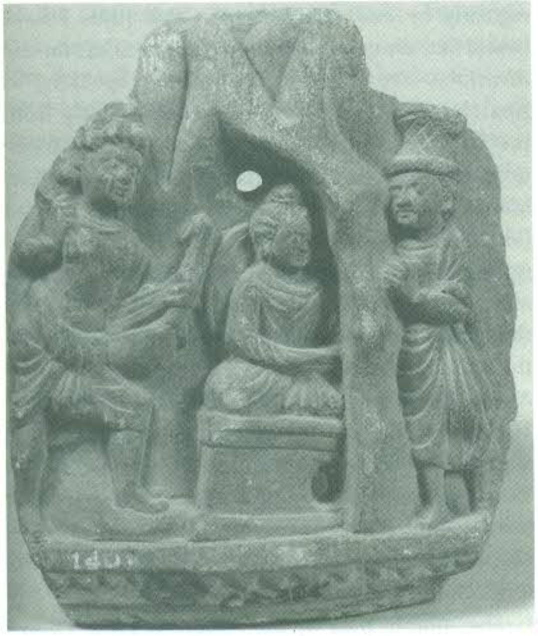

Figure 1: The musician Pañcasikha (left) and Indra (right, wearing his typical crown) before the Buddha meditating in the Indasālaguhā near Rājagaha. Gandhara, 3rd century CE.

The last two *suttantas* – no. 33, *Saṅgītisuttanta* (Communal Recitation), and no. 34, *Dasuttarasuttanta* ([Groups of Concepts] Ending [in the Group of] Ten) – comprise basic concepts of Buddhism and can be understood as one of the roots of the Abhidhamma texts (Anālayo, 2014).

The 152 *suttantas* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 63–68) are organized as three units: the *Mūlapaṇṇāsa* (Basic Group of 50), *Majjhimapaṇṇāsa* (Middle Group of 50), and *Uparipaṇṇāsa* (Additional Group of 50). The content of the *Majjhimanikāya* is much more varied than that of the *Dīghanikāya* with only a few debates. Some texts are ascribed to pupils of the Buddha and were spoken only after the nirvāṇa (nos. 84, 94, and 124). It is sometimes surmised that the texts of the *Majjhimanikāya* were meant to instruct converts (Franke, 1915; Manné, 1990, 71, 78ff.).

The texts preserved in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* are much shorter. The exact number of *suttantas* in both these *nikāyas* is difficult to determine, because the traditional numbers (7762 for SN and 9557 for AN) cannot be verified (von Hinüber, 1996, § 48; 2013, XXVIII).

The *Saṃyuttanikāya* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 69–75) contains five sections (*vaggas*). The first one, the *Sagāthavagga* (Section [Containing Texts] Accompanied by Verses) comprises partly very old material presented in the diction of the Vedic texts. In sections 2–5 (*Nidānavagga* [Section Explaining the *Nidāna* (i.e. the *paṭiccasamuppāda*, dependent origination)]; *Khandhavagga* [Section Explaining the (Five) *Khandhas*]; *Saḷāyatanavagga* [Section Explaining the Six Sense Organs with Their Objects]; and *Mahāvagga* [Great Section]), technical matters of the *dhamma* are discussed.

The *Aṅguttaranikāya* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 76–82), which is rarely also called *Ekuttara* (One More) in Pali, enumerates sets of concepts beginning with one item and ending with 11. Consequently, it is divided into 11 chapters (*nipātas*) beginning with the *Ekanipāta* (Chapter of Ones) and ending with the *Ekādasakanipāta* (Chapter of Elevens). However, this system works only up to the *Pañcakanipāta* (Chapter of Fives), because in later parts, the necessary number is often reached only by adding up groups of 3+3 or even 3+3+3+2. Originally, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* seems to have ended with the *Dasakanipāta* (Chapter of the Tens; von Hinüber, 1996, § 77). The inner structure of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* differs considerably from the preceding three *nikāyas*. Although the form of a *suttanta* is preserved by introducing the text with a

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nidāna (often only one *nidāna* at the beginning of a *nipāta*), the text consists basically of enumerations.

The structures of *Dīghanikāya* and *Majjhimanikāya* are similar as two collections of long *suttantas*. In contrast, the individual texts of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (with the exception of the *Sagāthavagga*) and the *Aṅguttaranikāya* are often rather brief and follow a standardized pattern (von Hinüber, 1996, § 83). In the *nidānas* of these *nikāyas*, the city Sāvatthi is prominent (736 times in SN) in contrast to the *Dīghanikāya*, where there are even texts repeated almost *verbatim* with only the names of persons and the location where the *suttanta* was spoken by the Buddha being changed (von Hinüber, 1996, § 57). This was perhaps done to avoid conflicts and to enhance acceptance, if different traditions existed in various Buddhist communities that a specific *suttanta* originated with them. In later times, beginning with the standardized *suttantas* of *Aṅguttaranikāya* and *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the location became less and less important, and Sāvatthi could be inserted everywhere (Schopen, 1997).

The *Khuddakanikāya* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 84–128, also for editions and translations) comprises a large variety of texts in prose or verse. The sequence and the number of texts included in this *nikāya* were and are a matter of controversy (von Hinüber, 1996, § 85); titles and arrangement of individual texts differ in various Buddhist schools (Bechert, 1961, 14ff.). This *nikāya* was open to additions longer than any other part of the canon. Therefore very different types of texts included late into the Tipiṭaka are found here.

The Theravāda *Khuddakanikāya* comprises the following 15 texts in the sequence accepted in the Mahāvihāra, which differs from the one mirrored in Dhammapāla's commentaries:

1. *Khuddakapāṭha* (Short Recitation; commentary: *Paramatthajotikā I*). The nine texts of this collection are gleaned from different parts of the Tipiṭaka and assembled, it seems, for ritual purposes.

2. *Dhammapada* (Words of the Teaching; commentary: *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*). This collection of 423 verses divided into 26 sections (*vaggas*) contains besides typically Buddhist texts many general aphorisms, which sometimes run parallel to verses in the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 89). There are many *Dhammapada* collections assembled in different Buddhist schools besides Theravāda such as the *Khotan* (formerly termed *Gāndhārī*) *Dharmapada* (Brough, 1962) of the Dharmaguptakas (?), the *Patna Dharmapada* (Cone, 1989; Roth, 2000 with a facsimile of the text) of the Sāṃmitīyas (Skilling, 1997) and the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*, which was in course of time transformed from a text parallel to the *Udāna* into a "*Dharmapada*" (Bernhard, 1969; on school affiliation and different recensions, see Schmithausen, 1970). In the recent past, new versions were discovered among the Gandhari Buddhist fragments (Lenz, 2003). In spite of many attempts, it is impossible to reconstruct an *Ur-Dhammapada*.

3. *Udāna* (Inspired Utterances; commentary by Dhammapāla: *Paramatthadīpanī I*). The text is divided into eight *vaggas* (sections) with ten brief texts each. The individual *udānas* are verses introduced by a prose text in the shape of a *suttanta*, which is not rarely borrowed from other parts of the canon (Anālayo, 2009).

4. *Itivuttaka* ([Texts Beginning with] This Was Spoken; trans. Masefield, 2000; commentary by Dhammapāla: *Paramatthadīpanī II*). The title of this text in four *nipātas* (chapters), which are subdivided into *vaggas* (sections) with about ten *suttantas* each and with altogether 112 brief *suttantas*, is derived from the unusual beginning *vuttaṃ hetaṃ bhagavatā vuttam arahatā ti me suttaṃ* (this was said by the Lord, said by the Arhant, thus have I heard). A similarly unique wording is found at the end of the individual *suttantas*, "this topic was also explained by the Lord, thus have I heard." According to a tradition preserved in the commentary, this collection was not "heard" by Ānanda but by the laywoman Khujjuttarā at Kosambi (Skt. Kauśāmbī). It is not impossible that the unusual shape of the beginning of the *suttantas* is a trace of an old formalization (*itivuttaka* is mentioned in the list of *aṅgas*) of the introduction to *suttantas* used in Kosambi in contrast to the beginning *evaṃ me sutaṃ* preferred in Sāvatthī, which ultimately prevailed everywhere. This is the only *buddhavacana* said to be handed down by a woman.

5. *Suttanipāta* (Group of Discourses; trans. Norman, ²2001; commentary: *Paramatthajotikā II*). The five *vaggas* of the *Suttanipāta* contain a large variety of metrical and prose texts, some of which are among the oldest extant in Buddhist literature. This is particularly true for the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (Chapter of the Eights [?]; Norman, ²2001, 323; Shulman, 2012) and the *Pārāyaṇavagga* (Chapter on Going to the Far Shore), which seem to have existed as separate texts, because they are commented upon in the *Niddesa*. The *Aṭṭhakavagga* is perhaps referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* as *arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi* (discourses about the goal; Rotman, 2008, 85ff.). The same text mentions, besides the *Udāna* and so

on, also the *Munigāthā* (Verses of the Sage), which may correspond to the *Munisutta* (Sn I.12) and to the *munigāthā* recommended for study by Aśoka in his edict at Bairāṭ/Bhābhrā besides the *moneyasuta* (*suttanta* about the sage; corresponding to Sn vss. 699–723?) and other discourses (*dhaṃmapaliyāya*; Bloch, 1950, 154). Parallels of individual texts of the *Suttanipāta* are found elsewhere in the canon and in other Buddhist traditions (Salomon, 2000, 5).

6. *Vimānavatthu* ([Texts Having] the Heavenly Palaces as Their Topic) and

7. *Petavatthu* ([Texts Having] the Departed [Ghosts] as Their Topic; commentaries by Dhammapāla: *Paramatthadīpanī III, IV*). The longer *Vimānavatthu* in 1,282 and the shorter *Petavatthu* in 814 verses spoken by gods or ghosts describe the consequences of their good or bad deeds in subsequent births. In the commentaries, lengthy stories accompany and explain the verses in *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu*, which are an interesting source for popular religion but often of mediocre poetic quality. A few very small Sanskrit fragments of a *Vimānāvadāna* and a *Pretāvadāna* containing parallels to *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* are known from the Turfan collection (Bechert, 1974).

8. *Theragāthā* (Verses of the Elder Monks) and

9. *Therīgāthā* (Verses of the Elder Nuns; commentaries by Dhammapāla: *Paramatthadīpanī V, VI*). Clearly, the 1,279 (according to tradition 1,360) verses spoken by 264 monks and the 522 (according to tradition 494) verses spoken by 73 (according to tradition 116) nuns cannot be classified as *buddhavacana* (word of the Buddha). Neither the date of the collections, which grew over an extended period of time until long after the nirvāṇa, nor the sources are known. Individual monks and nuns may be remembered in the *Theragāthā*/*Therīgāthā*, although mostly connections between name and verse seem arbitrary. Some of the verses in the *Therīgāthā* seem to be spoken to (not by) nuns, who are addressed. The problem which, if any, verses were really composed by women is yet to be solved. Not all of the *Theragāthā/Therīgāthā* verses are strictly Buddhist, and some allow a precious glimpse into very early ancient secular Indian poetry otherwise lost (Lienhard, 1984, 75–79). There are Sanskrit fragments of a Sarvāstivāda (?) *Sthaviragāthā* (Pal. *Theragāthā*) in the Turfan collection (Bechert, 1961, 14ff., 59ff.).

10. *Jātaka* (Stories of the [Previous] Births [of the Buddha]; Skilling, 2006; commentary: *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*). Only the approximately 6,500 verses of the 547 extant *jātakas* (of originally probably 550) are considered canonical. They are arranged numerically in 22 *nipātas* (chapters) beginning with *jātakas* with one verse (*ekanipāta*), two verses (*dukanipāta*), and so on. The *Terasanipāta* (Chapter [of *Jātakas*] with 13 Verses) is followed by the *Pakiṇṇakanipāta* ([14th] Chapter with [*Jātakas* of] Miscellaneous [Length]), which marks the end of the first part containing 496 (or 499) *jātakas* and approximately 2,500 verses. The following seven chapters of the second part begin with the *Vīsatinipāta* (Chapter [of *Jātakas*] with 20 Verses) to the *Asītinipāta* (Chapter [of *Jātakas*] with 80 Verses) followed by the ten *jātakas* of the *Mahānipāta* (Chapter [Comprising] Great [Long] *Jātakas*) containing altogether about 4,000 verses and comprising small epics, among them the long and very popular *Vessantarajātaka* (Cone & Gombrich, 1977), which can be read as stories even without the accompanying prose of the commentary. The number of verses in each *nipāta* does not always match the required number (e.g. there are 95 instead of 80 verses in the ten *jātakas* of the Chapter of Eights). Particularly the verses of the first part rarely contain anything specifically Buddhist. Only the accompanying stories preserved in the commentary integrate them in a Buddhist context.

There were also *Jātaka* collections in other Buddhist schools: the Chinese translation of the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* refers to a lost *jātaka* book (Karashima, 2012, 565). Individual *jātakas* of various schools are found embedded in canonical texts of various schools such as the Theravādins, Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, and (Mūla)sarvāstivādins (von Hinüber, 1998, 192–205; Karashima, 2012, 332–338).

Titles of *jātakas* are preserved epigraphically from the 2nd century BCE onward in Bharhut (von Hinüber, 1998, 7–16; Lüders, 1963, 120–163) and later in Kanaganahalli (Nakanishi & von Hinüber, 2014, 85–91). As a quotation from the first verse of a *jātaka* can be used as a title, these are the oldest immediate traces of any canonical Buddhist text preserved in India (Lüders, 1941, 174), while the Aśokan inscription of Bairāṭ enumerates only titles of canonical texts.

11. *Mahāniddesa* and *Cūlaniddesa* (Large and Small Explanation; commentary by Upasena: *Saddhammapajotikā*). This text in two parts, which originally formed a unit under the title *Suttaniddesa* (Explanation of *Suttas*) and which is ascribed to Sāriputta, is a commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (Nidd I) and on the *Pārāyaṇavagga* together with the *Khaggavisāṇasuttanta* (Nidd II) of the

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Suttanipāta. Individual words found in the verses are explained by long series of synonyms, which are frequently formulas taken over from canonical texts. The date of the *Niddesa* is a matter of controversy with suggestions ranging from the time of Aśoka to the (more likely) 2nd century CE (von Hinüber, 1996, § 118). Together with the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the *Niddesa* is one of the latest texts included in the *Khuddakanikāya*. According to a remark in the commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Sp 695ff.), the *Niddesa* was almost lost during the period of oral text transmission when once only one single monk was left who knew the text by heart. The edition of the *Cūlaniddesa* by the Pali Text Society is rearranged and, consequently, differs markedly from the text as transmitted in the manuscripts and printed in oriental editions.

12. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (Path of Discrimination [Ñāṇamoli]; commentary by Mahānāma: *Saddhammapakāsinī*). This Abhidhamma text was created too late (2nd cent. CE[?]; Frauwallner, 1995, 42) to be included into the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, which was already closed, and therefore could be accommodated only in the *Khuddakanikāya*. As in other Abhidhamma texts, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* begins with a *mātikā* (summary) containing 73 different aspects of *ñāṇa* (knowledge) to be explained in the first of the three *vaggas* (sections). Occasionally, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* comments on *suttantas* first of all from the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* may be an early attempt to create a handbook and would be as such a predecessor to the *Vimuttimagga* (Path to Liberation) and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path to Purity; Frauwallner, 1995, 87–95).

13. *Apadāna* ([Book of] Great Deeds; Mellick Cuttler, 1994; commentary: *Visuddhajanavilāsinī*). The meaning of the title *Apadāna* is controversial (von Hinüber, 2008b, 88ff.). The *Apadāna*, which might be the youngest text in the Tipiṭaka, existed in three recensions (Bechert, 1958, 18). It is divided into four parts: (1) on buddhas and their fields; (2) on *paccekabuddhas* (individual buddhas), who gained sudden enlightenment and did not teach; (3) on Theras; and (4) on Therīs. The originally 550 *apadānas* were reduced to 547 to concur with the number of *jātakas*. There are parallels to the *Apadāna* in the *Anavataptagāthā* (Verses Spoken at Lake Anavatapta), extant as a separate text in a Gandhari version (Salomon, 2008), in Sanskrit fragments in the Turfan collection (Salomon, 2008, 24), and in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon (Bechert, 1961, 29). The cultural context of the *Apadāna* together with *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* is discussed by J.S. Walters (1997).

14. *Buddhavaṃsa* (Lineage of the Buddhas; commentary: *Madhuratthavilāsinī*). The verses of the *Buddhavaṃsa* describe the biographies of his 24 predecessors and of the Buddha himself. An inscription in Burma contains a different version of this text (Braun, 1996, 200, no. 576) and a quotation of a **Dvādasasahassabuddhavaṃsa* perhaps belonging to the texts used by the Abhayagirivihāra school can be traced in the Tibetan translation of Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā* (Skilling, 1993).

15. *Cariyāpiṭaka* (Basket of Conduct; commentary by Dhammapāla: *Paramatthadīpanī* VII). The verses of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* relate 35 stories from the former lives of the Buddha arranged according to the "perfection" (*pāramī* / *pāramitā*) acquired in each birth. Some stories are quoted in the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* and in its introduction, the *Nidānakathā* (Alsdorf, 1957, 2–14). These are not always identical with those found in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and may represent the true Ceylonese recension, while Dhammapāla, who also uses a different version of the *Apadāna*, might comment on his South Indian text of *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

The following four para-canonical texts (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 156–180) are included in the *Khuddakanikāya* only in Burma according to the *Piṭakat-samuiṅ* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 4), a catalogue of texts known in Burma composed by the last royal librarian in 1888 (*Catalogue of the Piṭaka and Other Texts in Pāḷi, Pāḷi-Burmese, and Burmese* [*Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅ:*], 2012, 48, nos. 38–41):

1. *Suttasaṅgaha* (Collection of *Suttantas*; commentary by Ariyavaṃsa: *Suttasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā*). Although enumerated as a para-canonical text in the *Piṭakat-samuiṅ*, the *Suttasaṅgaha* was not accepted into the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition of 1956. The text is compiled for practical purposes and contains selected *suttantas* in addition to excerpts from commentaries (Salomon, 2011, 196). Neither author nor date is known.

2. *Nettipakaraṇa* (Guide; commentary by Dhammapāla: *Nettiaṭṭhakathā*) and

3. *Peṭakopadesa* (Piṭaka Disclosure [Ñāṇamoli]; no commentary) are two handbooks containing guidelines for explaining the Tipiṭaka.

4. *Milindapañha* (Questions of [King] Milinda; commentaries: *Milindaṭīkā* and *Milindaṭṭhakathā*, Tokyo, 1999). The *Milindapañha* is an ahistorical text with a conversation (in the tradition of the Upaniṣads) between the historical Indo-Greek king Menandros (2nd cent. BCE; Fussman, 1993) and an otherwise unknown monk, Nāgasena, on various points of the

Buddha's teachings. Except for the distorted name of the king (Grk. Menandros > Pal. Milinda), there is no traceable Greek influence. As the 4th-century Chinese translation (an earlier 3rd-cent. [?] translation is lost) under the title * *Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra* indicates, the original text was markedly shorter comprising roughly the first quarter of the present Pali text (Demiéville, 1924; Guang Xing, 2007). It is likely that the *Milindapañha*, which is occasionally referred to in Buddhist literature (Skilling, 1998), was originally composed in northwestern India perhaps between 100 BCE and 200 CE and recast into Pali, with the second, much longer part being added later in Ceylon before the time of Buddhaghosa's commentaries (5th cent.). There are different Pali versions of the *Milindapañha* (Skilling, 2010).

The *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (Basket [Containing Texts] Relating to the Teaching), which was not recited during the first council, was constituted independently in the different schools considerably later than the first two Piṭakas. This explains the variation in content and number of texts included into the different versions in marked contrast to the more uniform *Vinayapiṭakas* and *Suttapiṭakas* (Lamotte, 1958, 198). History and structure of the Abhidhamma texts were investigated by E. Frauwallner in a series of seminal articles between 1963 and 1973 (Frauwallner, 1995).

Only a few fragments of at least partly canonical Abhidharma texts survive also in the Indian languages Gandhari and Sanskrit. The earliest are Kharoshthi fragments perhaps belonging to the Kāśyapīya school (Cox, 2014). Fragments from the Sanskrit Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school are extant in the Turfan collection (Dietz, 2004) and perhaps of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school in Gilgit (von Hinüber, 2014, 117). Numerous, mostly as yet unidentified but possibly also canonical, Abhidharma fragments, among them the Śāriputra Abhidharma (T. 1548), are found in the Schøyen collection (Matsuda, 2002). (For the different collections, see the article "Manuscript and Printing: South, Southeast, and Central Asia").

A complete *Abhidhammapiṭaka* in Pali is preserved in seven texts (*pakaraṇa* [treatise]) of the Theravāda school (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 129–155): (1) *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (Collection of Dhammas), (2) *Vibhaṅga* (Explanation), (3) *Dhātukathā* (Discussion of the Elements), (4) *Puggalapaññatti* (Concepts of Person), and (5) *Kathāvatthu* (Text Dealing with Disputes). The last two texts, (6) *Yamaka* ([Text of] Pairs) and (7) *Paṭṭhāna* (Basis [of All Abhidhamma Texts]) are of enormous length and *have never been printed in full. According to* the tradition, it is impossible to calculate the extent of the *Paṭṭhāna*, which is also called *Mahāpakaraṇa* (Great Treatise; see above).

With the exception of the *Kathāvatthu*, the Abhidhamma texts begin with a *mātikā* (list; Skt. *mātṛkā*) of concepts perhaps originally created for easy memorization, which are explained in the subsequent text. This structure seems to have been adopted from early legal texts (von Hinüber, 1994c).

The *Kathāvatthu*, an invaluable but somewhat neglected source for early Buddhist philosophy, is different in structure containing questions and answers aiming at the refutation of about two hundred heretical views, which are ascribed to specific Buddhist schools only much later in the commentary. The unusual "pre-logical" way of arguing in the *Kathāvatthu* is often difficult to understand (Ganeri, 2001). The *Kathāvatthu*, which is thought to have been composed by Moggaliputtatissa 218 years after the nirvāṇa, is the only long canonical text that is dated and ascribed to an author by tradition. The canonicity of *Kathāvatthu* was not universally accepted.

According to Buddhist traditions, the Tripiṭaka will gradually be lost when Buddhism begins to decline (Nattier, 1991). The first text to disappear will be the *Paṭṭhāna*; the last will be the *Pātimokkha* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 85).

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een printed in full. According to the
impossible to calculate the extent of
which is also called *Mahāpakaraṇa*
e; see above).

exception of the *Kathāvatthu*, the
texts begin with a *mātikā* (list; Skt.
ncepts perhaps originally created for
ation, which are explained in the
xt. This structure seems to have been
early legal texts (von Hinüber, 1994c).
atthu, an invaluable but somewhat
rce for early Buddhist philosophy,
structure containing questions and
g at the refutation of about two hun-
views, which are ascribed to specific
ols only much later in the commen-
sual "pre-logical" way of arguing in
hu is often difficult to understand
The *Kathāvatthu*, which is thought to
posed by Moggaliputtatissa 218 years
ṇa, is the only long canonical text
d ascribed to an author by tradition.
of *Kathāvatthu* was not universally

o Buddhist traditions, the Tripiṭaka
be lost when Buddhism begins to
, 1991). The first text to disappear will
; the last will be the *Pātimokkha* (von
§ 85).

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Āgama/Nikāya

The *āgamas/nikāyas* are collections of the Buddhist canonical scriptures found in the *Sūtrapiṭaka* (Basket of Discourses).

The basic sense conveyed by the term *āgama*, transcribed in Chinese as *āhán* (阿含) and translated in Tibetan as *lung*, is what has "come down" by tradition. The term *nikāya* stands for a group, collection, or assemblage (which in the present context refers to texts, but elsewhere can denote an ordination lineage).

The usage of the term *āgama* for the discourse collections is widespread among Buddhist schools, although the Theravāda tradition employs the term *nikāya* instead. Nevertheless, the term *āgama* does appear in Theravāda canonical scriptures in expressions like *āgamaṃ pariyāpuṇassu* (AN V.80; Vin II.249). Here a monk who has not yet memorized the discourses is told that he "should learn an/the *āgama*." A learned monk is then referred to as *āgat' āgama*, one who has "come to an/the *āgama*" in the sense of being well versed in it (e.g. Vin I.119; DN II.125; MN I.221; AN I.117, etc.). A comparable expression can be found in Jaina texts and in Aśoka's 12th Rock Edict (Bloch, 1950, 123), attesting to its antiquity. The term *nikāya* in the sense of a collection of texts occurs in the Theravāda account of the first "communal recitation" or "council," *saṃgīti*. This account reports the recitation of five *nikāyas* (Vin II.287), an expression also attested in early inscriptions at Bharhut and Sanchi (Lüders, 1941, 175).

The Vinayas of different Buddhist schools report that during this first *saṃgīti*, which according to tradition was held soon after the Buddha's decease, the *āgamas/nikāyas* were adopted as a basic principle to divide the discourses into sizeable groups for oral transmission. The same Vinayas disagree, however, on the sequence in which they list these collections. Variations exist also in the sequential arrangement of discourses in a collection. Even the allocation of discourses to an *āgama/nikāya* shows disagreement among different schools. This gives the impression that a common principle was applied individually by various reciter traditions. This common principle groups the discourses as follows (adopting the Theravāda sequence of listing):

1. *Dīrghāgama* or *Dīghanikāya* (long discourses).
2. *Madhyamāgama* or *Majjhimanikāya* (medium-length discourses).
3. *Saṃyuktāgama* or *Saṃyuttanikāya* (topically arranged discourses).
4. *Ekottarikāgama* or *Aṅguttaranikāya* (numerically arranged discourses).

The *Dīghanikāya* and the *Dīrghāgama*

Three collections of long discourses are extant: one of these is preserved in Pali and has been transmitted within the Theravāda tradition; another version is preserved in Chinese translation under the title *Cháng āhán* (長阿含; T. 1). This was translated in 413 CE by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念), based on an original recited by Buddhayaśas that with high probability stems from a Dharmaguptaka line of transmission and appears to have been in Prakrit. In addition to these two, large parts of a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection of long discourses are extant in the form of substantial Sanskrit fragments (Hartmann, 2004; for a survey of recent fragment discoveries, see Allon, 2008).

Regarding the different Buddhist schools that transmitted these *āgamas* or *nikāyas*, each of these discourse collections is not so much the product of a school as the final result of oral transmission over long periods by successive generations of Indian reciters, of which only the last generations could be considered members of a particular school. Thus, while school affiliation is certainly an important aspect to be taken into consideration, the vicissitudes of oral transmission have affected these discourses right from the time they came into existence, not only since they were transmitted by reciters who considered themselves as members of one or another of the Buddhist schools. In other words, variations among parallel versions need not invariably be the result of sectarian agendas.

Besides the three complete *Dīghanikāya/Dīrghāgama* collections, individual long discourses are preserved in Chinese translation (T. 2–25). Versions of some long discourses are also extant in Indic-language fragments that do not belong to

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the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection mentioned above, as well as in Tibetan translation.

The Theravāda *Dīghanikāya* adopts a tripartite division of its discourses that begins with a chapter on the "aggregate of morality," the *Sīlakkhandavagga* (13 discourses). A rationale for this grouping could be the circumstance that most discourses in the *Sīlakkhandavagga* share an account of the gradual path of training (not found in the first discourse, the *Brahmajālasutta* [Discourse on the Supreme Net], which, however, has three graded sections on morality). This account describes in detail the gradual progress of the disciple from going forth via various practices related to restraint and mental cultivation to the gaining of awakening. In an oral setting, such a grouping of discourses is easily memorized because of the substantial amount of text common to the discourses, which thus needs to be learned only once. After transmission has shifted to the written medium, the full text needs to be written out only at its first occurrence and can be abbreviated for subsequent discourses, thus saving both time and writing material, the latter probably being an important concern in a manuscript culture.

The Theravāda *Dīghanikāya* continues after the chapter on the aggregate of morality with the *Mahāvagga* (10 discourses), in which seven out of ten discourses begin with the qualification "great" (*mahā*), and the *Pāṭikavagga* (11 discourses), a chapter named after its first discourse, the *Pāṭikasutta* (Discourse to Pāṭika[putta]; DN 24).

The 30 discourses of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* are divided into four recitation sections and occupy 22 fascicles (T. 1). The first recitation section in this collection comprises 4 discourses, the second 15, the third 10, and the last only 1 discourse.

The Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* adopts a threefold grouping. This begins with the *Ṣaṭsūtrakanipāta*, which, as its title indicates, collects "six discourses." This is followed by the *Yuganipāta* (18 discourses), a section on "pairs" of discourses, and the *Śīlaskandhanipāta* (23 discourses), a section on the "aggregate of morality."

Regarding the threefold grouping found in the Theravāda *Dīghanikāya* and the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama*, it is worthy of note that the last discourse in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* not only is exceptionally long but also has detailed cosmological descriptions that seem different from the type of thought usually reflected in the early discourses. If this text should be a later addition to the collection, then the *Dīghanikāya* and the two *Dīrghāgamas* would originally have agreed in adopting a basic threefold grouping of their discourses.

The Theravāda *Dīghanikāya* has 34 discourses, the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* has 30, and the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* has 47. In the case of the Theravāda *Dīghanikāya*, its *Jāliyasutta* (DN 6) appears to be without a counterpart in the discourse collections of other schools, while its *Mahāsudassanasutta* (DN 17) in other traditions usually forms part of their version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. Three discourses in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* (11, 12, and 30) and apparently 12 discourses in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* (Hartmann, 2004) are not known in the Theravāda tradition.

In addition to differences in the overall count of discourses and the absence of parallels in some cases, discourses common to the three collections usually occur at a different place within the respective *āgama* or *nikāya*. For example, the *Brahmajālasūtra*, a survey of the grounds for various philosophical views, is the first discourse in the Theravāda *Dīghanikāya*, the 21st discourse in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama*, and the last discourse in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* (Hartmann, 2004).

Indications made so far regarding the overall count and structure of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection of long discourses are based on reconstructions with the help of fragments that preserve the summary verses, *uddānas* (Hartmann, 2004). Such *uddānas*, found frequently in the *āgama* and *nikāya* collections, list key words that refer to the titles or other prominent aspects of the discourses assembled in a particular section of the text. These summary verses, some of which are actually in prose, were probably intended to serve as a mnemonic aid for the reciters, ensuring that no discourse was overlooked and that the sequence in which these were to be recited was maintained.

A text of special significance among the material common to the three collections is the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Discourse on the Great Decease), which reports the Buddha's last days, his passing away, and his funeral. An interest in narration of a historical type is also evident in the *Mahāvadānasūtra* (Discourse on the Great Lineage), a record of key events said to have happened in the lives of previous buddhas. In each of the three collections, this discourse is located close to the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*; in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama*, it in fact opens the collection, immediately followed by the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.

Besides the interest in some form of historical record keeping, another significant tendency is the mapping of central doctrines reflected in two discourses also found in all of the three collections. These are the *Saṃgītisūtra* (Discourse on the Group Recital) and the *Daśottarasūtra* (Discourse on Increasing Decades), whose speaker is Śāriputra, a leading disciple of the Buddha renowned in the tradition for his wisdom. The two discourses provide numerically arranged listings of doctrinal terms and key aspects of the teachings in a manner akin to Abhidharma analysis, where the development of summaries (*matṛkās*) of doctrinal topics became an important exegetical tool. The employment of such summaries is also reflected in Vinaya literature, where the code of rules to be kept by monastics, the *prātimokṣa*, is perhaps the *matṛkā* par excellence. While in the Theravāda *Dīghanikāya* these two discourses are the last of the collection, in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama*, they come in the ninth and tenth positions, and in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama*, the *Saṃgītisūtra* and the *Daśottarasūtra* stand at the beginning as the third and first discourses, respectively.

The first six discourses in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama*, found in the *Ṣaṭsūtrakanipāta*, form a group of their own that was at times handed down independently of the whole collection, perhaps reflecting their particular attraction or relevance for Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda reciters and their audience. The six discourses in this group are concerned either with mapping of central doctrines or else with providing a history of the Buddhist tradition. Besides the *Daśottarasūtra* and the *Saṃgītisūtra*, this group contains another discourse of comparable type, the *Arthavistarasūtra* (Discourse on Extended Meanings), which has no parallel in the Theravāda canon or the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama*. Again, besides the *Mahāvadānasūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, another discourse similar to these two in this group of six is the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (Discourse on the Four Assemblies), a history of the coming into existence of the four assemblies of Buddhist disciples (monastic and lay, male and female). This discourse has its counterparts in other Buddhist schools in the respective Vinayas, a situation that points to a process of textual movement between the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Basket of Vinayas) and the *Sūtrapiṭaka*. Even the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* may have originally been a Vinaya narrative that was then subsequently shifted to the *Sūtrapiṭaka*. Such shifting of texts could in principle have happened in either direction, not only from the *Vinayapiṭaka* to the *Sūtrapiṭaka*.

The distribution of discourses among the different *āgamas*/*nikāyas* according to principles such as length for the purpose of facilitating their memorization would have naturally provided reciters specializing in a particular collection with a somewhat specific coverage of topics.

Such specific coverage appears to be recognized in an explanation given in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* that relates the long discourses collected in the *Dīrghāgama* especially to the refutation of heterodox philosophies (T. 1440 [XXIII] 504a1). This seems to hold also for the *Dīghanikāya*, where the Buddha's ability to convert outsiders and to stand his ground successfully in debate are prominent themes, together with the inspiration to be gained from the Buddha's exceptional nature and qualities. As debates and eulogies can easily become prolonged, it would only be natural if a collection of long discourses ends up containing much material of this type. The exceptional nature of the Buddha as an important topic in the *Dīghanikāya* is reflected in a tale found in the Pali commentarial tradition, which reports that the transmission of this collection was taken up by the disciples of the Buddha's attendant Ānanda (Sv I.15). In early Buddhist thought, Ānanda stands representative for a deeply devoted attitude toward the Buddha. Thus, from the viewpoint of the commentarial tradition, his personal inclinations (which would presumably have attracted similarly inclined disciples) fit this particular discourse collection. In other words, the collection of long discourses would have a particular appeal for disciples who feel strong devotion toward the Buddha as their teacher as well as for disciples who are engaged in winning converts to the tradition and disciples who have to defend Buddhist doctrine against heterodox philosophies and beliefs.

The *Majjhimanikāya* and the *Madhyamāgama*

The *Majjhimanikāya* (Collections of Medium-Length Discourses) and the *Madhyamāgama* are extant in Pali, transmitted by the Theravāda tradition, and in a Chinese translation by Saṅghadeva undertaken in 398 CE. Saṅghadeva's translation apparently replaced an earlier translation by Zhú Fóniàn, based on a *Madhyamāgama* transmitted by

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Dharmanandin. The *Madhyamāgama* now extant in the Taishō edition as entry number 26 under the title *Zhōng āhán* (中阿含) appears to have been based on a Prakrit original that with considerable probability stems from a Sarvāstivāda line of transmission (Anālayo, 2012a, 516ff.). Besides these two complete collections, medium-length discourses are preserved individually in Chinese translation (T.27–98). In addition, a number of *Madhyamāgama* discourses are extant in Indic-language fragments (Chung, 2011), and a few exist also in Tibetan translation.

The *Majjhimanikāya* has 152 discourses grouped into 15 chapters that are arranged into 3 main divisions. The *Madhyamāgama* contains 222 discourses grouped into 18 chapters, which are arranged into 5 recitation sections that occupy 60 fascicles in the Taishō edition.

In the case of the *Majjhimanikāya*, closer inspection suggests that its tripartite division may be related to the need of facilitating oral transmission (Anālayo, 2011, 1ff.). The Pali commentarial tradition indicates that reciters of the *Majjhimanikāya* had to memorize at the very least the first group of 50 discourses (Sp IV.789). The group with the first 50 discourses contains a selection of basic teachings that would equip reciters of limited memorization skill with the necessary material for teaching and for their own practice. Adding the middle section would augment this basic set with material appropriate for popular teaching, reflected in the circumstance that the chapters in this part of the *Majjhimanikāya* contain teachings given to different audiences, namely householders, monks, wanderers, kings, and Brahmans. Reciters able to memorize also the last section, thereby mastering the entire *Majjhimanikāya*, would have at their disposition the more detailed teachings on meditation and doctrinal themes provided in this third part of the collection. Thus the tripartite division of the *Majjhimanikāya* appears to enable reciters to portion off parts of the collection according to their memorization skill.

The same could also apply to the *Dīghanikāya*, where the tripartite division may have had the same purpose, only here, according to the commentarial tradition, it is the middle section (the *Mahāvagga* containing the Buddha biography) that should above all be memorized. In the case of the *Saṃyukta* and *Ekottarika* collections (see below), the respective arrangement by way of topics or numbers would naturally have been amenable to a comparable partitioning of the collection.

The *Majjhimanikāya* is fairly consistent in adopting a pattern of ten discourses per chapter, the sole exception being its penultimate chapter with 12 discourses. The count of discourses per chapter in the *Madhyamāgama* shows greater diversity. Although a grouping of ten appears to be the most common count, chapter 11, for example, has 25 discourses. The sequences of the discourses in the two collections have little in common.

A total of 96 *Madhyamāgama* discourses have a parallel in the *Majjhimanikāya* (indications given are based on a revision of the parallels identified by Akanuma, 1929). Most of the remaining discourses have their counterparts in other Pali *nikāyas*, while 18 *Madhyamāgama* discourses have no Pali parallel (among the discourses or the *Vinayapiṭaka*). In the case of the *Majjhimanikāya*, seven discourses have no parallel in the Chinese *āgamas*, in Sanskrit fragments or in Tibetan translation.

The absence of a parallel when comparing discourses in the Pali *nikāyas* with the Chinese *āgamas* does not necessarily imply lateness of the text in question. A case in point is the *Jīvakasutta* (Discourse to Jīvaka) of the *Majjhimanikāya* (MN 55), which has no parallel in any of the Chinese *āgamas*. Yet, a version of the *Jīvakasūtra* has been found among the recently discovered fragments of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* (DN 43; see Hartmann, 2004). Thus the fact that no parallel to this discourse is extant in the Chinese *āgamas* can be concluded to be due to differences in distribution of discourses among the *āgamas*/*nikāyas* in various schools. In the case of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, this discourse was evidently judged to fit the category of a long discourse, whereas the Theravāda tradition included its version in the collection of medium-length discourses. The *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese stems from the Dharmaguptaka tradition, whose reciters did not include a version of the *Jīvakasutta* among their long discourses, although they may have had a version of this discourse among their medium-length discourses or elsewhere. Thus in the textual corpus of the Chinese *āgamas*, this discourse is unknown. Had it not been for the recent fragment discoveries, the *Jīvakasutta* would belong to the category of Pali discourses lacking known parallels.

Differences in distribution of discourses over the *āgamas*/*nikāyas* appear to be the result of an ongoing process of shifts in location. Perhaps even whole groups of discourses were moved from one collection to another. This seems to have happened in the case of the first chapter in the *Madhyamāgama*, for example, in which all of the ten discourses involve the number seven. The majority of the discourses in this chapter have their counterparts among the section on sevens of the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. This gives the impression that these discourses could originally have been assembled as part of an *Ekottarika* collection of sevens and were then subsequently inserted at the beginning of the *Madhyamāgama*.

A similar process might have happened in the case of the *Majjhimanikāya* in relation to its last chapter, which combines discourses that in one way or another deal with the topic of the six senses. Parallels to these discourses are found in the *Saṃyuktāgama*, which – like its Pali counterpart, the *Saṃyuttanikāya* – has an entire section dedicated to the six senses. Thus in this case, it seems possible that these ten discourses originally became a group in a topically organized collection and only subsequently made their way into the *Majjhimanikāya*.

The rationale behind such moves would be to ensure that reciters of each collection had a good coverage of various aspects of the teachings, which would have led some reciters to incorporate material from other collections that they considered important. The same would also explain the not infrequent doubling of discourses, where the same text appears in whole or in part in more than one collection.

Another aspect of the influence of oral transmission can be illustrated with the example of the *Mahācattārīsakasutta* (Discourse on the Great Forty) of the *Majjhimanikāya* (MN 117). This discourse presents an exposition of the supramundane path factors whose philosophical and philological aspects show clear signs of lateness, confirmed by the circumstance that the whole exposition is absent from its Chinese and Tibetan parallels (Anālayo, 2012a, 289ff.). The intrusion of such later material points to a recurrent pattern, in which what originally would have been of a commentarial or explanatory nature during oral transmission became part of the text on which it commented (Anālayo, 2010).

Besides addition, oral transmission can at times also result in a loss of text. An illustrative case is the *Chabbisodhanasutta* (Discourse on Sixfold Purity) of the *Majjhimanikāya* (MN 112). In spite of the explicit reference to six in its title, the Pali discourse expounds only five types of purity of an *arahant*. The commentary reports several explanations for this inconsistency, one of them being that, according to the reciters from India, an *arahant*'s detachment in regard to the four "nutriments" (edible food, contact, volition, and consciousness) should be added (Ps IV.94f.). That this is indeed the solution can be gathered from the *Madhyamāgama* parallel discourse, which, besides the five purities mentioned in the Pali discourse, lists the four nutriments as another purity (T. 26 [I].732b13).

This case is remarkable not only because it shows that substantial portions of a discourse could get lost during oral transmission from India to Sri Lanka but also for the fact that the discrepancy between title and content of the *Chabbisodhanasutta* did not result in an adjustment. It would have been easy for the Sri Lankan reciters to insert an exposition on the four nutriments from another discourse on the strength of the commentarial suggestion. Still easier would have been a change of the title to "Discourse on Fivefold Purity." Yet, the Pali discourse was handed down in its apparently truncated state. This gives the impression of a degree of fidelity of the reciters in their attempts (clearly not always successful) to pass on a discourse in the way they had received it.

Another indication regarding the transmission of the early discourses can be gathered from the *Bakkulasutta* (Discourse to Bakkula) of the *Majjhimanikāya* (M 124), which in agreement with its *Madhyamāgama* parallel reports that its protagonist had been a Buddhist monk for 80 years (T. 26 [I].475a21). This obviously implies that the discourse could only have come into being at a time considerably later than the Buddha's demise after his 45 years of teaching activity. The Pali commentary then indicates that the *Bakkulasutta* was included in the canonical collections at the second communal recitation, *saṃgīti* (Ps IV.197). Thus the commentarial tradition was clearly aware that the *nikāyas* could not have been recited in their final form at the first communal recitation reckoned by tradition to have been held soon after the Buddha's death. Several other discourses in the same *Majjhimanikāya* in fact explicitly note that the Buddha had already passed away (MN 84; 94; 108).

Regarding the somewhat different emphases in the long, medium-length, and other discourse collections, according to the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā*, the *Madhyamāgama* presents profound doctrines for an intelligent audience (T. 1440 [XXIII].503c28). The Pali commentarial tradition associates the transmission of the *Majjhimanikāya* with the disciples of Sāriputta, who in the tradition represent the quality of wisdom par excellence (Sv I.15). Thus the perspectives provided by these two works agree in indicating that the middle-length collections would

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be of particular relevance for disciples who intend to deepen their understanding of the teachings in order to develop their wisdom.

The *Saṃyuttanikāya* and the *Saṃyuktāgama*

The *Saṃyuttanikāya* (Collections of Topicwise Arranged Discourses) and the *Saṃyuktāgama* are extant in Pali, transmitted by the Theravāda tradition, and in a Chinese translation by Bǎoyún (寶雲) begun in 435 CE. This translation was based on an original recited by Guṇabhadra and is now found in the Taishō edition as entry number 99 under the title *Zá āhán* (雜阿含). Bǎoyún's translation appears to have been based on a Sanskrit original that stemmed from a Mūlasarvāstivāda line of transmission. While in view of the language and school affiliation this may appear surprising, it nevertheless seems as if the manuscript of this discourse collection was acquired by the Chinese pilgrim Fǎxiǎn (法顯) in Sri Lanka (Glass, 2010, 200), where he stayed at the Abhayagiri Monastery, which at that time had lively contacts and exchange with various other Buddhist schools in India.

Besides these two complete collections, a partially preserved Chinese translation of a *Saṃyuktāgama* of uncertain school and translator can be found as entry number 100 in the Taishō edition (Bingenheimer, 2011), followed by another short *Saṃyuktāgama* fragment as entry number 101 (Harrison, 2002) and by several individually translated *Saṃyuktāgama* discourses (T. 102–124). Besides Indic-language fragments (Chung, 2008), a considerable number of *Saṃyuktāgama* parallels are extant in Tibetan translation. These appear for the most part in Śamathadeva's *Upāyikāṭikā* (Indispensable Commentary) on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (D 4094 / P 5595; see Honjō, 1984).

The circumstance that the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and the *Saṃyuktāgama* are arranged according to topics makes it natural that a considerable number of their discourses deal with doctrinal themes like dependent arising, the aggregates, the senses, and aspects of the path. In this way, the two collections provide a range of closely related spotlights following each other in immediate succession on central themes of early Buddhist philosophy and practice. The collection of connected discourses would thus have been of special interest for disciples wishing to develop a comprehensive understanding of a specific aspect of the teachings.

The Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* in fact indicates that the *Saṃyuktāgama* is particularly appropriate for providing topics for meditation (T. 1440 [XXIII].503c29). The Pali commentarial tradition associates the transmission of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* with the disciples of Mahākassapa (Sv I.15), who in the tradition exemplifies the austere forest monk given to ascetic practices, which in turn are often seen as related to intensive meditation. Thus these two works seem to agree in seeing the topically arranged collection as providing teachings suitable for meditative reflection, ideally undertaken in seclusion.

As a result of the emphasis on doctrinal teachings in the topically organized collections, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* draws its discourse quotations from the *Saṃyuktāgama* to a greater extent than from the other three *āgamas* taken together. This in turn has made Śamathadeva's compendium of discourse quotations from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, preserved in Tibetan translation, a rich source for *Saṃyuktāgama* discourse material.

No entire *āgama* is found in the Tibetan canon, and only a few discourses were individually translated into Tibetan, some of which form a group under the title of *Mahāsūtra* (Great Discourses; Skilling, 1994). The lack of entire *āgamas* in Tibetan translation needs to be considered together with the circumstance that, some four centuries before the beginning of translation activities in Tibet, single *āgamas* from different schools were rendered into Chinese, yet this did not lead to a subsequent effort at translating a whole set of four *āgamas* of a single school. A telling contrast to this is the attention given to Mahāyāna *sūtras*, where the Chinese canon often contains several translations of a particular text, undertaken by different translators at successive times. This suggests an overall picture of a gradual decline of interest in *āgama* discourses, which presumably were no longer studied for their own sake but mainly served as a backup for quotations found in shastric treatises or Mahāyāna *sūtras* and elsewhere.

The *Saṃyuttanikāya* of the Theravāda tradition has five chapters covering 56 topical divisions, *saṃyuttas*. The first of these five chapters, the *Sagāthavagga*, collects discourses that are accompanied by verse. Discourses on conditionality and so on are found in the *Nidānavagga*, discourses on the aggregates and so on are collected in the *Khandhavagga*, and discourses on the six senses and so on are included in the *Saḷāyatanavagga*. The discourses assembled in the great division, *Mahāvagga*, cover various aspects of the path.

The complete *Saṃyuktāgama* (T. 99) comes in 50 fascicles, of which only 48 correspond to the original text. Owing to a misplacement of fascicles at some time in the past, the order of the collection fell into disarray, and two fascicles that do not belong to the collection have been accidentally included: the 23rd (containing S 604) and the 25th (containing S 640, 641). With the help of a partial commentary on the *Saṃyuktāgama* preserved in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (fascicles 85–98), the order of the *Saṃyuktāgama* can be restored, after removal of the two unrelated fascicles (Anesaki, 1908, 70–74).

The reconstructed *Saṃyuktāgama* follows the same basic fivefold division as the *Saṃyuttanikāya*. A difference is that the reconstructed *Saṃyuktāgama* has a chapter of sayings by disciples and a chapter with sayings by the Buddha or the Tathāgata. More than two-thirds of the discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* have parallels in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*.

The precise number of discourses in the two collections is difficult to determine, because in both a discourse is often followed by an indication that the same exposition should be repeated in relation to a series of related terms or topics, resulting in permutations that at times can be interpreted in different ways. The actual count of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* discourses appears to be around 2,900 in most editions, a count that includes the repetitions, although a different mode of executing the repetitions in the Ceylonese edition results in over 7,600 discourses (Gethin, 2007, 369), closer to the total count of discourses given in the Pali commentarial tradition for the *Saṃyuttanikāya*. In the case of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, the numbering of discourses in the Taishō edition goes up to 1,362 (from which the above-mentioned three discourses that do not belong to the collection would need to be subtracted), but this count does not include the repetitions. If these are taken into account, the number of discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* would be considerably more than the count in the Ceylonese edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (Yìnshùn, 1983, arrives at 13,412 discourses).

At times, a discourse in the *Saṃyuktāgama* appears to be so late that its counterpart has found inclusion only in the Pali commentarial tradition. An example is the tale of the Buddha's descent from Trayastriṃśa (Heaven of the Thirty-three), after a rainy-season retreat spent there teaching the gods and his mother (T. 99 [II].134a7; Dhp-a III, 216ff.). This suggests that the *Saṃyuktāgama* as a whole would not be distinctly earlier than other *āgamas* or *nikāyas*. Nor does it seem probable that the topical division employed as the structuring principle for the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and *Saṃyuktāgama* collections was the earliest principle used for assembling discourses during the formative stages of the Buddhist canonical collections (Anālayo, 2011, 697f.).

While the tale of this sojourn of the Buddha in heaven is clearly late, the same qualification does not necessarily hold for other discourses that refer to gods and celestial travels. The *Saṃyuktāgama*, as well as the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, has entire topical divisions (*saṃyuktas*) dedicated to discourses that show the Buddha and his disciples in lively interaction with various gods, flying to their heavens for shorter or longer visits, and discussing various topics with them. Several of these discourses appear to be rather early and show similarity to Vedic texts (von Hinüber, 1997, 38). It would hardly do justice to such material if one were to consider only the doctrinal teachings as authentic aspects of early Buddhism. As far as the texts allow us to judge, supernatural tales and events were an integral aspect of early Buddhist thought right from the outset. Alongside such supernatural elements, however, the emphasis in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and the *Saṃyuktāgama* is clearly on doctrinal topics, while narrative elements are considerably less frequent than in the *Dīrghāgama* and *Madhyamāgama*.

The *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Ekottarikāgama*

The *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Collections of Numerically Arranged Discourses) and the *Ekottarikāgama* are extant in Pali, transmitted by the Theravāda tradition, and in a Chinese translation by Zhú Fóniàn, undertaken in 384 CE and based on what appears to have been a Prakrit original recited by Dharmanandin. The school affiliation of the *Ekottarikāgama* now extant in the Taishō edition as entry number 125 under the title *Zēngyī āhán* (增壹阿含) has been a subject of ongoing discussion among scholars. While a Mahāsāṃghika affiliation is the most often-mentioned hypothesis, for the time being, it seems best to consider the provenance of the *Ekottarikāgama* as uncertain.

In addition to these two complete collections, the Chinese canon has preserved a partial *Ekottarikāgama* collection (T. 150a; see Harrison, 1997) translated by Ān Shìgāo (安世高) as well as individual discourses preserved in Chinese translation (T. 127–149). Parts of a collection of numerical

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discourses are extant in Sanskrit (Tripathi, 1995), besides other fragmentary parallels and a few counterparts in Tibetan translation. A commentary on the first part of the *Ekottarikāgama* is found in the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* (分別功德論; T. 1507).

The basic principle adopted in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Ekottarikāgama* groups together discourses that are in some way related to a particular number. The numbers taken into consideration proceed one by one, which would have earned the collections their title, beginning with a section on ones and coming to a conclusion with a section on elevens. Not all numerical topics are necessarily covered, however, since items like the four noble truths or the noble eightfold path have found inclusion in the topical arrangement in the *Saṃyukta* collections instead (the noble eightfold path does, however, appear as part of the tenfold path among the section on tens; AN V.223). The division between the *Saṃyukta* and *Ekottarika* collections is not always clear-cut, and at times, items are present in both collections.

As a result of the inclusion of discourses with an emphasis on doctrinal matters in the topical arrangement in the *Saṃyukta* collections, the discourses left for assignment according to the numerical principle tend to cover more practical matters and everyday issues, which makes the numerical collection particularly suited to the concerns of the laity, although the collection also has some passages that are related to monastic discipline. The spiritual and mundane needs of the laity are in fact taken into account in a number of early discourses in the *āgamas*/*nikāyas*, clearly indicating that early Buddhism was not solely concerned with teaching monastics. Thus, for example, a listing of disciples outstanding for particular qualities in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and in the *Ekottarikāgama* covers not only monks and nuns but also male and female lay disciples.

An emphasis on practical teachings appears to be also reflected in the indication given in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhāṣā* that various teachings "for gods and humans" are assembled in the *Ekottarikāgama* (T.1440 [XXIII].503c27). The Pali commentarial tradition attributes the transmission of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* to the disciples of Anuruddha (Sv I.15), who was famous for his exercise of a supernatural ability called the divine eye. According to tradition, with the help of the divine eye, a practitioner is able to see events far away and in various heavenly spheres, which would presumably have furnished Anuruddha with the kind of information relevant to the concerns of gods and humans.

Among the Pali *nikāyas*, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* is the largest collection, according to a commentarial count covering 120 recitation sections, *bhāṇavāras*, whereas the *Dīghanikāya* consists of 64, the *Majjhimanikāya* of 80, and the *Saṃyuttanikāya* of 100 such recitation sections (Sp-ṭ I.63).

In its original layout, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* may have gone from ones to tens only, since the final section of tens contains discourses with 20, 30, and 40 items (AN V.304ff.). This suggests that the idea behind this collection would have at first been based on the standard count of ten – which is the regular number used in the *āgamas*/*nikāyas* for the formation of chapters – to which a section on elevens was subsequently added.

The discourses in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* are often terse, a feature also found in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*. In both collections, narrative introductions are regularly abbreviated or even completely dispensed with, as happens also with the standard conclusion to a discourse. The large number of discourses in these two collections and the resulting frequency with which the standard introduction and concluding sections needed to be recited during oral transmission or written on manuscripts during the subsequent period of written transmission would have recommended such abbreviations. Another feature shared by these two collections is the occurrence of discourses that deal with the same theme with only minor variations, possibly reflecting multiple instances of the same basic teaching given at different times.

The influence of the labor division among reciters of different *āgamas*/*nikāyas* shows itself not only in relation to the standard introduction and conclusion phrases of a discourse but also in the account of the same event, which may differ depending on the discourse collection in which a record of this event has been transmitted. An example is the last meeting between Māra and the Buddha. A discourse in the *Dīghanikāya* indicates that Māra approached the Buddha, stood at one side, and then addressed the Buddha (DN II.104); a version of the same event in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* only mentions that he approached the Buddha, without indicating that he stood at one side (SN V.260); and a version in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* does not describe his approach at all (AN IV.310). Another example is a visit paid by the minister Vassakāra to the Buddha. The *Dīghanikāya* version describes in detail how Vassakāra got his chariot ready, drove with it up to the place where the Buddha was staying, and then descended to proceed on foot (DN II.73). An *Aṅguttaranikāya* record of the same meeting only mentions that Vassakāra approached the Buddha, without indicating in what way he had come (AN IV.18). These cases illustrate a tendency toward more succinct presentation in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and all the more so in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, even in the case of reporting the same story.

The *Ekottarikāgama* has 52 chapters that contain 472 discourses, of which fewer than one-third have counterparts among the over 2,300 discourses of the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Compared with the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, certain discourses in the *Ekottarikāgama* show distinct signs of lateness, such as the influence of Mahāyāna ideas. Thus one discourse reports Maitreya inquiring from the Buddha about the six perfections (T. 125 [II].45b1), another two discourses mention the arousing of the "mind [that aspires to] the awakening [of a Buddha]," *bodhicitta*, in those who have not yet cultivated it, presenting such arousal as something that necessarily accompanies the appearance of a tathāgata (T. 125 [II].699a6; T. 125 [II].703b18). In yet another discourse, the Buddha even uses the derogatory term "Hīnayāna", (*xiǎoshèng*; 小乘), when disclosing four of his qualities that followers of the "Inferior Vehicle" cannot understand (T. 125 [II].640a5). The collection also reflects developments in ancient Indian art in which, following an aniconic phase, the Buddha was represented in sculpture and painting. The actual making of Buddha statues is then reported in one *Ekottarikāgama* discourse (T. 125 [II].706a11), a clear sign of the lateness of this particular passage.

Even though among the complete *āgama*s extant in Chinese the *Ekottarikāgama* was the first to be translated, in terms of content it contains material that is much later than that found in other *āgamas*/*nikāyas*. In fact, some material appears to have become part of this collection only in China (Anālayo, 2013).

However, this does not mean that all *Ekottarikāgama* discourses are late. On the contrary, some of its discourses have preserved a presentation that appears to be earlier than their Pali counterparts. Speaking of the lateness of the *Ekottarikāgama* as a whole thus only means that the material found in this collection reflects a broader time span in the development of Buddhist thought than do the other *āgamas*/*nikāyas*, since the *Ekottarikāgama* preserved in Chinese translation has remained open to addition and change for a longer period.

In contrast to the *Ekottarikāgama*, the other *āgamas*/*nikāyas* do not show such explicit influence of Mahāyāna ideas or of the development of Buddhist iconography. In terms of transmission, the four Pali *nikāyas* appear to have come to closure, leaving aside minor variants, by the 1st century BCE when, according to tradition, they were committed to writing. Since the Pali discourses do not refer to the famous king Aśoka and their political and geographical awareness reflects pre-Aśokan conditions in India, the four Pali *nikāyas* and their parallels in the Chinese *āgamas* have the potential of taking us back to early stages in the development of Buddhist thought (Anālayo, 2012b).

During the period up to the writing down of the texts, the impact of oral transmission on the discourses has left clear marks. Thus a proper appreciation of the textual material found in the *āgamas*/*nikāyas* needs to be based on a clear recognition of the nature of these discourses, which came into being in an oral setting, were transmitted by oral means, and functioned as part of an oral performance. This, in turn, makes a comparative study of the extant parallels imperative. Leaving aside the late parts in the *Ekottarikāgama*, a comparative study of the oral literature collected in the *āgamas*/*nikāyas* offers an important window on a range of aspects of Buddhist thought in the initial stages of its development.

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ANĀLAYO

Vinayas

The Sanskrit and Pali term "Vinaya" (Tib. *'Dul ba*; Chin. *lü* [律]) refers to the body of teachings concerning monastic discipline or law attributed to the historical Buddha. In theory each ordination lineage or school possessed its own Vinaya. However, only six seemingly complete Vinayas have come down to us, belonging to schools (*nikāyas*) from both sides of the so-called great schism in Buddhist history purportedly a century or so after the Buddha's death: one is a Vinaya belonging to the Mahāsāṅghikas ("Majority"; with significant sections from an offshoot school, the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins), and five stem from the branch known as the Sthaviras ("Elders"): (1) Theravāda (Mahāvihāra), (2) Dharmaguptaka, (3) Mahīśāsaka, (4) Sarvāstivāda, and (5) Mūlasarvāstivāda. In addition, we have some materials from the Kāśyapīya and Sāṃmitīya. As for the Vinayas of schools whose literatures have not survived, little can be said. In at least one well-documented case, a quotation from a lost Theravādin Vinaya (of the Abhayagiri school) has survived (von Hinüber, 1996, 22–23).

The Vinaya texts deal with rules and procedures, that is, they (1) dictate proper deportment and behavior of *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* (monks and nuns) and (2) govern the actions of the monastic community or saṅgha as a corporate entity. These two foci are reflected in the twofold division in this textual corpus between (1) *vinayavibhaṅgas* (explanations of the Vinaya) or *sūtravibhaṅgas* (explanations of the [*Prātimokṣa*] *sūtra*) and (2) *vastus* (Pal. *khandhaka*; chapters). The former are two separate canonical analyses of the rules for monks and nuns contained in their respective *Prātimokṣasūtras*, ritual texts containing lists of approximately 250 rules for monks (350 for nuns) to be recited fortnightly by all ordained monastics to ensure the purity of the community by allowing for the confession of any infractions. The latter are a series of approximately 20 thematically arranged chapters on various topics such as confession (recitation of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*); ordination; penance and probation (for transgressions of the second class of *prātimokṣa* offenses); rains' retreat; schisms; and the use of leather, medicines, and robe cloth.

Not all Vinayas or monastic-law codes contain the same sections. In addition to the *vibhaṅgas* and *vastus*, the two most important sections are the *Parivāra*, the third and final section of the Theravāda Vinaya, and the *Uttaragrantha*, the fourth and final section of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. Whereas, in comparison with other sections of the same Vinaya, the *Parivāra* is a much later or younger (1st/2nd cents.[?]; von Hinüber, 1996, 22) section, the opposite seems to be true of the *Uttaragrantha*. Most of the material common to all extant Vinayas is found in the *vibhaṅgas* and *vastus*; unlike the *Parivāra* or *Uttaragrantha*, these sections lend themselves particularly well to comparative studies and discussions of historical, textual development, whether it be in terms of enlargement from some hypothetical urtext (e.g. Frauwallner, 1956) or borrowing and leveling (e.g. Schopen, [1985] 1997, 25–29; [2012] 2014, 128–129n7).

Structure of the *Vibhaṅgas*

The basic structure of the *vibhaṅgas* of all Vinayas is similar, albeit with some important differences. As a rule, the *vibhaṅgas* follow the order of presentation of rules found in the *Prātimokṣasūtras*: the rules are presented in categories of descending order of gravity of offense, seven in total, with the addition of an eighth category being a listing of seven formal procedures for dispute resolution. The eight categories are as follows (with representative but not exhaustive Indian terminology and Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions and translations; for an indication of the number of rules in each category in extant Vinaya texts, see table 1 below):

1. offenses entailing excommunication from the saṅgha (Skt./Pal. *pārājika*; Chn. *boluoyi* [波羅夷]; Tib. *pham par 'gyur ba*);
2. offenses entailing temporary penance (Skt. *saṅghāvaśeṣa/saṃghātiśeṣa*; Pal. *saṅghādisesa*; Chn. *sengqieposhisha* [僧伽婆尸沙]/*sengcanfa* [僧殘法]; Tib. *dge 'dun lhag ma*);
3. undetermined offenses (Skt./Pal. *aniyata*; Chn. *buding* [不定]; Tib. *ma nges pa*);

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e table 1 below):
ntailing excommunication from the
kt./Pal. *pārājika*; Chn. *boluoyi* [波羅
ham par 'gyur ba);
entailing temporary penance (Skt.
śeṣa/saṃghātiśeṣa; Pal. *saṅghādisesa*;
qieposhisha [僧伽婆尸沙]/*sengcanfa*
Tib. *dge 'dun lhag ma*);
ined offenses (Skt./Pal. *aniyata*; Chn.
定]; Tib. *ma nges pa*);

4. offenses entailing atonement with confiscation (Skt. *naiḥsargika-pāyantikā*; Pal. *nissaggiya-pācittiya*; Chn. *nisaqiboyiti* [尼薩耆波逸提]/*sheduofa* [捨墮法]; Tib. *spang ba'i ltung byed*);
5. offenses entailing atonement (Skt. *pāyantikā/pātayantikā/pācattika*; Pal. *pācittiya*; Chn. *boyiti* [波逸提]/*duofa* [墮法]; Tib. *ltung byed*);
6. offenses entailing confession (Skt. *pratideśanīya/pratideśanika*; Pal. *pāṭidesanīya*; Chn. *boluotitisheni* [波羅提提舍尼]/*huiguofa* [悔過法]; Tib. *so sor bshags par bya ba*);
7. rules dictating etiquette (Skt. *śaikṣa*; Pal. *sekhiya*; Chn. *zhongxuefa* [衆學法]; Tib. *bslab pa'i chos*); and
8. legal procedures for dispute resolution (Skt. *adhikaraṇaśamatha*; Pal. *adhikaraṇasamatha*; Chn. *miezhengfa* [滅諍法]; Tib. *rtsod pa zhi bar bya ba'i chos*).

The individual rules of the *Prātimokṣasūtras* are presented in detail in the *vibhaṅgas* according to a fivefold structure, again with some variation. The names of these five sections are known primarily from the *Samantapāsādikā*, extant in Pali (von Hinüber, 1996, 13): (1) narrative frame (*vatthu*), (2) establishment of rule (*paññatti*), (3) amendment of rule (*anupaññatti*), (4) word analysis (*padabhājaniya*) including casuistry dealing with hypothetical situations, and (5) exception clauses (*anāpatti*). Some rules have another section (*vinītavatthu*) dealing with "case law," included in the Theravāda Vinaya between the word analysis and the exception clauses but found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and all other extant Vinayas in distinct and separate sections outside the *vibhaṅgas*.

Each category of analysis is not necessarily found for every rule in the extant Vinayas. In general, most of the some 250 individual rules of training (*śikṣāpada*) for monks are introduced with a narrative frame story. Some of the rules dictating protocols of etiquette (*śaikṣa*) have highly abbreviated or even no frame stories, and most have little in terms of the other categories of analysis mentioned above. Moreover, in some Vinayas the frame stories for rules applicable to both monks and nuns are abbreviated in the nuns' *vibhaṅga*. In narratively rich traditions such as the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, even for the shared rules, there are separate frame stories and other categories of analysis for nuns' rules.

Structure of the *Vastus*

Structurally, although not necessarily in terms of content, it is the *vastus* and what are usually taken to be their Mahāsāṅghika counterparts (the 14 *vargas* of the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* and, to a lesser extent, the 7 *vargas* of the *Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ*; Frauwallner, 1956, 198) in which we see the greatest divergence between the Sthavira Vinayas and the non-Sthavira *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* (*Mohesengqi-lü*; 摩訶僧祇律; T. 1425). Among the Sthavira Vinayas, there is more or less agreement in terms of the chapter titles and their general content. We may differentiate a total of 22 chapters as follows (Sanskrit titles from the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* where extant):

1. *Pravrajyāvastu* (Chapter on "Going Forth" or Ordination);
2. *Poṣadhavastu* (Chapter on Monks' and Nuns' Fortnightly *Prātimokṣasūtra* Recitation and Confession Ceremony on *Poṣadha* ["Fast"] Days of the Full and New Moons);
3. *Pravāraṇāvastu* (Chapter on the *Pravāraṇā* ["Invitation"] Ceremony Marking the End of the Rains' Retreat When Monks and Nuns are Invited to Point out Any Offenses That They Have Seen, Heard, or Suspected during the Rains' Retreat);
4. *Varṣāvastu* (Chapter on the Three-Month Rains' Retreat);
5. *Carmavastu* (Chapter on the Use of Leather);
6. *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Chapter on the Use of Medicines);
7. *Cīvaravastu* (Chapter on the Use of Robes and Other Property);
8. *Kaṭhinavastu* (Chapter on the *Kaṭhina* ["Rough Cloth"] Donated by Laypeople After the Rains' Retreat and the Ceremony That Exempts Monks and Nuns from Certain Vinaya Requirements For up to Five Months Thereby Allowing Them to Receive Donations of Robe Cloth Which They Then Make into Robes;
9. *Kauśāmbakavastu* (Chapter on the Kauśāmbaka Dispute);
10. *Karmavastu* (Chapter on the Campā Incident);
11. *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu* (Chapter on Formal Acts for Suspension and Other Disciplinary Measures);
12. *Pudgalavastu* (Chapter on the Six-Day *Mānatva/Mānāpya* Penance for the Commission of *Saṅghāvaśeṣa* Offenses);

Table 1: Approximate Number of *Prātimokṣa* Rules for Monks and Nuns According to Vinaya Tradition (Arranged in Ascending Order of Rule Total)

Vinaya tradition	**Monks/ Nuns**	*Pār.*	*SA*	*Aniy.*	*NP*	*Pāy.*	*Pratid.*	*Śai.*	*AŚ*	Total
Sāṃmitīya	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	?	?	?
Mahāsāṅghika	Monks	4	13	2	30	92	4	66	7	218
Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda	Monks	4	13	2	30	92	4	67	7	219
Theravāda (Mahāvihāra)	Monks	4	13	2	30	92	4	75	7	227
Kāśyapīya	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	96	7	246
Mūlasarvāstivāda (Chn.)	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	99	7	249
Dharmaguptaka	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	100	7	250
Mahīśāsaka	Monks	4	13	2	30	91	4	100	7	251
Mūlasarvāstivāda (Tib.)	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	112	7	262
Sarvāstivāda (Chn.)	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	113	7	263
Sarvāstivāda (Skt. fragments)	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	113	7	263
Sarvāstivāda (*Binaiye*)	Monks	4	13	2	30	90	4	113	7	263
Mahāsāṅghika	Nuns	8	19	0	30	141	8	77/ 64[a]	7	290/ 277[a]
Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda	Nuns	8	19	0	30	141	8	66	7	279
Theravāda (Mahāvihāra)	Nuns	8	17	0	30	166	8	75	7	311
Dharmaguptaka	Nuns	8	17	0	30	178	8	100	7	348
Sarvāstivāda (Chn.)	Nuns	8	17	0	30	178	8	107	7	355
Sarvāstivāda (Chn. Dunhuang)	Nuns	8	17	0	30	178	8	110	7	358
Mūlasarvāstivāda (Chn. *vibhaṅga* and *prātimokṣa*)	Nuns	8	20	0	33	180	11	99	7	358
Mūlasarvāstivāda (Tib. *prātimokṣa*)	Nuns	8	20	0	33	180	11	112	7	371
Mahīśāsaka	Nuns	8	17	0	30	210	8	100	(7)[b]	380

a *vibhaṅga* and *prātimokṣa*, respectively;

b applicability assumed, rules not present in text.

Abbreviations: *Pār.* = *pārājika*; *SA* = *saṅghāvaśeṣa*; *Aniy.* = *aniyata*; *NP* = *naiḥsargika-pāyantikā*; *Pāy.* = *pāyantikā*; *Pratid.* = *pratideśanīya*; *Śai.* = *śaikṣa*; *AŚ* = *adhikaraṇaśamatha*.

This table should not be taken as definitive but rather as an approximate guide (see also Waldschmidt, 1926, 3; Nishimoto, 1928; Takakusu, vol. V, 1936–1940, 1–23; Pachow, 1955, 11; Ueda, 1976, 204; Hirakawa, vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 21, 81).

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13. *Pārivāsikavastu* (Cha
Probation for Conceal
Offenses);
14. *Poṣadhasthāpanavast*
pension of the Fortni
sion Ceremony);
15. *Śayanāsanavastu* (Cl
Lodgings);
16. *Adhikaraṇavastu* (Cha
17. *Saṅghabhedavastu* (C
18. Chapter 18 is not pr
the *vastus* and is tre
tion in the Mūlas
Kṣudrakavastu (Cha
This chapter contain
in multiple sections i
ing the following four
19. *Vattakkhandhaka* (Cl
20. *Bhikkhunīkkhandhak*
21. *Pañcasatikakkhandha*
Council of 500 Arhats
22. *Sattasatikakkhandha*
ond Council of 700 A

Unlike the above cha
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the Mahāsāṅghika counte
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Mahāsāṅghika section co
sion of ordination but als
on *karmans* or formal acts
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Shisong-lü (十誦律; T. 143
伽; T. 1441), and the *Mūlas*
Mātṛkā. Moreover, the st
vargas also corresponds
The *Mātṛkās*, however, a
from the *vastus*, which
contain numerous narra
entirely lacking from the
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compare the structure
of the *Mahāsāṅghikavin*
of the Sthavira Vinayas b
the various Sthavira *Mātṛ*
necessity of engaging in t

Nuns According to Vinaya Tradition

Pratid.	Śai.	AŚ	Total
4	?	?	?
4	66	7	218
4	67	7	219
4	75	7	227
4	96	7	246
4	99	7	249
4	100	7	250
4	100	7	251
4	112	7	262
4	113	7	263
4	113	7	263
4	113	7	263
8	77/ 64ᵃ	7	290/ 277ᵃ
8	66	7	279
8	75	7	311
8	100	7	348
8	107	7	355
8	110	7	358
11	99	7	358
11	112	7	371
8	100	(7)ᵇ	380

ntikā; *Pāy.* = *pāyantikā*; *Pratid.* = *pratideśanīya*;

also Waldschmidt, 1926, 3; Nishimoto, 1928;
60] 1999–2000, 21, 81).

13. *Pārivāsikavastu* (Chapter on the *Parivāsa* Probation for Concealment of *Saṅghāvaśeṣa* Offenses);
14. *Poṣadhasthāpanavastu* (Chapter on the Suspension of the Fortnightly *Poṣadha* Confession Ceremony);
15. *Śayanāsanavastu* (Chapter on the Use of Lodgings);
16. *Adhikaraṇavastu* (Chapter on Disputes);
17. *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Chapter on Schisms);
18. Chapter 18 is not properly counted among the *vastus* and is treated as a separate section in the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition: *Kṣudrakavastu* (Chapter on Miscellanea). This chapter contains material that is found in multiple sections in other Vinayas including the following four (Pali titles):
19. *Vattakkhandhaka* (Chapter on Deportment);
20. *Bhikkhunīkkhandhaka* (Chapter on Nuns);
21. *Pañcasatikakkhandhaka* (Chapter on the First Council of 500 Arhats); and
22. *Sattasatikakkhandhaka* (Chapter on the Second Council of 700 Arhats).

Unlike the above chapters, which comprise the section governing the actions of the saṅgha as a corporate body, the Mahāsāṅghika counterpart is divided into numbered but untitled *vargas* or sections. There is no one-to-one correlation between the Sthavira chapters and the *vargas* of the Mahāsāṅghika counterparts. Although the first *varga* of the extant *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* may at first glance seem similar to the first of the Sthavira chapters, namely the chapter on ordination, the Mahāsāṅghika section contains not only a discussion of ordination but also a technical discussion on *karmans* or formal acts. This same order of topics is also found in a separate text known in the *Shisong-lü* (十誦律; T. 1435), the *Modeleqie* (摩得勒伽; T. 1441), and the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* as the *Mātṛkā*. Moreover, the style of the Mahāsāṅghika *vargas* also corresponds with that of the *Mātṛkās*. The *Mātṛkās*, however, are very different in style from the *vastus*, which generally begin with and contain numerous narratives, something almost entirely lacking from the *Mātṛkās*. Strictly in terms of the development of Vinaya literature, we may compare the structure of the thematic sections of the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* not with the *vastus* of the Sthavira Vinayas but with the *khaṇḍakas* of the various Sthavira *Mātṛkās*, thus relieving us of the necessity of engaging in textual gymnastics in order to posit some hypothetical rearrangement that might explain the structural differences between the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* and the Sthavira Vinayas (Clarke, 2004a).

The following select survey of the extant corpus of canonical Indic Vinaya literature, including works preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation but excluding indigenous Chinese or Tibetan works and the numerous *karmavācanā* (formularies of formal ecclesiastical acts) collections, is arranged according to sectarian divisions as presently understood. Important texts including the *Pinimujing* (毘尼母經; T. 1463; Haimavata school[?] or Dharmaguptaka school[?]) and *Foshuo bichu wufajing* (佛說苾芻五法經; T. 1479) have not been included due to space limitations and the fact that their sectarian identity remains disputed or unclear.

(Surveys of Vinaya literature include Frauwallner, 1956; Banerjee, 1957, 28–50, 79–246; Lamotte, [1958] 1988, 165–179; Hirakawa, [1960] 1999–2000; Tokuda, 1974; Yuyama, 1979; Hirakawa, 1982, 6–14; Tsedroen, 1992; Prebish, 1994; Wang, 1994; and Heirman, 2007. For Central Asian Vinaya texts, see Inokuchi, 1995, 329–351. For Dunhuang Vinaya texts in Chinese, see Tsuchihashi, 1980, 661–886. For Dunhuang Vinaya texts in Tibetan, see Okimoto, 1985. For Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya texts in Tibetan, with reference to Yijing's Chinese translations, see Sakurabe, 1928. For an update to Yuyama, 1979, in light of Indic manuscript finds, see Yamagiwa, 2007. For catalogues of Sanskrit fragments from the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayas, see Chung, 2002; Hartmann & Wille, 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; Wille, 2014a; 2014b. For the Gilgit Vinaya texts, see Clarke, 2014. For Gandhari Vinaya texts – especially on the two versions of rules from a *prātimokṣasūtra* preserved on different sides of the same folio [obverse seemingly Dharmaguptaka/Kāśyapīya and reverse perhaps Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin], see Falk & Strauch, 2014, 57–60; see also Strauch, 2014, 817–825. For manuscript evidence on the marginalia of SHT [V] 1068, suggestive of early Vinaya Studies in Central Asia, see Clarke, 2011.)

There is a substantial commentarial literature on the Vinayas extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations, but only a small number of commentaries are extant in Sanskrit. (For a useful but dated survey of Indian commentaries in Tibetan translation, with a few in Chinese, see Banerjee, 1957, 36–50; Maeda, 2001.)

Mahāsāṅghikas

Mohesengqi-lü

The *Mohesengqi-lü* (摩訶僧祇律; *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya*; T. 1425 [XXII]; 40 fasc.) is the only extant, "complete" non-Sthavira Vinaya. Unlike most of the Sthavira Vinayas, this Vinaya preserves its sectarian identity in its title, albeit in transcription. It was translated by the Indian Buddhabhadra (Fotuobatuoluo [佛陀跋陀羅]; 359–429 CE) in collaboration with Faxian (法顯; c. 337–422 CE) between 416 and 418 CE on the basis of a manuscript copied and brought back to China by Faxian from Pāṭaliputra. This Vinaya contains a large number of quotations from *āgama* and *jātaka* material (Hirakawa, vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 361–369). It is arranged as follows:

(1) [*Bhikṣu*] *prātimokṣavibhaṅga* (*boluotimucha fenbie* [波羅提木叉分別]; T. 1425 [XXII] 227a5–412b15; fasc. 1–22);

(2) Miscellaneous [i.e. *Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka*] Recitation of the *Varga* Dharmas (*zasong baqufa* [雜誦跋渠法]; T. 1425 [XXII] 412b20–499a16; 14 *vargas*; fasc. 23–33);

(3) *Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* (*weiyifa* [威儀法]; T. 1425 [XXII] 499a21–514a17; 7 *vargas*; fasc. 34–35);

(4) *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga* (*biqiuni boluotimucha fenbie* [比丘尼波羅提木叉分別]; T. 1425 [XXII] 514a22–544c10; fasc. 36–40);

(5) Miscellaneous [i.e. *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*] *Varga* (*za baqu* [雜跋渠]; T. 1425 [XXII] 544c11–548a28; 5 *vargas*; fasc. 40);

(6) Postscript (*siji* [私記]; T. 1425 [XXII] 548a29–b25; fasc. 40); and

(7) *Sūtra* on the Severity of Retribution for Transgression of Precepts Spoken by the Buddha (*Foshuo fanjiezuibaoqingzhongjing* [佛說犯戒罪報輕重經]; T. 1425 [XXII] 548b26–549a2; fasc. 40; this *sūtra* is almost identical to T. 1467 [XXIV], the translation of which is untenably attributed to An Shigao [安世高; *fl.* 148–180 CE]; the latter text, however, contains six extra verses after the prose section). The *sūtra* details the length of time to be spent in hell for the commission of various monastic offenses (on T. 1467, see Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 198–200).

(The *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga*, the *bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*, the section related to nuns in the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* [471a25–476b11], and the postscript have been translated into English by Hirakawa Akira [1982]. For a German translation of the *Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ*, see Karashima, 2012; miscellaneous French translations are available in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 270–335.) (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 144–147; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.55–1.57; Prebish, 1994, 57–60.)

Mohesengqi-lü dabiqiu jieben

The Chinese translation of this *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, titled *Mohesengqi-lü dabiqiu jieben* (摩訶僧祇律大比丘戒本; *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* Great *Bhikṣu* Precept Book; T. 1426 [XXII]; one fasc.), is ascribed to the Indian Buddhabhadra. A number of important discrepancies between this *prātimokṣa* and the *vibhaṅga* of the *Mohesengqi-lü* preclude the possibility that the former is merely an extraction from the *vibhaṅga*. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 232–240; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.51; Prebish, 1994, 56–57.)

Mohesengqi biqiuni jieben

The Chinese translation of this *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, titled *Mohesengqi biqiuni jieben* (摩訶僧祇比丘尼戒本; *Mahāsāṅghika Bhikṣuṇī* Precept Book; T. 1427 [XXII]; one fasc.), is ascribed to Faxian and Buddhabhadra (Juexian [覺賢]). There are inconsistencies between this *prātimokṣa* and the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* of the *Mohesengqi-lü*, particularly in the number of *śaikṣa* rules: 77 in this *prātimokṣa*, with only 64 in the *vibhaṅga* (see table 1 above). This *prātimokṣa* is thought not to be a separate translation but an extract that became corrupt during its transmission in China (English translation in Kabilsingh, 1998, 44–79). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 246–247; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 76–77; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.52; Prebish, 1994, 57.)

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins

Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins

We do not possess a complete text of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins. Our knowledge of the structure of this Vinaya is based on the Mahāsāṅghika parallels preserved in Chinese and the following limited corpus of Indian manuscripts. The attribution of fragments to this Vinaya is not entirely secure (Tournier, 2014); the attributions are generally based on similarities with Chinese parallels in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas and various terminological peculiarities. The attribution of complete manuscripts, however, is secure, since these preserve colophons.

Although long considered an *avadāna*, the *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart, 1882–1897; trans. Jones,

, vol. II, 1910–1911, 270–335.) (See also
I, [1960] 1999–2000, 144–147; Yuyama,
57; Prebish, 1994, 57–60.)

-lü dabiqiu jieben

translation of this *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*,
ngqi-lü dabiqiu jieben (摩訶僧祇律
Mahāsāṅghikavinaya Great *Bhikṣu*
T. 1426 [XXII]; one fasc.), is ascribed
Buddhabhadra. A number of impor-
ncies between this *prātimokṣa* and
of the *Mohesengqi-lü* preclude the
t the former is merely an extraction
ṅga. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960]
2–240; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.51; Prebish,

biqiuni jieben

anslation of this *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*,
ngqi biqiuni jieben (摩訶僧祇比丘尼
ghika Bhikṣuṇī Precept Book; T. 1427
c.), is ascribed to Faxian and Buddha-
n [覺賢]). There are inconsistencies
rātimokṣa and the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*
gqi-lü, particularly in the number of
in this *prātimokṣa*, with only 64 in
see table 1 above). This *prātimokṣa*
to be a separate translation but an
came corrupt during its transmission
lish translation in Kabilsingh, 1998,
o Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000,
I, [1960] 1999–2000, 76–77; Yuyama,
bish, 1994, 57.)

ika-Lokottaravādins

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins

sess a complete text of the Vinaya
ghika-Lokottaravādins. Our knowl-
cture of this Vinaya is based on the
parallels preserved in Chinese and
mited corpus of Indian manuscripts.
of fragments to this Vinaya is not
(Tournier, 2014); the attributions are
on similarities with Chinese paral-
a of the Mahāsāṅghikas and various
peculiarities. The attribution of com-
pts, however, is secure, since these
ons.

ng considered an *avadāna*, the
. Senart, 1882–1897; trans. Jones,

1949–1956; Hiraoka, 2010) has clearly been shown by V. Tournier (2012) to be a part of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins (as noted above, the *Mohesengqi-lü* contains a large number of quotations from *āgama* and *jātaka* material). A 12th–13th-century manuscript ("manuscript Sa") published by A. Yuyama (2001, xlvi–xlix) appears to be the oldest witness of the Nepalese *Mahāvastu* manuscript tradition (Tournier, 2012). In connection with the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya texts found in Tibet, one should not forget that Atiśa (982–1054 CE), a prominent figure in the *phyi dar* ("later spread") of Buddhist teachings into Tibet, was ordained in the Mahāsāṅghika lineage (Chattopadhyaya, 1967, 69–70). The *Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* and *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga* may have been copied in Vikramaśīla (Tournier, forthcoming a), a monastery closely associated with the Mahāsāṅghikas (Roth, 1970, xv–xvi). (For a detailed survey of Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin materials, see Tournier, forthcoming a.)

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda: Bhikṣuprātimokṣavibhaṅga

A fragment (no. 7) first edited by S. Lévi (1932, 11–12), reedited and discussed by O. von Hinüber (1986), and studied by H. Matsumura (1988) and É. Nolot (1988), preserves a parallel to T. 1425 (XXII) 307a–b (*naiḥsargika* 11 but perhaps 12 for the fragment). S. Karashima (2002) transliterates and translates folio 136 from a manuscript written in Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I script (6th cent.) corresponding to T. 1425 (XXII) 336c26–29 (*pācattika* 6) and fragments from folio 14(x) corresponding to T. 1425 (XXII) 337a19–24 (*pācattika* 7). S. Karashima (2000a) transliterates and translates a fragment (Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I) corresponding to T. 1425 (XXII) 341a23–b17 (*pācattika* 13) and fragments from two folios in early Western Gupta script (4th cent.) corresponding to T. 1425 (XXII) 391b7–c18 (*pācattikas* 83–84; Karashima, 2006; further folios are scheduled to appear in Schøyen, vol. IV, forthcoming; see also Braarvig, 2014, 164).

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda: Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka

S. Lévi (1932, 5–8) edits and discusses a Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I fragment (no. 5) on the *pratisāraṇīyakarman* (a procedure for reconciliation made by a monk to laypeople whom he has offended), a parallel to which is found at T. 1425 (XXII) 425c–426a. A single fragmentary folio (no. 80) in North Western Gupta Brahmi (5th cent.) was edited by S. Sasaki and N. Yamagiwa (2006) but now should be studied in light of V. Tournier's remarks (2014). A quotation from the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* is preserved in Śāntideva's 8th-century *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Yuyama, 2003; Tournier, 2014). (On a fragment in the Schøyen collection [MS 2379/72], presumably from the *pātrapratisaṃyukta* section of the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka*, with parallels in the *Mahāvastu* [iii: 305.3–310.6] and the Mahāsāṅghika *Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* [T. 1425 (XXII) 501b2–11], see Tournier, forthcoming b.) A summary of the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* in the form of keywords (*prakīrṇakoddāna*) is appended to the *bhikṣuṇīvinaya* (*bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga* and *bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*; see Roth, 1970, 327–334; for a useful comparative listing of the *bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* and its Chinese parallels, see Chung, 2006, 183–187).

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda: Abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ

A complete, 50-folio palm-leaf manuscript with colophon identifying sectarian affiliation was found by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Zha lu Monastery in Tibet, the seat of Bu ston (1290–1364 CE; see below), and was first edited by Jinānanda (1969; see Bandurski, 1994, 95–96 [§ 55b]; the Anglophone reader may still profit from the translation in S. Singh & K. Minowa [1988]; a facsimile edition was published by Taisho University in 1998; various chapters have been edited and translated into Japanese by the Abhisamācārika Dharma Study Group at Taisho University; see Yonezawa & Nagashima, 2014, 331; for an edition and German translation, see Karashima, 2012).

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda: Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣavibhaṅga and *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*

An Indic text with colophon identifying sectarian affiliation was edited by G. Roth (1970) on the basis of an 11th–12th-century, 80-folio palm-leaf manuscript found in Zha lu Monastery in Tibet by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana (see Bandurski, 1994, 94–95 [§ 55a]; fol. 71b, not included in Roth, 1970, is edited in the second edition [2005]; for a French translation, see Nolot, 1991). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 104–108; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.66–1.60; Prebish, 1994, 62–65.)

Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda: Bhikṣuprātimokṣa

A complete circa 12th-century Indic manuscript of a *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, found by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana in

Table 2: Comparative Table of the *Vastu/Khandhaka* Sections of the Sthavira Vinayas

Vinaya:	Mūlasarvāstivāda	*Shisong-lü* (十誦律)		Theravāda		*Sifen-lü* (四分律)	*Wufen-lü* (五分律)
Chapter:	*vastus*	**dharma*(*ka*)s or **vastus* (法)		*khandhakas*		**khandhakas* (揵度)	**dharma*(*ka*)s (法)
(1)	*Pravrajyā-*	受具足戒法 (1)[a]	7[b]	*Mahā-* (1)	*Mahā-* (10)[c]	受戒揵度 (1)	受戒法 (1)
(2)	*Poṣadha-*	布薩法 (2)		*Uposatha-* (2)		說戒揵度 (2)	布薩法 (2)
(3)	*Pravāraṇā-*	自恣法 (3)		*Pavāraṇa-* (4)		自恣揵度 (4)	自恣法 (4)
(4)	*Varṣā-*	安居法 (4)		*Vassupanāyika-* (3)		安居揵度 (3)	安居法 (3)
(5)	*Carma-*	皮革法 (5)		*Camma-* (5)		皮革揵度 (5)	皮革法 (6)
(6)	*Bhaiṣajya-*	醫藥法 (6)		*Bhesajja-* (6)		藥揵度 (7)	藥法 (7) 食法 (8)
(7)	*Cīvara-*	衣法 (7)		*Cīvara-* (8)		衣揵度 (6)	衣法 (5)
(8)	*Kaṭhina-*	迦絺那衣法 (8)	8	*Kaṭhina-* (7)		迦絺那衣揵度 (8)	迦絺那衣法 (9)
(9)	*Kauśāmbaka-*	俱舍彌法 (9)		*Kosamba-* (10)		拘睒彌揵度 (9)	羯磨法 (11)
(10)	*Karma-*	瞻波法 (10)		*Campeyya-* (9)		瞻波揵度 (10)	
(11)	*Pāṇḍulohitaka-*	般茶盧伽法 (11)		*Kamma-* (11)		呵責揵度 (11)	
(12)	*Pudgala-*	僧殘悔法 (12)		*Samuccaya-* (13)		人揵度 (12)	
(13)	*Pārivāsika-*			*Pārivāsika-* (12)		覆藏揵度 (13)	別住法 (17)
(14)	*Poṣadhasthāpana-*	遮法 (13)		*Pātimokkhaṭhapana-* (19)		遮揵度 (14)	遮布薩法 (16)

(15)	*Śayanāsana-*	臥具法 (14)		*Senāsana-* (16)	*Culla-* (12)	房舍揵度 (19)	臥具法 (13)
(16)	*Adhikaraṇa-*	諍事法 (15)		*Samatha-* (14)		滅諍揵度 (16)	滅諍法 (10)
(17)	*Saṅghabheda-*	調達事法 (16)		*Saṃghabhedaka-* (17)		破僧揵度 (15)	破僧法 (12)
		雜法 (17)		*Khuddakavatthu-* (15)		雜揵度 (20)	雜法 (14)
				Vatta- (18)		法揵度 (18)	威儀法 (15)

(11)	*Pāṇḍulohitaka-*	般荼盧伽法 (11)		*Kamma-* (11)		呵責揵度 (11)	羯磨法 (11)
(12)	*Pudgala-*	僧殘悔法 (12)	8	*Samuccaya-* (13)		人揵度 (12)	
(13)	*Pārivāsika-*			*Pārivāsika-* (12)		覆藏揵度 (13)	別住法 (17)
(14)	*Poṣadhasthāpana-*	遮法 (13)		*Pātimokkhaṭhapana-* (19)		遮揵度 (14)	遮布薩法 (16)
(15)	*Śayanāsana-*	臥具法 (14)		*Senāsana-* (16)	*Culla-*	房舍揵度 (19)	臥具法 (13)
(16)	*Adhikaraṇa-*	諍事法 (15)		*Samatha-* (14)		滅諍揵度 (16)	滅諍法 (10)
(17)	*Saṅghabheda-*	調達事法 (16)		*Saṃghabhedaka-* (17)	(12)	破僧揵度 (15)	破僧法 (12)
		雜法 (17)		*Khuddakavatthu-* (15)		雜揵度 (20)	雜法 (14)
				Vatta- (18)		法揵度 (18)	威儀法 (15)
(18)	*Kṣudraka-*	比丘尼八敬法 (18)		*Bhikkhunī-* (20)		比丘尼揵度 (17)	比丘尼法 (19)
		五百比丘結集三藏法品 (19)		*Pañcasatika-* (21)		集法比丘五百人 (21)	五百集法 (20)
		七百比丘集滅惡法品 (20)		*Sattasatika-* (22)		七百集法毘尼 (22)	七百集法 (21)
							調伏法 (18)[d]

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a For ease of comparison with the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, the *vastus* of the other Vinayas are rearranged; numbers in parentheses represent the order of *vastus* in their respective Vinayas.

b This section of the *Shisong-lü* is traditionally divided into two sections, consisting of seven and eight chapters, respectively.

c The *khandhaka* section of the Theravāda Vinaya is traditionally divided into two sections, a greater and lesser *khandhaka*.

d This is not a *vastu* but a section known from the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragrantha* as the *Vinītaka*.

* Where one chapter in one column contains parallels to multiple chapters in the column directly before or after it, the correspondence between chapters is indicated by enclosing chapter titles with over- and underlines across the two columns.

Ngor Monastery in Tibet in 1934, was edited first by W. Pachow and R. Mishra (1952–1953; see Yuyama, 1979, § 1.61.S.1) and republished as a monograph in 1956 (also edited by Tatia, 1976; see Bandurski, 1994, 96–97 [§ 57]). An English translation of the inferior edition by W. Pachow and R. Mishra is available from C.S. Prebish (1975). Folios of a separate manuscript – 57[?], 59–71, and 82–101 with a supplementary leather folio between folios 82–83 and 115–116 reedited with a supplementary folio from 106r(?) covering *naiḥsargika* 30 to *pāyattikā* 46, *pāyattikā* 64 to *śaikṣa* 47(?), and the concluding verses – have been edited by S. Karashima (2013). Folios 72–81 and 102–116 with a supplementary folio from 106r(?) covering *pāyattikā* rules 46–64 and *śaikṣa* 48(?) to the concluding verses, with a Bactrian colophon, have also been edited by S. Karashima (2008). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 106; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.61; Prebish, 1994, 61–62.)

Theravādins

On the Theravāda (Mahāvihāra) Vinaya, see the surveys by O. von Hinüber (1996, 8–22) and P. Kieffer-Pülz (2014, 46–62). A. Heirman's claim (2007, 190) that the Pali Vinaya was translated into Chinese in the late 5th century must be rejected. The evidence cited by her from Sengyou's (僧祐; 445–518 CE) catalogue of 518 CE, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集), tells us only that a *tapili* (他毘利; transcribing perhaps a form of Sthavira, but not Theravāda and certainly not Pali) Vinaya text was translated into Chinese. Moreover, since Sengyou's catalogue does not record the number of fascicles (and when the number is recorded in subsequent catalogues, the text is said to be only one fascicle in length), this translation cannot possibly have been the (or even a) Pali Vinaya. At best, the *tapili* may have been a Sthavira *prātimokṣa*.

Dharmaguptakas

Sifen-lü

The *Sifen-lü* (四分律; Four-Part Vinaya; T. 1428 [XXII]; 60 fasc.) is traditionally ascribed to the Dharmaguptakas. With the exception of a few minor Sanskrit fragments (see Hartmann & Wille, 2014b, 219), the Vinaya of this school is extant only in a Chinese translation made by the Kashmiri Buddhayaśas (Fotuoyeshe [佛陀耶舍]; *fl.* 4th–5th cents.), who is said to have taught the (or a) Sarvāstivādin Vinaya to Kumārajīva (344–409/413 CE), and Zhu Fonian (竺佛念; *fl.* early 5th cent.) between 410 and 412 CE. Since displacing the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* and the Sarvāstivādin *Shisong-lü* in China (Wang, 1994, 183–184), at least nominally this Vinaya has been followed by most Buddhist schools in China, Korea, and Japan throughout Buddhist history. Unlike many of the other Vinayas extant in Chinese translation, there is a rich Chinese exegetical tradition on this Vinaya preserved in the literature of Daoxuan's (道宣; 596–667 CE) Nanshan "Southern Mountain" Vinaya school (南山律宗), Fali's (法礪; 569–635 CE) Xiangbu "Xiang Province" school (相部宗), and Huaisu's (懷素; 624/634–697/707 CE) Dongta "Eastern Pagoda" Vinaya school (東塔律宗). (On the Vinaya schools, see Tokuda, 1969; 1974; Satō, 1986, 208–227.)

The *Sifen-lü* is arranged as follows:

Preface (T. 1428 [XXII] 567a2–b19);

Part 1 (T. 1428 [XXII] 567b20–713c29; fasc. 1–21): introductory verses (T. 1428 [XXII] 567b23–568c5) and *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (T. 1428 [XXII] 568c6–713c28);

Part 2 (T. 1428 [XXII] 714a1–835c11; fasc. 22–37): *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (*ming nijiefa* [明尼戒法]), chapter on ordination (1) (numbers in parentheses here and below refer to the chapter numbers from table 2 above) down to chapter on the rains' retreat (3); (for an English translation of the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* [T. 1428 [XXII] 714a4–778b14], see Heirman, 2002; for a partial [T. 1428 (XXII) 779a1–803a18] English translation of the chapter on ordination and a complete translation of the chapter on the rains' retreat, see the ongoing translation project at https://dharmaguptakavinaya.wordpress.com/downloads/);

Part 3 (T. 1428 [XXII] 835c12–936b17; fasc. 37–49): chapter on the *pravāraṇā* ceremony (4) down to chapter on deportment (18); (for complete English translations of the chapters on *pravāraṇā* and on nuns [17], see the ongoing translation project at https://dharmaguptakavinaya.wordpress.com/downloads/); and

Part 4 (T. 1428 [XXII] 936b18–1014b20; fasc. 50–60): chapters on lodgings (19) down to chapter on the council of 700 arhats (22) (T. 1428 [XXII] 936b21–971c2; fasc. 50–54). Part 4 also contains the following sections known from the *Uttaragrantha* (fasc. 55–60): *Vinītaka* (*tiaobu* [調部]; T. 1428 [XXII] 971c7–990b7) and **Ekottarikā* (*pini zengyi* [毘尼增一]; T. 1428 [XXII] 990b8–1014b19).

The division into four parts is not according to length, and it is unclear how the divisions work in terms of content (miscellaneous French translations in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 352–354; Wieger,

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vol. I, 1910–1913, 334–471). (See al
[1960] 1999–2000, 138–142; Yuyar
Prebish, 1994, 72–76.)

Sifen-lü biqiu jieben

This *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, titled S
(四分律比丘戒本; Four-Part V
cept Book; T. 1429 [XXII]; one fa
in China by Huaisu, who extrac
rules from the *vibhaṅga* of the
by Buddhayaśas. It is not a se
(French translation in Wieger, v
259; Japanese translation in Satō
also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 19
Yuyama, 1979, § 1.31; Prebish, 199

Sifen seng jieben

This is a separate translation of a
titled *Sifen seng jieben* (四分
Monks' Precept Book; T. 1430 [X
attributed to the translator Budd
extract from the *vibhaṅga* of the S
translation seems to have been
the translation into Chinese of th
translations in Beal & Gogerly, 18
239). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I,
247–250; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.31; Pre

Sifen biqiuni jieben

This *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, titled
(四分比丘尼戒本; Four-Part
Book; T. 1431 [XXII]; one fasc.),
Huaisu, who extracted the app
the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* of the *Sife*
Buddhayaśas. It is not a separat
lish translations in Tsomo, 1996,
1998, 167–209; French translatio
1910–1913, 260–291; Japanese tr
2008, 155–240). (See also Hirak
1999–2000, 247–250; vol. II, [1960]
Yuyama, 1979, § 1.32; Prebish, 199

Mahīśāsakas

Wufen-lü

The Vinaya attributed to the Ma
only in a Chinese translation kn
lü (五分律; Five-Part Vinaya; T. 1
translated between 423 and 424
script brought back by Faxian fr
translation was made by a team
others, the Kashmiri Buddhajīv

(344–409/413 CE), and Zhu Fonian
y 5th cent.) between 410 and 412
cing the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* and
n *Shisong-lü* in China (Wang, 1994,
st nominally this Vinaya has been
st Buddhist schools in China, Korea,
ughout Buddhist history. Unlike
er Vinayas extant in Chinese trans-
rich Chinese exegetical tradition on
erved in the literature of Daoxuan's
CE) Nanshan "Southern Mountain"
(南山律宗), Fali's (法礪; 569–635
ang Province" school (相部宗), and
624/634–697/707 CE) Dongta "East-
naya school (東塔律宗). (On the
see Tokuda, 1969; 1974; Satō, 1986,

s arranged as follows:
28 [XXII] 567a2–b19);
8 [XXII] 567b20–713c29; fasc. 1–21):
rses (T. 1428 [XXII] 567b23–568c5)
ṅga (T. 1428 [XXII] 568c6–713c28);
8 [XXII] 714a1–835c11; fasc. 22–37):
a (*ming nijiefa* [明尼戒法]), chap-
n (1) (numbers in parentheses here
to the chapter numbers from table 2
chapter on the rains' retreat (3);
translation of the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*
4a4–778b14], see Heirman, 2002; for
(XXII) 779a1–803a18] English trans-
apter on ordination and a complete
e chapter on the rains' retreat, see
nslation project at https://dharma-
wordpress.com/downloads/);
[XXII] 835c12–936b17; fasc. 37–49):
pravāraṇā ceremony (4) down to
ortment (18); (for complete Eng-
of the chapters on *pravāraṇā* and
ee the ongoing translation project
rmaguptakavinaya.wordpress.com/
d
[XXII] 936b18–1014b20; fasc. 50–60):
gings (19) down to chapter on the
arhats (22) (T. 1428 [XXII] 936b21–
54). Part 4 also contains the fol-
known from the *Uttaragrantha*
nītaka (*tiaobu* [調部]; T. 1428 [XXII]
nd **Ekottarikā* (*pini zengyi* [毘尼增
I] 990b8–1014b19).
into four parts is not according to
unclear how the divisions work in
t (miscellaneous French translations
vol. II, 1910–1911, 352–354; Wieger,

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vol. I, 1910–1913, 334–471). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 138–142; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.35–1.39; Prebish, 1994, 72–76.)

Sifen-lü biqiu jieben

This *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, titled *Sifen-lü biqiu jieben* (四分律比丘戒本; Four-Part Vinaya *Bhikṣu* Precept Book; T. 1429 [XXII]; one fasc.), was compiled in China by Huaisu, who extracted the applicable rules from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Sifen-lü*, translated by Buddhayaśas. It is not a separate translation (French translation in Wieger, vol. I, 1910–1913, 212–259; Japanese translation in Satō, 2008, 81–151). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 247–250; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.31; Prebish, 1994, 70–71.)

Sifen seng jieben

This is a separate translation of a *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, titled *Sifen seng jieben* (四分僧戒本; Four-Part Monks' Precept Book; T. 1430 [XXII]; one fasc.), and attributed to the translator Buddhayaśas. It is not an extract from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Sifen-lü*. Rather, this translation seems to have been produced prior to the translation into Chinese of the *Sifen-lü* (English translations in Beal & Gogerly, 1862; Beal, 1871, 206–239). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 247–250; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.31; Prebish, 1994, 70–71.)

Sifen biqiuni jieben

This *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, titled *Sifen biqiuni jieben* (四分比丘尼戒本; Four-Part *Bhikṣuṇī* Precept Book; T. 1431 [XXII]; one fasc.), was compiled by Huaisu, who extracted the applicable rules from the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* of the *Sifen-lü*, translated by Buddhayaśas. It is not a separate translation (English translations in Tsomo, 1996, 25–73; Kabilsingh, 1998, 167–209; French translation in Wieger, vol. I, 1910–1913, 260–291; Japanese translation in Satō, 2008, 155–240). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 247–250; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 75–76; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.32; Prebish, 1994, 70–71.)

Mahīśāsakas

Wufen-lü

The Vinaya attributed to the Mahīśāsakas survives only in a Chinese translation known as the *Wufen-lü* (五分律; Five-Part Vinaya; T. 1421 [XXII]; 30 fasc.) translated between 423 and 424 CE from a manuscript brought back by Faxian from Sri Lanka. The translation was made by a team comprising, among others, the Kashmiri Buddhajīva (Fotuoshi [佛陀什]; *fl.* early 5th cent.), who himself was a Mahīśāsaka monk and Vinaya specialist, the Khotanese *śramaṇa* Zhisheng (智勝; *fl.* early 5th cent.), Zhu Daosheng (竺道生; 355–434 CE), and *bhikṣu* Shi Huiyan (釋慧嚴; 363–443 CE). Originally translated in 34 fascicles, it is now extant in 30 fascicles.

The full title is *Mishasaibu hexi wufen-lü* (彌沙塞部和醯五分律). Although the exact meaning of the term *hexi* (和醯) is unclear (see Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 151), the sectarian identity (*Mishasaibu* [彌沙塞部]; i.e. *Mahīśāsaka* [**nikāya* (?)]) preserved in transcription in the title is relatively clear.

Although it is often stated that among the extant corpus of Chinese Vinaya translations, the *Wufen-lü* is closest to the Theravāda Vinaya in terms of content and wording, this was rejected already over 80 years ago by Nishimoto Ryūzan (1932, 15), who argued rather that the *Sifen-lü* is closer to the Theravāda Vinaya.

The *Wufen-lü* is arranged as follows:

Part 1 (T. 1421 [XXII] 1a2–77b20; fasc. 1–10): *bhikṣuvibhaṅga*;

Part 2 (T. 1421 [XXII] 77b21–101a5; fasc. 11–14): *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*;

Part 3 (T. 1421 [XXII] 101a6–153c21; fasc. 15–22): chapters from ordination (1) to *kathiṇa* (9);

Part 4 (T. 1421 [XXII] 153c22–164a12; fasc. 23–24): chapters on dispute settlement (10) and formal ecclesiastical acts (11);

Part 5 (T. 1421 [XXII] 164a13–194b21; fasc. 25–30): chapter on *saṅghabheda* (12) down to the chapter on the second council (21) but also including a section known from the *Uttaragrantha: Vinītaka* (18) (T. 1421 [XXII] 182a5–185a27); and

Colophon (T. 1421 [XXII] 194b22–28).

The division into five parts is not according to length, and it is difficult to see how the divisions work in terms of content (miscellaneous French translations in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 336–351; Wieger, vol. I, 1910–1913, 470–477; Jaworski, 1929; 1931). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 149–151; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.45–1.47; Jong, 1981, 109–112; Prebish, 1994, 67–70.)

Mishasai wufen jieben

There are two separate *bhikṣuprātimokṣas* preserved under the same Taishō number. The first is the *Mishasai wufen jieben* (彌沙塞五分戒本; Mahīśāsaka Five-Part Precept Book; T. 1422 [XXII] 194c2–200b12; one fasc.), translated by Buddhajīva and the rest of the *Wufen-lü* translation team. The attribution to Buddhajīva is misleading, however, since this is not a translation but rather an extract from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Wufen-lü*. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 232–240, 244–245; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.41; Prebish, 1994, 66.)

Wufen jieben

The second *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* is simply titled *Wufen jieben* (五分戒本; Five-Part Precept Book; T. 1422 [XXII] 200b13–206b19; one fasc.) with the additional title *Mishasai jieben* (彌沙塞戒本; Mahīśāsaka Precept Book). This translation is also attributed to Buddhajīva and his translation team. However, not only does the translation terminology not match that of Buddhajīva, but the number of rules and their order of presentation also differ from the *Wufen-lü*. This *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* is closest to the textual tradition of the Sarvāstivādins. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 235, 244–245; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.41.)

Wufen biqiuni jieben

This *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, titled *Wufen biqiuni jieben* (五分比丘尼戒本; Five-Part *Bhikṣuṇī* Precept Book; T. 1423 [XXII]; one fasc.), was compiled from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Wufen-lü* by Shi Minghui (釋明徽) in 522 CE (English translation in Kabilsingh, 1998, 83–125). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 245–246; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 76; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.42; Prebish, 1994, 66.)

Sarvāstivādins

Shisong-lü

The *Shisong-lü* (十誦律; Ten-Recitation Vinaya; T. 1435 [XXIII]; 61 fasc.) is thought to belong to the Sarvāstivādins. Nothing in the title or the content of the text, however, confirms this sectarian affiliation. Following the problematic practice of using Sanskrit words for Chinese Buddhist terms even when unattested and without presenting a case for their adoption, the *Shisong-lü* is often referred to as the *Daśādhyāyavinaya* (Nanjio, 1883, 246) or *Daśabhāṇavāravinaya* (Hirakawa, 1982, 7).

The *Shisong-lü* was translated into Chinese between the years 404 and 409 CE by Kumārajīva (Luoshi [羅什]) in collaboration with the North Indian *Puṇyatāra (Furuoduoluo [弗若多羅]) and, after the death of *Puṇyatāra, *Dharmaruci (Tanmoliuzhi [曇摩流支]). *Puṇyatāra, who is said to have recited the work from memory, allegedly died when only two-thirds of the translation had been completed. A manuscript brought by *Dharmaruci allowed for completion up to fascicle 58. After the death of Kumārajīva, the Kashmiri Vimalākṣa (Beimoluocha [卑摩羅叉]; c. 338–414 CE), Kumārajīva's own Vinaya teacher, is said to have edited the text, reworking it into 61 fascicles and changing the title of the last section or recitation from *shansong* (善誦; Good Recitation or Well Recited) to *binisong* (比尼誦; Vinaya Recitation; variant: *biqiusong* [比丘誦]; *Bhikṣu* Recitation). The Sanskrit title of the Chinese *shansong* is unknown (comp. with Lamotte's [(1958) 1988, 168] **Kuśalādhyāya* and Chung's [2005, 1] **Kuśalaparivarta*). The *shansong*, however, contains unmistakable parallels to the *Uttaragrantha* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, a text which, at least judging from the Tibetan translation, may also have been called the *Uttamagrantha* (Vogel, 1985, 110n60). It is possible that *shan* (善; good; Lamotte's *kuśala*) translates *Uttama* and that *song* (誦; recitation [i.e. *adhyāya*]) translates *grantha*. If this proposal is accepted, the Sanskrit title of this Vinaya – if it had one – may have been **Daśagranthavinaya*, although this is unattested.

The *Shisong-lü* contains an important list of 18 *sūtras* known as the *Mahāsūtras* (see Hirakawa, vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 369–371; Skilling, 1997, 4–6, 20–24; for a survey of Sanskrit fragments corresponding to the *Shisong-lü*, see, with caution as to the identifications, since parallels in Tibetan generally have been overlooked, Chung, 2002; on Sarvāstivādin Vinaya fragments in Tocharian, see, among others, Ogihara, 2009; 2011; 2013; for Uighur fragments, see Elverskog, 1997, 32).

The title of the text reflects its division into ten recitations or sections as follows:

Recitations 1–3 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 1a2–147b16; fasc. 1–20): *bhikṣuvibhaṅga*. (On Sanskrit fragments of the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* preserved in the Turfan collection, see Rosen, 1959; for listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014b, 216.)

Recitation 4 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 148a1–206b26; fasc. 21–28): chapters from ordination (1) down to robes (7) – traditionally known as the 7 *fa* (法). (For listings of identified Sanskrit fragments from recitations 4 and 5, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014b, 214–216, 219; 2014c, 251; Wille, 2014a, 193–195; 2014b, 232; for an edition of Sanskrit fragments from the *Upasaṃpadāvastu* [Chapter on Ordination] and a translation of the corresponding Chinese, see Chung, 2004; on the *Pravāraṇāvastu* [Chapter on the *Pravāraṇā*], see Chung, 1998; on the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* [Chapter on the Use of Medicines], see Chung & Wille, 2002; evidence of an earlier redaction of fasc. 27–28 may exist in a manuscript found at

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[卑摩羅叉]; c. 338–414 CE),
wn Vinaya teacher, is said to have
, reworking it into 61 fascicles and
le of the last section or recitation from
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1985, 110n60). It is possible that *shan*
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inaya, although this is unattested.
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1999–2000, 369–371; Skilling, 1997,
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Rosen, 1959; for listings of identi-
ragments, see Hartmann & Wille,

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14c, 251; Wille, 2014a, 193–195; 2014b,
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Chung, 1998; on the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*
e Use of Medicines], see Chung &
idence of an earlier redaction of
y exist in a manuscript found at

Dunhuang; see Stein 797, 406 CE; Palumbo, 2013, 124–128.)

Recitation 5 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 206c1–256b24; fasc. 29–35): chapters from *kathiṇa* (8) down to disputes (15) – traditionally known as the 8 *fa* (法). (For a Sanskrit fragment from Kizil of the chapter on *kathiṇa* and a translation of the corresponding Chinese, see Boltz & Salomon, 1988.)

Recitation 6 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 257a1–302c8; fasc. 36–41): "miscellaneous recitation" (*zasong* [雜誦]), being the Devadatta chapter (*tiaodashi* [調達事]) on schisms (16) and a chapter on miscellanea (*zafa* [雜法]) (17).

Recitation 7 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 302c9–346a4; fasc. 42–47): *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* and *gurudharma* rules for nuns. (For listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Wille, 2014a, 193; note also the fragments edited in Waldschmidt, 1926, 17–45, with a systematic analysis and miscellaneous translations of nuns' rules from Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan [1926, 71–184].)

Recitation 8 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 346a5–378c7; fasc. 48–51): *Uttaragrantha* counterparts – (a) *Nidāna*, (b) **Ekottarikā*, and (c) *Kathāvastu*. Recitations 8–10 need to be read in conjunction with the *Uttaragrantha* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, extant chiefly only in Tibetan, and the *Modeleqie* (摩得勒伽; T. 1441) in order to understand the, perhaps confused, shared underlying structure. (For listings of identified Sanskrit fragments from *Uttaragrantha* counterparts [recitations 8–10], see Wille, 2014a, 193–195; 2014b, 233, 237.)

(a) The first part of the text titled *zengyifa* (增一法; **Ekottarikā*; 346a7–352b26) is not a numerically arranged *Ekottarikā* but this Vinaya's counterpart to the *Nidāna* of the *Uttaragrantha* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (see below).

(b) The **Ekottarikā* proper is found somewhat later (352b27–354c8; 355c10–373c6; a section of the *Nidāna* is erroneously repeated from 354c10–355c7). The **Ekottarikā* enumerates the "ones" to "tens" twice; the second section (369b25–373c6) is labeled *zengyihou* (增一後; After [?] the **Ekottarikā*). The first of the two sections of "fives" (358a28–367a5; 370c20–372a12) is extremely long; in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, the length of this section may have contributed to its development into a separate text, the **Pañcaka* (see below).

(c) The text after the **Ekottarikā* corresponds to the *Kathāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragrantha*, although here it seems to be labeled – most likely erroneously – *zengshiyi xiang chu* (增十一相初; Beginning [?] of the Incremental section on "elevens"; 373c7–378c6).

Recitation 9 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 379a1–409c19; fasc. 52–55): *Uttaragrantha* counterparts – (a) *Upālipariprcchā* and (b) **Māṇavikā*.

(a) The *Upālipariprcchā* section (379a3–405a20) consists of a clarification of points arising from the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (379a3–397a11) and the chapters from ordination (1) down to disputes (15) (397a15–405a20). The lack of an *Upālipariprcchā* section covering the chapter on leather (5) may not be coincidental in light of the following remark by Guṇaprabha (see below): *carmavastvādīnāṃ māṇavikā* ("the chapter on leather and so forth [are dealt with in] the *Māṇavikā*"; Vinayasūtra's Pravrajyāvastu Study Group, 2007, 45.17–46.1 [*sūtra* 98]).

(b) The last section of the *Upālipariprcchā* – if indeed part of the *Upālipariprcchā* – is labeled *wen zashi chu* (問雜事初; Beginning [?] of the Questions on the Chapter on Miscellanea; 405a21–409c18). Despite its title, it is the same core text as the Mūlasarvāstivādin **Māṇavikā* (see below).

Recitation 10 (T. 1435 [XXIII] 410a1–470b20; fasc. 56–61): *Uttaragrantha* and other counterparts – (a) *Mātṛkā*, (b) unidentified section, (c) *Vinītaka*, (d) unidentified section, (e) councils, and (f) *Muktaka*.

(a) Section 410a4–423b9 is a *Mātṛkā* with its standard, threefold division (410a4–414c9; 414c10–417c21; 417c22–423b9; see below).

(b) Section 423b10–424b15 is curious, with, seemingly, no known correspondence in any other canonical Vinaya text, although it does correspond in part to a section in the Merv (Bairam Ali) Sanskrit manuscript (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000a; 2000b), as noted by S. Karashima (2000b, 214). Curiously, the Merv manuscript also contains a number of indications of its close relationship to the Vinaya tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (Clarke, 2001, 91–92).

(c) The *Vinītaka* (424b16–445a12) contains case law from the four *pārājikas* and the first five *saṅghāvaśeṣas*, with close parallels in all other Sthavira Vinayas. It is not another *Upālipariprcchā*, as is sometimes claimed (see below).

(d) The text here (445a12–c6) contains a number of hypothetical questions and clarifications of previous rulings. Parallels in other Vinayas have not been identified. The beginning of this section is not indicated. The end is marked with the statement that the "Five Divisions are complete"

(五段竟); to what this refers is unclear. In light of an interlinear annotation at 442c25, it may be possible to understand this section as a continuation of the *Vinītaka* and that the "Five Divisions" refer to the five types of offenses from *saṅghāvaśeṣa* down to *pratideśanīya*. This would mean that this *Vinītaka* ([c] and [d]) also includes select rules beyond the fifth *saṅghāvaśeṣa*.

(e) The next two sections are the chapters on the first (445c10–450a26) and second councils (450a27–456b8), respectively; these are not found in the *Uttaragrantha* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* but in the *Kṣudrakavastu*.

(f) The final section (456b9–470b19) is the counterpart of the *Muktaka* of the *Uttaragrantha* (see below).

(Miscellaneous French translations are available in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 231–269). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 127–135; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.15–1.19; Prebish, 1994, 79–83.)

Binaiye

The title of this text, *Binaiye* (鼻奈耶; T. 1464 [XXIV]; ten fasc.), is a transcription of Indic Vinaya. Translated in 383 CE and attributed to Zhu Fonian (竺佛念; *fl.* late 4th cent.), this is one of the earliest Chinese Vinaya translations. According to a preface by the Chinese cataloguer Daoan (道安; 312–385 CE), it was recited by the Kashmiri monk Yaśas (Yeshe [耶舍]). The sectarian affiliation of the text is not mentioned, but it is generally thought to be Sarvāstivādin. This text is incomplete insofar as it contains only a *vibhaṅga*. It also contains some interesting transcriptions that may help to identify the language from which it was translated. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 162–166, 179; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.15.C.1.)

Shisong biqiu boluotimucha jieben

The translation of this text, titled *Shisong biqiu boluotimucha jieben* (十誦比丘波羅提木叉戒本; Ten-Recitation [Vinaya] *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* Precept Book; T. 1436 [XXIII]; one fasc.) is attributed to Kumārajīva. There are a number of minor differences between this text and the *Shisong-lü*. Hirakawa Akira attributes the variation to differences in the originals, suggesting that this text is a translation and not an extraction from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Shisong-lü*. The earliest dated manuscript found at Dunhuang (Stein 797, 406 CE) contains a Sarvāstivādin *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* on one side (and fasc. 27–28 of the *Shisong-lü* on the other). The texts appear not to agree with the received versions of either text and given the early colophon date may transmit earlier versions (Palumbo, 2013, 124–128; Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 168–175, dates the translation of the Dunhuang *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* between 265 and 360 CE, making it the earliest extant Vinaya text preserved in Chinese translation; Sanskrit fragments of Sarvāstivādin *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* manuscripts from Central Asia have been edited, recovering a complete text, and translated into German by G. von Simson [1986; 2000]; for further listings of identified Sanskrit *prātimokṣa* fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014b, 216; Wille, 2014a, 194; 2014b, 233; for a Tocharian fragment [*pāyantikā* 59–62], see Ogihara, 2012; French translation from Chinese by É. Huber is aligned with Sanskrit fragments in Finot, 1913, 473–543; W. Pachow translates this text into English [1955, 69–219] and compares the wording of other *prātimokṣa* traditions; note also the Mahīśāsaka *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, listed above, which appears to be Sarvāstivādin [*Wufen jieben*; T. 1422 (XXII) 200b13–206b19]). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 232–240; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.11; Prebish, 1994, 76–78.)

Shisong biqiuni boluotimucha jieben

The translation of this text, titled *Shisong biqiuni boluotimucha jieben* (十誦比丘尼波羅提木叉戒本; Ten-Recitation [Vinaya] *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* Precept Book; T. 1437 [XXIII]; one fasc.), is attributed to Faying (法穎; misprinted as Faxian [法顯] in the Taishō edition). It is an extraction from the *vibhaṅga* of the *Shisong-lü* (Sanskrit fragments in Finot, 1913, 548–549; see also Hartmann & Wille, 2014b, 214; Wille, 2014a, 193; note also the fragments edited in Waldschmidt, 1926, 17–45, with a systematic analysis and miscellaneous translations of nuns' rules from Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan [1926, 71–184]; English translation from Chinese in Kabilsingh, 1998, 126–166). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 240–244; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 77; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.12; Prebish, 1994, 76–78.)

Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa (Discovered in Dunhuang)

There is an incomplete and undated Chinese translation of a *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* from Dunhuang, preserved in the collection at Otani University (Kyoto) and dated paleographically to the 6th century CE. The text is extant from only the eighth *naiḥsargika* onward, with a total of 326 rules preserved (yielding an estimated total of 358). It matches quite well with the *Shisong-lü*. Nishimoto Ryūzan (1929) suggests

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that it may be a translation by
Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999
Yuyama, 1979, § 1.12.C.2.)

Mūlasarvāstivādins

The Vinaya texts of the
traditionally categorized in
Vinayavibhaṅga, *Vinayava*
and *Vinayottaragrantha* (Ei
collection of Vinaya materia
Sanskrit, representing appro
this Vinaya but containing
and *karmavācanā* materia
cache of manuscripts nea
Pakistan in 1931. A Sanskrit
also found (Lévi, 1932, 19–2
1999–2000, 101), suggesting
complete *vibhaṅga* – if not
preserved at Gilgit. Numer
presumably from the same
identified (Hartmann &
Translations of this Vinaya
are extant in various degree
are also secondary translat
Manchu from Tibetan and
from Chinese.

In contrast to the ot
Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya is
larly unwieldy on account
repetition rather than abbr
of many *sūtras* and *avadā*
including the so-called *M*
vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000,
6–17, 25–31). Due to its len
tion is presented not in o
other Chinese Vinaya tra
of separate texts.

The Tibetan translation
However, some of the M
material found in the Sch
fragmentary *Vinayoddān*
the Tibetan translation o
Vinayoddānagāthās are
(義淨; 635–713 CE) transla
The existence of Sanskrit
Uddānagāthās were not
2002, 59 [postscript]). Th
Sanskrit texts from the *M*
are not preserved in the
haps best explained by p
ness of the Tibetan trans
multiple Mūlasarvāstivā

nd given the early colophon date may
ier versions (Palumbo, 2013, 124–128;
l. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 168–175, dates
n of the Dunhuang *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*
nd 360 CE, making it the earliest extant
reserved in Chinese translation; San-
ts of Sarvāstivādin *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*
from Central Asia have been edited,
complete text, and translated into
. von Simson [1986; 2000]; for further
ntified Sanskrit *prātimokṣa* fragments,
n & Wille, 2014b, 216; Wille, 2014a, 194;
r a Tocharian fragment [*pāyantikā*
gihara, 2012; French translation from
. Huber is aligned with Sanskrit frag-
t, 1913, 473–543; W. Pachow translates
English [1955, 69–219] and compares
of other *prātimokṣa* traditions; note
śāsaka *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, listed above,
s to be Sarvāstivādin [*Wufen jieben*; T.
oob13–206b19]). (See also Hirakawa,
1999–2000, 232–240; Yuyama, 1979, §
94, 76–78.)

uni boluotimucha jieben

n of this text, titled *Shisong biqiuni*
jieben (十誦比丘尼波羅提木叉戒
ation [Vinaya] *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*
T. 1437 [XXIII]; one fasc.), is attrib-
(法穎; misprinted as Faxian [法顯]
edition). It is an extraction from the
he *Shisong-lü* (Sanskrit fragments in
8–549; see also Hartmann & Wille,
le, 2014a, 193; note also the fragments
dschmidt, 1926, 17–45, with a system-
d miscellaneous translations of nuns'
, Chinese, and Tibetan [1926, 71–184];
ation from Chinese in Kabilsingh,
. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960]
0–244; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 77;
§ 1.12; Prebish, 1994, 76–78.)

imokṣa (Discovered in

omplete and undated Chinese trans-
ṣuṇīprātimokṣa from Dunhuang, pre-
ollection at Otani University (Kyoto)
eographically to the 6th century CE.
nt from only the eighth *naiḥsargika*
total of 326 rules preserved (yielding
tal of 358). It matches quite well with
. Nishimoto Ryūzan (1929) suggests

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that it may be a translation by Kumārajīva. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 243; vol. II, 77; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.12.C.2.)

Mūlasarvāstivādins

The Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins are traditionally categorized into four main divisions: *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinayavastu*, *Vinayakṣudraka*, and *Vinayottaragrantha* (Eimer, 1987). The largest collection of Vinaya material currently available in Sanskrit, representing approximately one quarter of this Vinaya but containing only *vastu*, *prātimokṣa*, and *karmavācanā* material, was discovered in a cache of manuscripts near Gilgit in modern-day Pakistan in 1931. A Sanskrit *vibhaṅga* fragment was also found (Lévi, 1932, 19–20; Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 101), suggesting the probability that a complete *vibhaṅga* – if not a complete Vinaya – was preserved at Gilgit. Numerous *vibhaṅga* fragments, presumably from the same find, have been recently identified (Hartmann & Wille, 2014a, 148–149). Translations of this Vinaya into Tibetan and Chinese are extant in various degrees of completeness. There are also secondary translations into Mongolian and Manchu from Tibetan and into Xixia (西夏; Tangut) from Chinese.

In contrast to the other extant Vinayas, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is enormous and particularly unwieldy on account of its propensity toward repetition rather than abbreviation and its inclusion of many *sūtras* and *avadānas* (see Panglung, 1981), including the so-called *Mahāsūtras* (see Hirakawa, vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 372–376; Skilling, 1997, 4, 6–17, 25–31). Due to its length, the Chinese translation is presented not in one text – as are all of the other Chinese Vinaya translations – but in a series of separate texts.

The Tibetan translation is thought to be complete. However, some of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Sanskrit material found in the Schøyen collection such as the fragmentary *Vinayoddānagāthā* is not included in the Tibetan translation of the Vinaya (*'Dul ba*). Two *Vinayoddānagāthās* are also known from Yijing's (義淨; 635–713 CE) translation corpus (T. 1456, 1457). The existence of Sanskrit fragments proves that these *Uddānagāthās* were not compiled by Yijing (Clarke, 2002, 59 [postscript]). The presence of fragments of Sanskrit texts from the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* that are not preserved in the Tibetan translation is perhaps best explained by positing not the incompleteness of the Tibetan translation but the existence of multiple Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayas.

The strongest evidence for the existence of multiple Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayas is found in the corpus of texts for nuns. Although we have no Sanskrit manuscripts, *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅgas* and *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣas* are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Curiously, the order and wording of rules in the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* preserved in Tibetan do not match that of the Tibetan *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*. In reference to this situation, the Tibetan polymath Bu ston (1290–1364) concluded that the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* preserved in Tibetan does not belong to the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Vogel, 1985, 110n61).

In contrast, Yijing's corpus of *bhikṣuṇī* texts is unproblematic. In spite of Bu ston's claim that the Tibetan *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* is not Mūlasarvāstivādin, it matches closely enough with Yijing's Chinese translation to conclude that the former is in fact Mūlasarvāstivādin, although clearly not identical to the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition known to Yijing. Further evidence supporting the Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation of the Tibetan *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* can be found in the *Āryasarvāstivādimūlabhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtravṛtti* (D 4112/P 5614), a commentary preserved in Tibetan to a text that, until recently, was thought to be lost; a few folios of what appears to be the root text have now been found in a manuscript from the Pelliot Dunhuang collection in Paris (Clarke, 2012a). This commentary identifies itself as *Sarvāstivādimūla (given in Tibetan in both transcription and translation), most likely synonymous with Mūlasarvāstivāda (see Enomoto, 2000, 245). Analysis of the text reveals that it is a commentary on a *prātimokṣa* that is close to the traditions preserved in the Tibetan *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*, a fact that further supports the claim that the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* introduced into Tibet is in fact Mūlasarvāstivādin, in contrast to Bu ston's view.

A close examination of the *Vinayasūtra* (Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1981) and its autocommentary, the *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* (Bapat & Gokhale, 1982) – Vinaya handbooks by Guṇaprabha (c. 5th–7th cents.; see Schopen, [1994] 2004, 312–313), the foremost exegete on the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya tradition transmitted to Tibet – establishes beyond any doubt that the *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* preserved in Tibetan belongs to the same tradition as that known to Guṇaprabha. The only way to explain this situation, then, seems to be to posit the existence of two Mūlasarvāstivādin traditions: one known to Yijing in Nālandā and the other known to Guṇaprabha in Mathurā. Thus at least three Mūlasarvāstivādin *bhikṣuṇī* textual traditions were transmitted to Tibet: one represented by a fragmentary *prātimokṣa* found only in Dunhuang and the *Āryasarvāstivādimūlabhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtravṛtti,* another represented by the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*, and a third found in the canonical *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* and the works of Guṇaprabha. Of course, it may be that these traditions represent only temporally or geographically different versions of the same tradition.

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Bhikṣuvibhaṅga

The Chinese translation by Tripiṭaka master Yijing is simply titled *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *vinaya*; T. 1442; 50 fasc.). The text is not called a *vibhaṅga* but simply a Vinaya. There is no translation colophon for the *vibhaṅga* specifically, although detailed colophons to Yijing's Vinaya works may be found in at least four places (譯場列位; T. 1452 [XXIV] 418b19–419b25; T. 1456 [XXIV] 520a17–b21; T. 1457 [XXIV] 523c4–524a6; and appended to the first fascicle of the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* but not reproduced in the Taishō edition – see Ikeda, 1990, 276–279). The date and place of issue of Yijing's translations are recorded in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄) catalogue (730 CE), with the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* being listed as issued on Nov 17, 703 CE at Ximing-si (西明寺; T. 2154 [LV] 567c27–568a20). The translation dates here and below are publication or issuance dates (see Chen, 2004, 8). The quality of Yijing's translations has sometimes been called into question, most prominently by É. Lamotte ([1958] 1988, 170). But such characterizations are based on two problematic assumptions: that the Sanskrit and/or Tibetan texts that have come down to us were similar or even identical to those used by Yijing and that there was only ever a single, stable Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya tradition (Clarke, 2014, 15; see also above).

The Tibetan translation (D 3/P 1032), titled *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, in 25,000 *ślokas*, 83 *bam pos* or fascicles, made under royal decree of Dpal lha btsan po by Jinamitra (*ācārya* [teacher] of the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas and *vinayadhara* [Vinaya expert] of the Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivādins) and Klu'i rgyal mtshan (*fl.* late 8th–early 9th cent.), is usually dated to the first decade of the 9th century (Skilling, 1997, 140–141).

For listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014a, 148–149; Wille, 2014a, 195; 2014b, 237; see also Lévi, 1932, 19–20. For Sanskrit parallels preserved in extracts from the *Divyāvadāna* (chs. 13, 21, 35–37), see *Ōtani daigaku toshokan-zō*, 1930–1932, 407–412. For Uighur fragments, see Elverskog, 1997, 31. Miscellaneous French translations are available in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 425–449. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 73–74, 154–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.25; Prebish, 1994, 96–97.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga

The Chinese translation by Yijing, titled *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni pinaiye* (根本說一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya*; T. 1443; 20 fasc.), was issued in 710 CE. A Tibetan translation (D 5/P 1034), titled *Dge slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, in 28 *bam pos* was made by the Kashmiri *upādhyāya* (preceptor) Sarvajñādeva, the Kashmiri *upādhyāya* Dharmākara, the Indian *upādhyāya* Vidyākara, and Dpal gyi lhun po, and it was revised by the Indian *upādhyāya* Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal brtsegs. It is usually dated to the first decade of the 9th century (Skilling, 1997, 134–135, 140–141). As noted above, the Tibetan and Chinese translations do not correspond exactly; they are translations of different texts (or vastly different versions of the same text). The Tibetan translation was not made by the same team that translated the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga, bhikṣuprātimokṣa, bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa,* and so on, and this may also account for what is clearly a very different text, or perhaps textual tradition, from the one translated by Jinamitra's team. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 74, 154–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.26; Prebish, 1994, 96–97.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Bhikṣuprātimokṣa

We possess a number of versions of *bhikṣuprātimokṣas* from the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. Thirty-eight folios in four incomplete Sanskrit manuscripts were preserved at Gilgit, with some overlap in text confirming through the discrepancies in word and rule order that, at the very least, the *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* was certainly not a stable document. We also have a complete Sanskrit text preserved in Tibet (Hu-von Hinüber, 2003).

A Chinese translation by Yijing in one fascicle, titled *Genben shuo yiqie youbu jiejing* (根本說一切有部戒經; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] Precept *Sūtra*; T. 1454), was issued in 710 CE. The details of the Tibetan translation, *So sor thar pa'i mdo* (D 2/P 1031), in two *bam pos* (700 *ślokas*), are the same as those given above for the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga*.

For a detailed survey of the extant Sanskrit material from Gilgit, including listings of editions and select translations; a concordance covering most of the extant Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese

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bhikṣuprātimokṣas; and full-color
2014. For further listings of identi
ments, see Hartmann & Wille, 20
Wille, 2014a, 194; 2014b, 233. The
by C.S. Prebish (1975) from Sansk
A.C. Banerjee's problematic ed
and later 1977). The Tibetan text
English by S. Chandra Vidyabhus
Japanese by Masuda Shin'ya (196
of the rules unique to monks, s
194–201; the numbering of monk
shared rules is given in parent
rules in Rockhill, 1884a; 1884b. (
vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 73, 154–
§ 1.21; Prebish, 1994, 86–88.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa

The Chinese and Tibetan vers
do not match (see above). The
by Yijing in one fascicle, titled
youbu pichuni jiejing (根本說
Mūlasarvāstivāda [**nikāya* (?)
Sūtra; T. 1455) was issued in 710
Tibetan translation, *Dge slong*
mdo (D 4/P 1033), in two *bam*
those given above for the *bhikṣ*

There are a number of int
texts for nuns preserved in
manuscripts, a full survey of wh
given that they were catalogue
1962, 1–21; Yamaguchi, vol. I, 19
vol. II, 1939–1961, 5–19; Wang, 19
when in modern Western sc
yet little recognition of the pr
the *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* or *bh*
however, *Ōtani daigaku tos*
412n3; on some of these previ
misidentified texts from Dun
for a new catalogue, see Clar
lish translation from Chinese,
210–248; for a French trans
see Rockhill, 1884a; 1884b; fo
tion from Tibetan, see Tsom
also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 19
Yuyama, 1979, § 1.22; Prebish,

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya:

The 17 *vastus* of the *Mūlasa*
extant in a single, fragment
Gilgit, originally consisting o
approximately four-fifths s
16). K. Wille (1990, 17) recon
the colophon as *Vinayavas*

7, 31. Miscellaneous French transla-
able in Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911,
also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–
4–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.25; Prebish,

vādavinaya: Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga

ranslation by Yijing, titled *Genben*
bu pichuni pinaiye (根本說一切有
耶; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)]
T. 1443; 20 fasc.), was issued in 710 CE.
slation (D 5/P 1034), titled *Dge slong*
m par 'byed pa, in 28 *bam pos* was
Kashmiri *upādhyāya* (preceptor)
e Kashmiri *upādhyāya* Dharmākara,
hyāya Vidyākara, and Dpal gyi lhun
revised by the Indian *upādhyāya*
a and Dpal brtsegs. It is usually
t decade of the 9th century (Skilling,
0–141). As noted above, the Tibetan
nslations do not correspond exactly;
ations of different texts (or vastly
ns of the same text). The Tibetan
not made by the same team that
hikṣuvibhaṅga, *bhikṣuprātimokṣa*,
kṣa, and so on, and this may also
t is clearly a very different text, or
tradition, from the one translated
am. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960]
4–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.26; Prebish,

ādavinaya: Bhikṣuprātimokṣa

number of versions of *bhikṣu-*
n the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition.
os in four incomplete Sanskrit
e preserved at Gilgit, with some
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rule order that, at the very least,
okṣa was certainly not a stable
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t (Hu-von Hinüber, 2003).
nslation by Yijing in one fascicle,
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arvāstivāda [**nikāya* (?)] Precept
as issued in 710 CE. The details of
lation, *So sor thar pa'i mdo* (D 2/
n pos (700 *ślokas*), are the same as
for the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga*.
survey of the extant Sanskrit
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bhikṣuprātimokṣas; and full-color plates, see Clarke, 2014. For further listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014a, 149; 2014b, 216; Wille, 2014a, 194; 2014b, 233. The English translation by C.S. Prebish (1975) from Sanskrit relied solely on A.C. Banerjee's problematic editions (1953; 1954; and later 1977). The Tibetan text was translated into English by S. Chandra Vidyabhusana (1915) and into Japanese by Masuda Shin'ya (1969). For a translation of the rules unique to monks, see Rockhill, 1884b, 194–201; the numbering of monks' rules among the shared rules is given in parentheses to the nuns' rules in Rockhill, 1884a; 1884b. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 73, 154–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.21; Prebish, 1994, 86–88.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa

The Chinese and Tibetan versions of these texts do not match (see above). The Chinese translation by Yijing in one fascicle, titled *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pichuni jiejing* (根本說一切有部苾芻尼戒經; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *Bhikṣuṇī* Precept *Sūtra*; T. 1455) was issued in 710 CE. The details of the Tibetan translation, *Dge slong ma'i so sor thar pa'i mdo* (D 4/P 1033), in two *bam pos*, are the same as those given above for the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga*.

There are a number of interesting *prātimokṣa* texts for nuns preserved in Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, a full survey of which is a desideratum given that they were catalogued (La Vallée Poussin, 1962, 1–21; Yamaguchi, vol. I, 1977–1988, 1–51; Lalou, vol. II, 1939–1961, 5–19; Wang, 1999, 115–122) at a time when in modern Western scholarship there was yet little recognition of the problems surrounding the *bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* or *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (see, however, *Ōtani daigaku toshokan-zō*, 1930–1932, 412n3; on some of these previously unidentified or misidentified texts from Dunhuang and the need for a new catalogue, see Clarke, 2012a; for an English translation from Chinese, see Kabilsingh, 1998, 210–248; for a French translation from Tibetan, see Rockhill, 1884a; 1884b; for an English translation from Tibetan, see Tsomo, 1996, 75–130). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 74, 154–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.22; Prebish, 1994, 86–88.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Vastus

The 17 *vastus* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* are extant in a single, fragmentary manuscript from Gilgit, originally consisting of 523 folios, of which approximately four-fifths survive (Wille, 1990, 16). K. Wille (1990, 17) reconstructs the title from the colophon as *Vinayavastvāgama*. Each *vastu* extant in the Chinese translation by Yijing is transmitted as a separate text. Of the 17 *vastus* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, only seven are extant in Yijing's translations: *Pravrajyāvastu* (*chujia shi* [出家事]; Chapter on "Going Forth"; T. 1444; four fasc.), *Pravāraṇāvastu* (*suiyi shi* [隨意事]; Chapter on the *Pravāraṇā*; T. 1446; one fasc.), *Varṣāvastu* (*anju shi* [安居事]; Chapter on the Rains' Retreat; T. 1445; one fasc.), *Carmavastu* (*pige shi* [皮革事]; Chapter on Leather; T. 1447; two fasc.), *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (*yao shi* [藥事]; Chapter on Medicines; T. 1448; 18 fasc.), *Kaṭhinavastu* (*jiechinayi shi* [羯恥那衣事]; Chapter on *Kaṭhina*; T. 1449; one fasc.), and *Saṅghabhedavastu* (*poseng shi* [破僧事]; Chapter on Schisms; T. 1450; 20 fasc.). The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* records that Yijing unexpectedly died before revising his translation of the *vastus* (Chn. *basudu* [跋窣堵]), stating that he translated 70–80 fascicles but that they remain unedited (T. 2154 [LV] 569a23–25). Only 50 fascicles (with three listed as missing) are recorded in the later *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (貞元新定釋教目錄) catalogue compiled by Yuanzhao (圓照) in 800 CE (T. 2157 [LV] 868c20–869a7). Hirakawa Akira (vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 154–157; vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 212–213) suggests that Yijing may have completed a draft translation of the entire *vastu* section but that many fascicles were later lost (in English, see Matsumura, 1996, 172–173).

The voluminous Tibetan translation titled *'Dul ba gzhi* (D 1/P 1030), in 109 *bam pos*, made by Sarvajñādeva, Dharmākara, Vidyākaraprabha, and Dpal gyi lhun po, and revised by Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal brtsegs – the same team that translated the problematic *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (see above) – is usually dated to the first decade of the 9th century (Skilling, 1997, 134–135, 140–141).

For a detailed survey of the extant Sanskrit material from Gilgit, including listings of editions and select translations; references to Sanskrit parallels preserved in extracts from the *Divyāvadāna* (chs. 1–7, 9–10, 17, 23–24, 30–32; see also *Ōtani daigaku toshokan-zō*, 1930–1932, 399–407); a concordance covering most of the extant Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese *vastus*; and full-color plates, see Clarke, 2014. For further listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014a, 149–151; 2014c, 250; Wille, 2014a, 193–195; Yao, forthcoming. For miscellaneous French translations from Chinese, see Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 372–419 (the *Saṅghabhedavastu*), 420–424 (the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 73, 100–103, 155–157; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.27; Prebish, 1994, 89–95.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Kṣudrakavastu

The *Kṣudrakavastu* (Chapter on Miscellanea) is extant only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Yijing's Chinese translation, *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye zashi* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事; Chapter on Miscellanea of the Vinaya of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)]; T. 1451; 40 fasc.), was issued in 710 CE. The text is arranged according to eight sets of ten *uddānas* (verses consisting of keywords) organized under eight *piṇḍoddānas* (verses summarizing the *uddāna* keywords), and all summarized under one meta-*uddāna* given at the beginning of the text; in various places, *antaroddānas* (additional keyword summaries) are also found. The organizational structure of the text is briefly mentioned by Yijing at the beginning of his translation, in which we read that there are a total of 89 *uddānas*. There is also a separate *Vinayoddānagāthā*, which preserves nothing but the *uddānas* of this text: *Genben shuo yiqie youbu zashi shesong* (根本說一切有部雜事攝頌; Summary Verses from the Chapter on Miscellanea of the [Vinaya of the] *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)]; T. 1457; one fasc.), issued in 710 CE – there is no Tibetan version of this or any other *Vinayoddānagāthā* as a separate text. The Tibetan translation, *'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi* (D 6/P 1035), was made by Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmaśrīprabha, and Dpal 'byor in 59 (60 in Stog) *bam pos* (on the detailed colophon, see Harrison, 1994, 305–306).

The *Kṣudrakavastu* is particularly important for the study of *bhikṣuṇīs* in India; it contains a detailed section on rules exclusively for nuns. Material from this *vastu* is quoted eight times in Śamathadeva's *ṭīkā*, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyopāyikā*, five of which provide exact references to the *uddāna* system (Honjō, vol. I, 2014, 36). The Chinese and Tibetan translations do not match perfectly in terms of organization (for the correspondences between the Tibetan and Chinese translations, with reference to Sanskrit parallels preserved in extracts from the *Divyāvadāna* [chs. 12, 17], see *Ōtani daigaku toshokan-zō*, 1930–1932, 414–416; for a brief synopsis of the content with detailed summaries of the accounts of the first and second councils and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* preserved in the *Kṣudrakavastu*, see Banerjee, 1957, 89–99; see also Hirakawa, vol. II, [1960] 1999–2000, 215; for miscellaneous French translations from Chinese, see Chavannes, vol. II, 1910–1911, 355–371). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 74–75, 154–155; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.27; Prebish, 1994, 97–98.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Uttaragrantha (Sanskrit)

This text, especially the sections known as the *Nidāna* and *Muktaka*, is extremely important for the textual warrants that it provides for several important practices including authorizations for the worship of stūpas (Schopen, [1998] 2004, 278n14) and the Bodhisattva image (Schopen, 2005, 131–132; Kishino, 2013, 59–60).

A complete and an incomplete *Uttaragrantha* – if this is the correct title – are extant in Tibetan translation (see below). Quotations are preserved in commentaries such as Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* and Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyopāyikā* (Honjō, vol. I, 2014, 37 [note that Honjō's "*mātṛkā*" is in fact the *Muktaka*]; for listings of identified Sanskrit fragments, see Hartmann & Wille, 2014a, 151; Wille, 2014a, 193, 195; 2014b, 232; Yao, forthcoming, n13).

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Uttaragrantha (Chinese)

There is no complete *Uttaragrantha* translation in Yijing's corpus of Chinese translations. There are, however, two *Uttaragrantha* sections extant in Yijing's oeuvre: the *Nidāna* (*Nituona* [尼陀那]) and *Muktaka* (*Mudejia* [目得迦]), respectively. These two sections are preserved in a single, ten-fascicle translation titled *Genben shuo yiqie youbu nituona mudejia* (根本說一切有部尼陀那目得迦; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *Nidānamuktaka*; T. 1452), issued in 703 CE. This translation is often erroneously identified in scholarship as the *Nidānamātṛkā*. It is unclear why only these two sections of the *Uttaragrantha* were translated by Yijing. However, a hint as to the relative importance of the *Nidāna* and *Muktaka*, at least tó Yijing, can perhaps be gleaned from their comparatively early translation date. The translation of the *Nidāna* and *Muktaka* was issued in 703 CE; the *Kṣudrakavastu* was not issued until 710 CE.

Yijing also translated a text known as the *Genben shuo yiqie youbu nituona mudejia shesong* (根本說一切有部尼陀那目得迦攝頌; *Mūlasarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *Nidānamuktakoddānagāthā*; T. 1456; one fasc.), issued in 710 CE. This text is merely a compilation of *uddānas* and *piṇḍoddānas* found throughout the *Nidāna* and *Muktaka*. Accordingly, it functions as a table of contents to the *Nidāna* and *Muktaka*. This text is not preserved in Tibetan but Sanskrit fragments have been identified in the Schøyen collection, a fact that, as discussed

tivādavinaya: Uttaragrantha

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tivādavinaya: Uttaragrantha

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above, turns out to have implications for our knowledge of the multiplicity of the Vinayas of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the "completeness" of the Tibetan translation.

The Chinese translation of the *Nidāna* (T. 1452 [XXIV] 415a2–435b28; fasc. 1–5) consists of 46 divisions arranged under five *piṇḍoddānas*, with ten *uddānas* under the first four *piṇḍoddānas* and six under the fifth *piṇḍoddāna*. The entire text is summarized at the beginning in a single meta-*piṇḍoddāna* titled in Chinese *damen zongshesong* (大門總攝頌; Great-Gate *Piṇḍoddāna*) and in Tibetan *sgo rnams kyi mdo bsdus pa*. One fragment in the Schøyen collection (MS 2381/212) confirms that the Chinese term *damen* (大門; great gate) and Tibetan *sgo* (gate) translate the Sanskrit term *mukha* (on the *Nidāna*, see also below).

The Chinese translation of the *Muktaka* (T. 1452 [XXIV] 435c1–455c2; fasc. 6–10) consists of 40 divisions arranged under four *piṇḍoddānas*, with ten *uddānas* under each *piṇḍoddāna*. Like the *Nidāna*, the entire text is summarized at the beginning in a single meta-*piṇḍoddāna* titled in Chinese *damen zongshesong* (大門總攝頌; Great-Gate *Piṇḍoddāna* (on the *Muktaka*, see also below).

Both the *Nidāna* and the *Muktaka* deal primarily with issues of monastic discipline from, and generally following the structure of, the *vastus*. Almost identical questions, however, are also occasionally found in the *Upālipariprcchā*. Thus, the intended functions of the *Nidāna* and the *Muktaka* remain unclear. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 154–155.)

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya: Uttaragrantha (Tibetan)

As mentioned above, there are two Tibetan translations of the *Uttaragrantha*: one incomplete, the other complete. The incomplete translation is titled *'Dul ba gzhung bla ma*; the complete translation is titled *'Dul ba gzhung dam pa*, which may translate not *Uttaragrantha* but *Uttamagrantha* (Vogel, 1985, 110n60). The names of the translators are not recorded for either translation of the *Uttaragrantha*, although in the colophon to the incomplete text (for translations, see *Ōtani daigaku toshokan-zō*, 1930–1932, 417; Kishino, 2006, 203–205 [translation appendix]; on the colophon, see also Scherrer-Schaub, 2009, 165–167), it is recorded that both texts were translated in the time of the translator Klu'i rgyal mtshan, which places the translation in circa the first decade of the 9th century. The *'Dul ba gzhung bla ma* (D 7[a]/P 1036) in 11 *bam pos* contains only an *Upālipariprcchā* (Questions of Upāli), covering down to *pāyantikā* 20 of the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (for a translation of the *Upālipariprcchā* from the *'Dul ba gzhung bla ma*, see Kishino, 2006).

The colophon to the incomplete *Uttaragrantha* preserves, in the Derge and Peking editions, a lengthy quotation from the colophon of a commentary on this text, the *Vinayottarāgamaviśeṣāgamapraśnavṛtti*, in which details of the incomplete and inferior state of preservation of the *'Dul ba gzhung bla ma* are recounted. According to this colophon, following the Shunga ruler Puṣyamitra's (187–151 BCE) persecution of Buddhism (Lamotte, [1958] 1988, 386–392), it became difficult to find a complete text of the *Uttaragrantha* in Mathurā; the incomplete version is all that could be remembered by a monk from Kashmir. The *Upālipariprcchā* contains section colophons in which it is identified as the Kashmiri *Upālipariprcchā* (see the Stog Palace edition [*'Dul ba*, da 18a2–3; 36b7; 41a5–6; 92b6–7: *nye bar 'khor gyis zhus pa kha che ba*]).

As discussed by P. Harrison (1994, 306), there are two different colophons to the complete *Uttaragrantha* (for a translation of one version, see Samten & Russell, 1987). Of particular interest for our knowledge of the content of the *Uttaragrantha* is the series of verses found before this colophon in which each of the sections of the *Uttaragrantha* is briefly defined. The definitions look very similar to those found in Bu ston's *'Dul ba spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa* (General Exposition on Vinaya; Lokesh Chandra, 1971, zha 48a6–49a5), although his are in prose, not verse.

The *'Dul ba gzhung dam pa* (D 7[b]/P 1037) in 53 *bam pos* contains the following 12 sections:

Section 1: *Upalis zhus pa* (The Questions of Upāli; Skt. *Upālipariprcchā*; Sanskrit title attested as *Prcchā* in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 1–21). This section consists of a relatively terse and formulaic, question-and-answer-format dialogue between Upāli and the Buddha, in which Upāli asks for clarification of details related to various Vinaya offenses. Structurally, the text follows the order of the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* and then the *vastus*.

Section 2: *'Dul bar byed pa* (The Adjudications; Skt. *Vinītaka*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 22–25). This section contains what appears to be case law. It deals only with case law for the first nine *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* rules, that is, the four *pārājikas* and the first five *saṅghāvaśeṣas*. This and its parallels in other texts are perhaps the richest source available for

Indian Buddhist monastic attitudes toward sexuality and sexual transgressions (and any other matters discussed in these nine rules). The *Vinītaka* is cited approximately 45 times in Śākyaprabha's *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikāvṛttiprabhāvatī*. Similar sections are found in all extant Sthavira Vinayas including the Theravāda Vinaya, wherein the individual case histories are to be found under the respective rules in sections known as the *vinītavatthu*s, and also the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya*. (For a detailed study, see Clarke, 2012b.)

Section 3: *Gcig nas 'dzegs pa* ([Vinaya Topics Numerically Arranged in] Single Increments; Skt. **Ekottarikā*; Sanskrit title unattested in Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya works, but the variant title *Vinayotarikā* found in the Merv manuscript [Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 1999a, 28; 2000b, 14–15; Clarke, 2001, 90–91]; *bam pos* 26–27). The text is arranged under three *piṇḍoddāna*s, each with ten *uddāna*s, yielding a total of 30 *uddāna*s. This is a relatively long text, arranged according to the standard format for numerical discourse (all the "ones" are followed by the "twos," "threes," and so on, down to the "tens"). The coverage is somewhat uneven, with some numbers such as the "twos" receiving considerable authorial attention and some, such as the "nines," not, as can be seen by the *uddāna* distribution ("ones": *piṇḍoddāna* 1; "twos": *uddāna*s 1–10; "threes": *uddāna*s 11–15; "fours": *uddāna* 16; "fives": *uddāna*s 17–20; "sixes": *uddāna*s 21–22; "sevens": *uddāna* 23; "eights": *uddāna*s 24–26; "nines": *uddāna* 26; and "tens": *uddāna*s 27–30).

The **Ekottarikā* is much more, however, than simply a collection of lists of numerically arranged, random items. The section on the "twos," for instance, contains detailed lists concerning the qualities of the holder of the monastic office of the **vaiyāpṛtyakara* (Tib. *dge 'dun gyi zhal ta pa*), an administrative or managerial position held by certain monks (Silk, 2008, 39–73). The section on the "fives" contains at least 14 separate discussions concerning the qualities of a *vinayadhara*. The section on the "sixes" contains a detailed discussion of the six great teachings or *mahopadeśa*s (*bstan po chen po drug*). The section on the "eights" contains a dialogue between the Buddha and Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, who requests a doctrinal explanation about the nature of the dharma. Conspicuous by their absence from the "eights" are the eight *gurudharma* rules for nuns, the imposition of which Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī is said to have accepted as a condition for the establishment of the *bhikṣuṇī* saṅgha but according to which *bhikṣuṇī*s remain in a subordinate position to *bhikṣu*s regardless of seniority.

Section 4: *Lnga pa* (The Fives; Skt. **Pañcaka*; Sanskrit title unattested in Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya works, but the variant title *Vinayapaṃcika* found in the Merv manuscript [Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 1999a, 28; 2000b, 14–15; Clarke, 2001, 90–91]; *bam pos* 28–29). This section consists primarily of lists of terms arranged into groups of five, with one *piṇḍoddāna* and ten *uddāna*s in total. In the format of an exchange between the Buddha and Upāli, it begins with a detailed discussion of protocols and procedures concerning how monks are supposed to accuse (*gleng ba*) other monks of offenses, all conveniently arranged into fives. Many lists are given, including, for instance, the five types of *ācārya*s (*slob dpon lnga*), five types of abuse (*spyo ba rnam pa lnga*), and the five types of protocols for receiving donations (*byin len rnam pa lnga*). Curiously, given its initial focus on protocols for accusing other monks of offenses, the **Pañcaka* contains seemingly only one mention of the *sthalastha* or arbitrator monk. (On this text, see Borgland, 2014, 47–49.)

Section 5: *Bcu drug* (The Sixteens; Skt. **Ṣoḍaśaka*; Sanskrit title unattested in Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya works, but the variant title *Vinayaṣoddaśika* found in the Merv manuscript [Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 1999a, 28; 2000b, 14–15; Clarke, 2001, 90–91]; *bam po* 30). This is an exceedingly short text arranged around a single *uddāna*. In format, the text is a dialogue between Upāli and the Buddha, with most of the dialogue consisting of a set of lists given by the Buddha to Upāli in response. The text consists of short sections, each of which begins with an initial list of 16 matters, followed usually by two further lists of five attributes, which make the monk in question from the initial list either unsuitable in the first list (sections 1–13) or suitable in the second list to perform a certain task (sections 1–16). The text deals primarily with the settlement of monastic disputes. As noted above, the sections on the "fives" in the **Ekottarikā* sections in both the Sarvāstivādin *Shi-song-lü* and the *Modeleqie* are conspicuously long. It appears almost as if the sections on the *vinayadhara* and his abilities and qualifications from the section of "fives" in the **Ekottarikā* have been collected and modified to discuss the *sthalastha* in the **Ṣoḍaśaka*. (On this text, see Borgland, 2014, 54–56.)

Section 6: *Gleng gzhi* ([The Collected] Incidents [on Vastu Legislation]; Skt. *Nidāna*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam*

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Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam*

pos 31–37). (For a preliminary study, see Clarke, 2002; for a detailed study and an English translation, see Kishino, 2013; see also above.)

Section 7: *Rkyang pa* (The Separate [Collected Incidents on Vastu Legislation]; Skt. *Muktaka*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 38–43). (For a preliminary study, see Clarke, 2001; see also above.)

Section 8: *Gtam gyi dngos po* (The Matters of Discussion [on Vinaya Topics]; Skt. *Kathāvastu*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 44–45; for three broken Sanskrit folios from the Turfan collection [SHT (V) 1068] that correspond well with the *Kathāvastu*, see Clarke, 2011). A notable and distinctive characteristic of the *Kathāvastu* is that it seems to be one of only two Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya texts known not to include an *uddāna* system as part of their structural arrangement (the other being the *Mātṛkā*; see below). In terms of format, the text is a catechism between Upāli and the Buddha without narrative sections, although, curiously, neither the Buddha nor Upāli are introduced by name until well into the text. The text itself is not divided into any marked sections.

The text begins abruptly with a series of approximately 30 Abhidharma questions concerning the nature of Vinaya offenses. Although no formal transition is marked, after the application of Abhidharma categories to monastic offenses, the text moves to a number of what we might classify as legal puzzles. The first of these is whether there is any matter (*dngos po*; Skt. **vastu*) that can be both an offense and not an offense. The legal point to which attention is drawn is the exception already built into a number of *prātimokṣa* rules that allows monks to engage in certain activities in times of sickness and various other exceptional circumstances (*dus ma gtogs te*; Skt. *anyatra samayāt*). One such case is the 36th *pāyantikā* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, which allows monks to participate in a separate group meal (*'dus shing za ba*; Skt. *gaṇabhojana*) away from the rest of the saṅgha in times of illness or travel. Various other legal questions are broached.

Of further interest is the discussion and awareness of gender differences in monastic legislation exhibited by the Vinaya authors/redactors. In response to the question of whether there are any cases in which a *pārājika* offense is deemed to be a *saṅghāvaśeṣa* offense, the rule against touching the body of a member of the opposite sex is cited. If a nun touches the body of a male, she incurs a *pārājika*. The same action is only a *saṅghāvaśeṣa* offense for a monk who touches a female. Likewise, while it is a *pārājika* offense for a nun to conceal another's grave offense, it is only a *pāyantikā* if a monk does the same. For the act of following a suspended monk, a nun incurs a *pārājika*, but the same action results in only a *duṣkṛta* or wrongdoing for a monk. Not all monastic law, however, is more lenient toward monks. The intentional emission of sexual fluids (i.e. masturbation) is a *saṅghāvaśeṣa* offense for monks but a lesser offense, a *pāyantikā*, for nuns.

Section 9: *Ma na bi ka* (The Young, Female Brahman; Skt. **Māṇavikā*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 46–47). The text is arranged under a series of *piṇḍoddānas* and *uddānas*: two *piṇḍoddānas*, the first containing 11 *uddānas*, the second 15. There is some confusion concerning this title, the significance of which is not clear. Although Sanskrit *māṇavikā* is only feminine, the title sometimes seems to be understood as the masculine *māṇavaka* (young, male Brahman). To whom the title refers is unclear; no Brahman boy or girl seems to be mentioned in the text.

The **Māṇavikā* is quoted in a range of Vinaya compendia, digests, and commentaries extant primarily only in Tibetan, including Śākyaprabha's *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikāvṛttiprabhāvatī*, Guṇaprabha's *Ekottarakarmaśataka* and *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna*, Vimalamitra's *Prātimokṣasūtraṭīkāvinayasamuccaya*, Viśeṣamitra's *Vinayasaṃgraha*, and Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*. An indication of the importance of the **Māṇavikā* to Guṇaprabha may be gleaned from the fact that he cites it in his *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* close to 30 times.

As noted in Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna*, the **Māṇavikā* seems to deal with matters beginning with those from the *Carmavastu* and then other *vastus* (see above). The text opens with a question in which Upāli seeks clarification of the Buddha's previous pronouncement concerning ordination in the hinterlands with a quorum of five monks including a *vinayadhara*, a matter previously discussed in the *Carmavastu*. Upāli asks whether an ordination performed with only five monks, one being a *vinayadhara*, would be valid even if a regular quorum of ten monks were available. The text then moves on to a clarification of the rule by which a monk incurs a *naiḥsargika* if he has an extra robe for more than ten days. Here too the text elaborates on the rule in the *Carmavastu* that states that the ten-day period does not apply for robes during transit when sent from one monk to another. The rule is clarified here in relation to deaf and blind monks and how they know when they have received extra robes.

The discussion under the second to seventh *uddāna*s of the first *piṇḍoddāna* addresses issues arising from the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Chapter on Medicines) concerning the consumption or use of sugar beer (*ram chang*), human breast milk (*mi'i 'o ma*), human flesh (*mi'i sha*), meat that has been slaughtered specifically for a monk (*de'i phyir ched du bsad pa'i sha*), leeches (*srin bu pad ma*), woodpeckers (*bya shing rta mo*), frogs (*sbal pa*), and different mixtures of foods taken as medicine such as morning medicines mixed with afternoon medicines, or seven-day medicines with lifelong ones. The eighth and ninth *uddāna*s move on to questions arising from the *Cīvaravastu* such as whether one may accept a robe from an insane person. With the beginning of the tenth *uddāna*, the text moves on to a discussion as to whether a monk who nurses another monk is entitled to inherit his patient's property. The 11th and final *uddāna* of the first *piṇḍoddāna* starts with a discussion of how a monk may simultaneously spend the rains' retreat in four places without committing an offense. The second set of *uddāna*s, 15 in total, seems to deal with topics from the following *vastu*s: *Kaṭhinavastu* (*uddāna*s 1–4), *Kauśāmbakavastu* (*uddāna*s 5–9), *Karmavastu* (*uddāna*s 10–13), and *Pāṇḍulohitakavastu* (*uddāna*s 14–15).

Section 10: *Ma lta bu* (The Summary [of Vinaya Topics]; Skt. *Mātṛkā*; Sanskrit title attested in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary; *bam pos* 48–53). The *Mātṛkā* lacks any substantial narrative and an *uddāna* system. It is divided into three sections as follows: (1) section on ordination (*bsnyen par rdzogs pa'i phung po*; Skt. *upasaṃpadākhaṇḍaka*; 133 items); (2) section on [protocols] connected [with various monastic procedures and realia] (*rab tu ldan pa'i phung po*; Skt. *pratisaṃyuktakhaṇḍaka*; 98 items); and (3) section on obligatory behavior (*bya ba'i phung po*; Skt. *vṛttakhaṇḍaka*; 116 items). The *vṛttakhaṇḍaka* appears to have circulated as a separate text entitled *Kriyāskandha* (see Clarke, 2004b; for an initial study of Vinaya *Mātṛkā*s, see Clarke, 2004a; two of the three Vinaya fragments identified by Hoernle – 1916, 149×/20, and 149×/16 – belong to this text).

Section 11: *Upalis kun dris pa* (The Inquiry by Upāli; Sanskrit title unattested). It is unclear whether this should be considered a separate section. It is nothing more than a single, seven-part question concerning the body (*lus*) and fruit (*'bras bu*) of the Vinaya (for brief comments on this section, see Kishino, 2013, 22–23n72).

Section 12: colophon. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 75; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.29; Prebish, 1994, 98–99.)

Sapoduobu pini modeleqie

The Chinese translation of this text, titled *Sapoduobu pini modeleqie* (薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽; *Sarvāstivāda* [**nikāya* (?)] *Vinaya*mātṛkā*; T. 1441 [XXIII]; ten fasc.), is ascribed to Saṅghavarman (Sengqiebamo [僧伽跋摩]; *fl.* early 5th cent.) in 435 CE. The text has long been misunderstood as a commentary on the Sarvāstivādin *Shisong-lü* (see above). It is, however, a canonical Vinaya text, one affiliated not with the *Shisong-lü* but more closely with the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. The term *modeleqie* (摩得勒伽) in the title is generally understood as a transcription of Sanskrit *mātṛkā*, but it might transcribe some other, phonetically similar, unattested or unrecognized Vinaya title. The Chinese title is usually reconstructed as Sanskrit *Sarvāstivādavinayamātṛkā*. If accepted as a Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya text, then the early translation date would make this perhaps our earliest datable textual evidence for the Mūlasarvāstivādins, albeit under the title Sarvāstivādins.

When compared to the *Uttaragrantha* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, preserved chiefly only in Tibetan, both the structure and the content of the text become clear. The so-called *Sarvāstivādavinayamātṛkā* is not a *Mātṛkā* but a collection of some seven sections including a *Mātṛkā*, all of which have counterparts in the *Shisong-lü* and the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragrantha*. The following section colophon from the *Mātṛkā* section is perhaps instructive with regard to the relationship between the *Sapoduobu pini modeleqie* and the *Uttaragrantha*/*Uttamagrantha*: "The Good Recitation [of the] **Mātṛkā* expounded by the Buddha is complete" (佛說摩得勒伽善誦竟 (T. 1441 [XXIII] 605a5). As discussed above, the term *shansong* (善誦; Good Recitation) may be a translation of Sanskrit *Uttamagrantha*, an attested variant – at least in Tibetan translation – of *Uttaragrantha*. Although the syntax remains problematic, it is not impossible that this colophon was intended to read: "The **Mātṛkā* [section] in the *Uttamagrantha* (Good Recitation) expounded by the Buddha is complete."

Indeed, this colophon marl
Mātṛkā section of the *Model*
Uttaragrantha counterpart) e
There are a number of San
Hoernle and Turfan collection
to the *Modeleqie* (see Chung,
do not preserve section title
ent sections of the *Modeleqie*
titles are from the *Mūlasarvās*
detailed discussion of these
the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttara*
Introductory verses may be
(T. 1441 [XXIII] 564c24–565a1
Section 1: *Kathāvastu* (z
T. 1441 (XXIII) 565a14–569b2
Section 2a: *Upālipariprcch*
vibhaṅga [優波離問分別波
(XXIII) 569c1–579b25 (*pā*
saṅghāvaśeṣas: 571b8–572b1
naiḥsargikas: 572c9–574c1;
579a19; *pratideśanīyas*: 579
śamathas: 579b16–25);
Section 2b: *Upālipariprc*
事]): T. 1441 (XXIII) 579b26–
[問受戒事]: 579b26–580a28
薩事]: 580a29–b23; *Pravār*
580b24–c16; *Varṣāvastu* [問
from *fa* (法) to *shi* (事) for c
Bhaiṣajyavastu [問藥事]: 58
here too the *Carmavastu* is
Cīvaravastu [問衣事]: 581a1
迦絺那衣事]: 581a18–b11; *Kau*
彌事]: 581b12–20; *Karmavas*
c5; *vastu* on concealment of
[問覆藏僧殘事]: 581c6–25;
[問遮布薩事]: 581c26–582a7
臥具事]: 582a8–15; *Adhika*
582a16–24; *Saṅghabhedavas*
29; *vastu* on overturning of
事; a punishment for laype
their alms]: 582b1–12); it sh
vastu names in this *Upālipa*
neither those of the *Shiso*
Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya;
Section 3: *Vinītaka*: T. 1441
(title at the head of this sect
lanea of the *Vinaya*mātṛkā*
the case law of the *Vinītaka*
pārājikas and the first five *sa*
Section 4: *Mātṛkā*: T. 144
(all Vinaya *Mātṛkās* follow a

idered a separate section. It is nothing
ngle, seven-part question concerning
and fruit (*'bras bu*) of the Vinaya (for
s on this section, see Kishino, 2013,

olophon. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I,
oo, 75; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.29; Prebish,

ini modeleqie

ranslation of this text, titled *Sapo-*
nodeleqie (薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽;
nikāya (?)] *Vinaya*mātṛkā*; T. 1441
sc.), is ascribed to Saṅghavarman
[僧伽跋摩]; *fl.* early 5th cent.) in
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āstivādavinaya, preserved chiefly
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colophon from the *Mātṛkā* section
ructive with regard to the relation-
e *Sapoduobu pini modeleqie* and the
Uttamagrantha: "The Good Recita-
ātṛkā expounded by the Buddha is
說摩得勒伽善誦竟 (T. 1441 [XXIII]
ssed above, the term *shansong* (善誦;
n) may be a translation of Sanskrit
, an attested variant – at least in
tion – of *Uttaragrantha*. Although
ains problematic, it is not impos-
olophon was intended to read: "The
on] in the *Uttamagrantha* (Good
ounded by the Buddha is complete."

Indeed, this colophon marks exactly where the *Mātṛkā* section of the *Modeleqie* (*Uttamagrantha/Uttaragrantha* counterpart) ends.

There are a number of Sanskrit fragments in the Hoernle and Turfan collections that correspond well to the *Modeleqie* (see Chung, 2002). However, they do not preserve section titles. The seven constituent sections of the *Modeleqie* are as follows (Sanskrit titles are from the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*; for more detailed discussion of these sections, see above on the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragrantha*).

Introductory verses may belong to the *Kathāvastu* (T. 1441 [XXIII] 564c24–565a13).

Section 1: *Kathāvastu* (*zhongfenshi* [衆分事]): T. 1441 (XXIII) 565a14–569b29;

Section 2a: *Upālipariprcchā* ([*bhikṣu*] *prātimokṣa-vibhaṅga* [優波離問分別波羅提木叉]): T. 1441 (XXIII) 569c1–579b25 (*pārājikas*: 569c1–571b4; *saṅghāvaśeṣas*: 571b8–572b15; *aniyatas*: 572b16–c8; *naiḥsargikas*: 572c9–574c1; *pāyantikās*: 574c2–579a19; *pratideśanīyas*: 579a20–b15; *adhikaraṇa-śamathas*: 579b16–25);

Section 2b: *Upālipariprcchā* (*vastus* [優波離問事]): T. 1441 (XXIII) 579b26–582b12 (*Pravrajyāvastu* [問受戒事]: 579b26–580a28; *Poṣadhavastu* [問布薩事]: 580a29–b23; *Pravāraṇāvastu* [問自恣事]: 580b24–c16; *Varṣāvastu* [問安居事; text amended from *fa* (法) to *shi* (事) for consistency]: 580c17–27; *Bhaiṣajyavastu* [問藥事]: 580c28–581a9; note that here too the *Carmavastu* is missing [see above]; *Cīvaravastu* [問衣事]: 581a10–17; *Kaṭhinavastu* [問迦絺那衣事]: 581a18–b11; *Kauśāmbakavastu* [問俱舍彌事]: 581b12–20; *Karmavastu* [問羯磨事]: 581b21–c5; *vastu* on concealment of *saṅghāvaśeṣa* offenses [問覆藏僧殘事]: 581c6–25; *Poṣadhasthāpanavastu* [問遮布薩事]: 581c26–582a7; *Śayanāsanavastu* [問臥具事]: 582a8–15; *Adhikaraṇavastu* [問滅諍事]: 582a16–24; *Saṅghabhedavastu* [問破僧事]: 582a25–29; *vastu* on overturning of the alms' bowl [問覆鉢事; a punishment for laypeople by not accepting their alms]: 582b1–12); it should be noted that the *vastu* names in this *Upālipariprcchā* match exactly neither those of the *Shisong-lü* nor those of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*;

Section 3: *Vinītaka*: T. 1441 (XXIII) 582b13–593b20 (title at the head of this section: Chapter on Miscellanea of the *Vinaya*mātṛkā* [毘尼摩得勒伽雜事]); the case law of the *Vinītaka* deals only with the four *pārājikas* and the first five *saṅghāvaśeṣas*;

Section 4: *Mātṛkā*: T. 1441 (XXIII) 593b21–605a5 (all Vinaya *Mātṛkās* follow a threefold division into ordination, connected protocols, and deportment, preceded sometimes by lists of terms that are thereafter defined in each of these three divisions; the lists are found, with no internal division markers, at 593b21–c15, 593c15–29, and 593c29–594a17; the three divisions are found directly after at 594a17–598b10 [受戒聚], 598b11–601a21 [相應聚], and 601a22–605a4 [威儀聚]);

Section 5: **Māṇavikā*: T. 1441 (XXIII) 605a9–607a25;

Section 6: **Ekottarikā*: T. 1441 (XXIII) 607a25–611b11 ([?]; neither the beginning, defined by the end of the **Māṇavikā*, nor the end [610c6(?)] of the **Ekottarikā* is clear; three different types of *karmans* [formal ecclesiastical acts of the saṅgha] are discussed [610c7–611b11]: 24 *jñaptikarmans* [白羯磨; acts consisting of a motion (*jñapti*) only]; 47 *jñaptidvitīyakarmans* [acts in which the motion is followed by a single proclamation and passed as the second (*dvitīya*) part of the procedure]; and 30 *jñapticaturthakarmans* [acts in which the motion is followed by three proclamations and passed as the fourth (*caturtha*) part of the procedure]; the number of formal acts in each category can be an indicator of sectarian affiliation [comp. e.g. the lists at T. 1441 (XXIII) 569a24–28, 610c9–611a29; T. 1458 (XXIV) 498c29–499c5; Peking, Bstan 'gyur, *'Dul ba'i 'grel pa* (vol. CXXIII) zu 293b4–298a3]; whether the discussion of *karmans* is properly part of the **Ekottarikā* is unclear); the section on the "fives" in the **Ekottarikā* is extremely long; in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* the length of this section may have contributed to its development into a separate text, the **Pañcaka*;

Section 7: *Upālipariprcchā* ([*bhikṣu*] *prātimokṣa-vibhaṅga*): T. 1441 (XXIII) 611b15–626b9 (*pārājikas*: 611b15–615b8; *saṅghāvaśeṣas*: 615b9–617b1; *aniyatas*: 617b5–617c10; *naiḥsargikas*: 617c11–620a7; *pāyantikās*: 620a8–626a22; *pratideśanīyas*: 626a23–b9); it is unclear why there are two almost complete *Upālipariprcchās* covering the *bhikṣuprātimokṣa-vibhaṅga* (comp. 2a above); and

Colophon: T. 1441 (XXIII) 626b10–12 (the colophon gives the length of the text as 7,000 verses [偈] of 32 syllables [字] or a total of 224,000 syllables in ten fascicles; for a discussion of the relationship of the Hoernle [1916] fragments to this text, see Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 81–90). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 268; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.15.C.2.k.1; Prebish, 1994, 83–84.)

Kāśyapīyas

Jietuo jiejing

Jietuo jiejing (解脱戒經; Liberation-Precept *Sūtra*; T. 1460 [XXIV]; one fasc.) is a *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* ascribed to the Kāśyapīya school and translated in 543 CE by Gautama Prajñāruci (Qutan boreliuzhi [瞿曇般若流支]; *fl.* 6th cent.). It is the only Vinaya text of the Kāśyapīyas that has come down to us. It contains by one count a total of 246 rules for monks (including the seven *adhikaraṇaśamathas*). Structurally, this *prātimokṣa* is unique in that it presents the verses that are usually found at the end of other *prātimokṣas* (but not found in the Theravāda *pātimokkha*) and said to be the *prātimokṣas* of previous buddhas not at the end but at the beginning of the text. It contains a short preface by Sengfang (僧昉; *fl.* 6th cent.). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 250–251; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.71; Prebish, 1994, 76.)

Sāṃmitīyas

Lü ershier mingliao lun

Lü ershier mingliao lun (律二十二明了論; Treatise on the Elucidation of 22 [Verses] on Vinaya; T. 1461 [XXIV]; one fasc.) is a commentary by *Buddhatrāta (Fotuoduoluoduo [佛陀多羅多]), translated by the Indian Tripiṭaka master Paramārtha (Zhendi [眞諦;

Table 3: Comparative Table of the Major Sections of the Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragranthas*

	Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya					*Modeleqie* (摩得勒伽)	*Shisong-lü* (十誦律)
	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Stog	Derge	T. 1452	T. 1441	T. 1435
1	*Upālipariprcchā* (*vibhaṅga*)	Upalis zhus pa	da 127a3–323b7	na 92b1–235a2	–	569c1–579b25; 611b15–626b9	379a3–397a11
	Upālipariprcchā (*vastus*)	Upalis zhus pa	da 323b7–398b4	na 235a2–288b5	–	579b26–582b12	397a15–405a20
2	*Vinītaka*	'Dul bar byed pa	da 398b4–na 32a5	na 288b5–pa 22b2	–	582b13–593b20	424b16–445a12
3	**Ekottarikā*	Gcig nas 'dzegs pa	na 32a5–68a1	pa 22b2–47b1	–	607a25–611b11(?)	352b27–354c8; 355c10–373c6
4	**Pañcaka*	Lnga pa	na 68a2–87b5	pa 47b1–61a5	–	Included in **Ekottarikā*, above(?)	Included in **Ekottarikā*, above(?)
5	**Ṣoḍaśaka*	Bcu drug pa	na 87b5–100b5	pa 61a5–70a6	–	Included in **Ekottarikā*, above(?)	Included in **Ekottarikā*, above(?)
6	*Nidāna*	Gleng gzhi	na 100b5–203b6	pa 70a6–141a7	415a2–435b28	–	346a7–352b26
7	*Muktaka*	Rkyang pa	na 203b7–291b6	pa 141a7–201b7	435c1–455c2	–	456b9–470b19
8	*Kathāvastu*	Gtam gyi dngos po	na 291b6–320b3	pa 201b7–221b5	–	565a14–569b29	373c7–378c6
9	**Māṇavikā*	Ma na bi ka	na 320b3–338b2	pa 221b5–233b4	–	605a9–607a25	405a21–409c18
10	*Mātṛkā*	Ma lta bu	na 338b2–453a3	pa 233b4–310a6	–	593b21–605a5	410a4–423b9

has not at the end but at the beginning
contains a short preface by Sengfang
ent.). (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960]
o–251; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.71; Prebish,

s

ngliao lun

gliao lun (律二十二明了論; Treatise
tion of 22 [Verses] on Vinaya; T. 1461
c.) is a commentary by *Buddhatrāta
luo [佛陀多羅多]), translated by the
a master Paramārtha (Zhendi [眞諦];

/Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragranthas*

	Modeleqie (摩得勒伽)	*Shisong-lü* (十誦律)
	T. 1441	T. 1435
	569c1–579b25; 611b15–626b9	379a3–397a11
	579b26–582b12	397a15–405a20
	582b13–593b20	424b16–445a12
	607a25–611b11(?)	352b27–354c8; 355c10–373c6
	Included in *Ekottarikā*, above(?)	Included in *Ekottarikā*, above(?)
	Included in *Ekottarikā*, above(?)	Included in *Ekottarikā*, above(?)
5b28	–	346a7–352b26
5c2	–	456b9–470b19
	565a14–569b29	373c7–378c6
	605a9–607a25	405a21–409c18
	593b21–605a5	410a4–423b9

499–569 CE) in 568 CE. *Buddhatrāta, the author, is described as a Sāṃmitīya monk. The commentary is organized around and elucidates 22 verses said to cover some 65 important matters of the Vinaya of the Sāṃmitīya school. It contains a postscript that gives the translation date. (See also Hirakawa, vol. I, [1960] 1999–2000, 269–270; Yuyama, 1979, § 1.81; Prebish, 1994, 76; Namikawa, 2011, 28; Thiên Châu, 1999, 27–31, 117–122; Shōno, 2012.)

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Shayne Clarke

Abhidharma

As most traditional biographies of the Buddha have it, Śākyamuni spent the last 45 years of his ultimate existence preaching the law (*dharma*) he had discovered in his awakening. Buddhist accounts of the Buddha's dispensation agree in regarding it as a therapeutic and pragmatic approach to salvation adapted to the language, the religious needs, the social and psychological profiles as well as the intellectual capacities of the audience. However, while such "skill in means" (*upāyakauśalya*) perfectly suited the needs of early Buddhism as a missionary religion, it made a consistent and unitary account of the Buddhist doctrine difficult to provide, due to the apparent contradictions and competing levels of truth involved by the rhetorical plasticity of the discourses (*sūtra*). In other words, the (as tradition would have it, only apparent) doctrinal diversity of the Buddhist *sūtras* made a situation-independent description of the Buddhist doctrine, not conditioned by any particular audience, a desideratum. The Abhidharma may have been developed in part in a quest to meet this need, well before the sectarian fragmentation of the Buddhist community. Since the Buddha's words were uttered in specific situations, but the truth is context-independent, "Abhidharma texts were considered to be explicit in meaning (*nītārtha*) and the interpretations presented in them were accepted as the authoritative standard by which the *sūtras*, which were only of implicit meaning (*neyārtha*), were to be interpreted" (Cox, 1995, 14).

Origins and Early Development of the Abhidharma

From an early date, the Abhidharma likely served as a vehicle for factional identity, and gradually developed into the privileged expression of Buddhist sectarian self-assertion and intersectarian polemics. Many among the extant Abhidharma works, both canonical and commentarial, reflect a clear sense of sectarian identity and contentiousness. However, there are reasons to believe that these texts, while born in a common project, underwent a complex development both before and after the emergence of sects (Cox, 1998, 145; Anālayo, 2014, 13). According to C. Cox (1998, 142), early Abhidharma likely consisted not in a set of individual texts such as those we now possess, "but rather [in] a type of exegesis that gradually developed in tandem with distinctive content, and eventually resulted in an independent branch of inquiry and a concomitant and separate genre of texts." Originally, teachings could have been

> presented orally in an abbreviated form appropriate for oral transmission, together with an attendant elaborating commentary. At the extreme, the texts could be contracted to a "skeleton" or outline format for purposes of preservation in memory and expanded in oral recitation through the insertion of stock descriptive phrases and formulaic patterns. (Cox, 1998, 141; Anālayo, 2014, 36–37)

This interpretation comes very close to the hypothesis proposed recently by Anālayo (2014, 55–89), according to whom the early Abhidharma works "seem to have grown out of a common nucleus, which appears to have been mainly discourse quotations on central themes ... combined with a commentarial exegesis."

According to most Western scholars, Abhidharma "evolved from the practice of formulating matrices, or categorizing lists (*mātṛkā*), of all topics of the teaching arranged according to both numeric and qualitative criteria" (Cox, 1995, 18–19n29; Anālayo, 2014, 22n26). As pointed out by Anālayo,

> the term *mātṛkā* derives from *mātṛ*, "mother," and conveys the sense of a succinct list or summary which can be expanded and serve as the skeleton for a detailed exposition. A textual *mātṛkā* is thus comparable to a "mother" in the sense that it can give birth to a full exposition of a particular topic. (Anālayo, 2014, 20–21)

This includes, on the one hand, "lists containing fundamental concepts under which it was attempted to subsume all the various elements," and on the other hand, "attribute-*mātṛkās*" reflecting a method "consisting of composing a list of attributes and discussing the nature of the relevant elements with the aid of this list" (Frauwallner, 1995, 4–5).

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Examples of the first type of matrix include the five constituents or aggregates (*skandha*, i.e., corporeality [*rūpa*], feeling [*vedanā*], conception [*saṃjñā*], conditioning factors [*saṃskāra*], bare cognition [*vijñāna*]), whereas examples of the second type are supplied by dyads (but also triads, tetrads, etc.) such as corporeal/incorporeal (*rūpin/arūpin*), visible/invisible (*sanidarśana/anidarśana*), and conditioned/unconditioned (*saṃskṛta/asaṃskṛta*). An important taxonomic list or "meta-list" (Ronkin, 2005, 27) consists of the 37 "limbs of awakening" (*bodhipākṣikadharma*). As Anālayo points out,

> "[t]his basic list [covers] the mental qualities that tradition considers crucial for progress to awakening; and it is this *mātṛkā* which according to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* was taught by the Buddha just before his passing away, and the *mātṛkā* that the *Pāsādika-sutta* and the *Sāmagāma-sutta*... recommend for ensuring communal harmony. (Anālayo, 2014, 50)

The limbs of awakening include:

1. four applications of mindfulness (*smṛty-upasthāna*);
2. four right exertions (*samyak-prahāṇa/pradhāna*);
3. four bases of supernatural ability (*ṛddhipāda*);
4. five faculties (*indriya*);
5. five powers (*bala*);
6. seven members of awakening (*bodhyaṅga*); and
7. the eightfold noble path (*āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*).

These 37 items are variously described as a precondition for liberation from the fluxes (*āsrava*, negative pollutants of one's mental stream), as the cultivation of the path (*mārgabhāvanā*), as the jewels (*ratna*) of the dharma, and as the quintessence of the Buddha's teaching "about which no disagreement exists" (Gethin, 1992).

According to Anālayo, of decisive influence on the evolving Abhidharma must have been attempts made

> to be as comprehensive as possible, to supplement the directives given in the early discourses for progress on the path with a full picture of all aspects of the path in an attempt to provide a complete map of everything in some way related to the path... Equipped with a complete map of the doctrine, the disciples are fortified in their struggle for survival in competition with non-Buddhist teachers and in their attempts to maintain harmony within the Buddhist fold. (Anālayo, 2014, 168)

This drive towards giving a comprehensive inventory of all that there is may have been meant as a symbolic counterpart of the Buddha's omniscience (Anālayo, 2014, 94, 109).

This pre- or proto-Abhidharmic "taxonomic organization through lists or matrices" (Cox, 1995, 9) is visible in *sūtras* using lists to summarize the Buddha's teaching, such as the *Saṅgītisūtra* and the *Daśottarasūtra*, both of which arrange their items numerically (from ones/monads to tens/decads and ten-times-ten, respectively) and the *Arthavistarasūtra*, which organizes its elements thematically (Anālayo, 2014, 29–39; note that the three *sūtras* are ascribed to the Buddha's great disciple and "Abhidharma specialist" Śāriputra; Migot, 1954, 519–532). In addition, numerical and topical arrangement was not only meant to organize individual *sūtras*, but also to "dictate the structure of entire collections of *sūtras*" (Cox, 1995, 9), the most famous examples being the *Aṅguttaranikāya* or *Ekottarikāgama* grouping, in which the *sūtras* are classified according to the increasing number of the doctrinal items they deal with, and the *Saṃyuttanikāya* or *Saṃyuktāgama*, in which the *sūtras* are organized according to their respective topics. Recent scholarship on the origins of Abhidharma insists, however, that the use of lists, which may have characterized the Vinaya (monastic discipline) and especially the Prātimokṣa (disciplinary precepts) at least as much as the Abhidharma, cannot be considered specific to Abhidharma, and should rather be interpreted as a common feature of oral transmission (Cox, 1995, 8; Anālayo, 2014, 22–28, 83). In another reference to the wider cultural context, for E. Frauwallner (1995, 40), the Buddhist *mātṛkās* likely were an answer to the Brahmanical *sūtras*, concisely formulated rules such as those that can be found in the works of various philosophical schools or in grammatical works, and which, like the *mātṛkās*, require an explanation to be understood.

According to another hypothesis, the origin of Abhidharma is not simply to be found in this taxonomic approach, but "in dialogues concerning the doctrine (*abhidharmakathā*), or monastic discussion in catechetic style characterized by an exchange of questions and interpretative answers intended to clarify complex or obscure points of doctrine" (Cox, 1995, 8; Kimura, 1968, 27–43; Sakurabe, 1969, 13–29). This hypothesis of the origins of Abhidharma in a certain question and answer format is certainly not incompatible with the idea that it arose from matrices used to organize concepts, since

> [t]he tendency toward organization represented by *mātṛkā* and that toward discursive explanation represented by *abhidharmakathā* together constitute the exegetical method characteristic of mature Abhidharma analysis, and both tendencies are found in incipient form in Abhidharma treatises from the earliest period onward. (Cox, 1995, 9)

We must remember, however, that whatever we understand to be the origin of Abhidharma, these origins are not the Abhidharma per se:

> the two main approaches that have been considered as explaining the coming into being of the Abhidharma – the use of *mātṛkā*s and the question-and-answer format – are features that are not in themselves necessarily characteristic of Abhidharma thought, however much they may have contributed to its formulation. (Anālayo, 2014, 28)

Meaning and Function of the Abhidharma

The meaning of the word *abhidharma* and its two components, the prefix *abhi* and the substantive *dharma*, seems to have changed according to scholarly milieu, time and place. The northern Indian scholiasts understand *abhi* in the sense of "with regard to" and *dharma* in the sense of "teaching," the compound expression thus meaning "with regard to the teaching," that is, the study of the Buddha's teaching. This usage seems to be well documented in early Pali literature as well as in most early discourses' understanding of the expression *abhidharma* (Anālayo, 2014, 70–79 and 70n49). The later Pali commentators seem to favor an interpretation of *abhi* as "highest," "further," and of *dharma* as "teaching," that is already listed in the important commentary **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545 [XXVII] 4b13; Anālayo, 2014, 151n65). According to this second interpretation, *abhidharma* consists in the highest or supreme teaching, "that which goes beyond what is given in the Buddha's discourses, in a sense somewhat reminiscent of the term 'metaphysics'" (Ronkin, 2005, 26). Both interpretations are represented in the Chinese translations of the word: whereas early renderings such as *wubifa* (無比法) reflect an interpretation of *abhi* as "highest" or "beyond compare," translations such as *duifa* (對法) and *xiangfa* (向法) rely on an understanding of *abhi* in the sense of "directed toward" (Cox, 1995, 16n1, 16n7). The great commentator and Abhidharma master Vasubandhu (350–430 CE[?]) understands *abhi* in the sense of "directed toward," "facing" (*abhimukha*), but *dharma* in the sense of either nirvāṇa (the supreme *dharma*) or the numerous individual factors of existence making up the world of ordinary experience (*AKBh.* 2,10–11; *AKVy.* 9,18ff.). The *Vibhāṣā* compendia, a series of fundamental Abhidharma commentaries, list 24 interpretations of the word (Watanabe, 1983, 23–24). These fall under three major categories: (1) the Abhidharma "enables one to discriminate and analyze the factors according to their generic and particular inherent characteristics"; (2) it "enables one to suppress non-Buddhist or false Buddhist doctrines and establish the true teaching" (see Anālayo, 2014, 124–125); (3) it "enables one to remove defilements and progress along the path" (T. 1545 [XXVII] 4a12ff.; T. 1546 [XXVIII] 3c4ff.; T. 1547 [XXVIII] 418a1ff.; Cox, 1995, 4).

These exegetical, expository(/apologetic) and soteriological meanings of *abhidharma* are well in tune with the six functions ascribed to the Abhidharma by the early **Āryavasumitrabodhisattvasaṅgīti* (T. 1549 [XXVIII] 733a16ff.; Cox, 1995, 4). Considered in an exegetical perspective, the Abhidharma "enables one to discriminate the meaning or nature of *dharmas* as presented in the *sūtras*." In its expository function, the Abhidharma "enables one to cultivate the four noble truths," "enables one to realize the twelve members of dependent origination and dependently originated factors," and "expounds the meaning of the eightfold noble path." These three aspects have strong soteriological overtones and obviously impinge upon the properly gnostic and cathartic, hence salvational, dimensions of the Abhidharma. Considered in this perspective, the Abhidharma can be defined as "that which analyzes and describes the causes of the various factors instrumental in the complete cessation of defilements" and "that through the cultivation of which one attains nirvāṇa." The factor the cultivation of which brings about nirvāṇa is none other than insight or discernment (*prajñā*). This sixth function of the Abhidharma thus comes very close to a definition provided by the *Vibhāṣā* compendia and accepted by most later authorities, that is, Abhidharma as the controling faculty of pure (*anāsrava*) insight together with "that which furthers, is associated with, or contains this pure insight," hence the Abhidharma treatises themselves (T. 1545 [XXVII] 2c23; T. 1546 [XXVIII] 2c27ff.; T. 1547 [XXVIII] 417b3ff.; also *AKBh.* 2,3ff.; *AKVy.*

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8,10ff.; T. 1562 [XXIX] 329a29ff.). These various functions must be considered as a whole, however, for

> through [the] exercise of completely describing the character of each factor in every instance of its occurrence, the factors of which experience is composed can be seen as they actually are, the misconceptions obscuring our perception of experience can be discarded, the factors obstructing and ensnaring us can be abandoned, and the factors contributing toward liberation can be isolated and cultivated. (Cox, 1995, 12)

The numerous functions of the Abhidharma are perhaps best described in a well-known passage from the canonical Sarvāstivāda *Vijñānakāya* (see below):

> Abhidharma is the light of the true doctrine; without Abhidharma treatises, one would not be able to destroy the darkness surrounding what is to be known by knowledge. Abhidharma functions as the pure eye within the mind, as the basis of all knowledge; it is the sun illuminating the forest of things to be known, the sword that destroys heretical texts; it constitutes the authority for those who open the eyes of sentient beings and is the womb of the Tathāgatas; it is the illumination in the three realms, the path of the eye of insight; it is the light of all factors and the ocean of the Buddha's words; it is able to issue forth highest insight and to remove all doubts. (T. 1539 [XXVI] 531a13–17; trans. Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, v)

Authenticating the Abhidharma

We do not know whether all groups once possessed their own Abhidharma corpus, but once the exegetical inquiry that was typical of the earliest, pre-sectarian Abhidharma had crystallized into sect-specific textual corpora, the authentication of these scriptures became an important task for those Buddhist denominations that did possess them (Lamotte, 1976, 197–210; Davidson, 1990, 303–305). The most radical attitude in this regard is the Theravāda view, according to which the newly awakened and omniscient Buddha grasped (*adhigata*) and collated (*vicita*) the seven Abhidhamma books under the Bodhi tree and subsequently taught them to his mother Māyā in the Trāyastriṃśa (Pal. Tāvatiṃsa, "Thirty-three") heaven during a three-month rain retreat. Every evening, the Buddha descended to Lake Anavatapta (Pal. Anotattha) and repeated the day's lesson to his disciple Sāriputta who, having "laid down the numerical series in order to make it easy to learn, remember, study and teach the Law," taught it in turn to 500 disciples (As I.16; Buswell & Jaini, 1996, 80, 18–21). This Theravāda position was challenged by those who claimed that the *Kathāvatthu*, one of the seven treatises allegedly preached by the Buddha in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, had been composed by the elder Moggaliputtatissa on the occasion of the Second Council at Pāṭaliputra (3rd cent. BCE). As an answer, the orthodox Theravādins claimed that while preaching to his mother, the Buddha had contented himself with expounding a *mātṛkā* of the *Kathāvatthu*, foreseeing that Moggaliputtatissa would develop the treatise in full in Pāṭaliputra (As I.3–6; Lamotte, 1976, 201).

While admitting that their seven Abhidharma treatises ultimately went back to the Buddha, the Sarvāstivādins and especially the Vaibhāṣikas recognized that the treatises in question had been collected and organized by great disciples of the Buddha, or, alternatively, that they had been ascertained by later scholiasts such as Kātyāyanīputra thanks to their *praṇidhijñāna*, "a transtemporal intuition resulting from the power of their vows … by which they [were] able to perceive past and future events" (Cox, 1995, 17n19). Yaśomitra (*AKVy.* 12,2–7) offers an analogy to the authenticity of the canonicity of the Abhidharma, referring to the Vaibhāṣika claim that the case is comparable to that of Dharmatrāta collecting the *udānas* (aphorisms) uttered by the blessed one to create the *Udānavarga*. Likewise,

> [persons] such as the elder Kātyāyanīputra gathered and fixed the Abhidharma that had been uttered here and there by the Blessed One in works such as the *Jñānaprasthāna* for the sake of the trainees, the Abhidharma which consists in an instruction on the characteristics of the factors.

These disciples of the Buddha contented themselves, in this scenario, with adding summarizing stanzas (*uddāna*), dividing the teaching into chapters (*skandhaka*), and so forth. This strategy of authentication likely was facilitated by the fact that the name of the scholiast Kātyāyanīputra (variously dated to the late 1st, to the 3rd, or to the 5th cent. after nirvāṇa by Buddhist authorities) was very similar to that of Kātyāyana, a prominent disciple of the Buddha considered to have played a significant role at the First Council at Rājagṛha (Kātyāyana was also famous for having picked out the quintessence of the dharma and submitted this work to the Buddha, who approved it and labelled it the "supreme law," *abhidharma*; Lamotte, 1976, 208; Przyluski, 1926, 201, 303). In this picture, the Sarvāstivādin "six-membered Abhidharma" (*ṣaṭpādābhidharma*, i.e., the *Jñānaprasthāna* – the body [*śarīra*] – and its six ancillary treatises) was conceived of as the (editorial) work of great disciples of the Buddha or later authors: Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Śāriputra, Mahākauṣṭhila, Vasumitra, Devaśarman and Kātyāyana/Kātyāyanīputra (see below).

Moving yet a step further, the Sautrāntikas are said to have denied the Abhidharma any independent authority and regarded the *sūtras* alone as authoritative, whence their name (*AKVy.* 11,29–30). According to them, the Abhidharma treatises were nothing but human compositions. The early 5th-century Vaibhāṣika scholiast Saṅghabhadra records at least three reasons why his Sautrāntika opponent Vasubandhu (350–430 CE?) rejected the Buddha's authority of the Abhidharma works (T. 1562 [XXIX] 329c6ff.; Honjō, 2010, 181–187): (1) these treatises are traditionally ascribed to disciples/authors such as Kātyāyana/Kātyāyanīputra, (2) the Buddha has advised Ānanda to rely (*pratisaraṇa*) on the *sūtras* and not on the *abhidharma* (T. 1562 [XXIX] 329c20–21), and (3) the Abhidharmas of the different Buddhist denominations exhibit contradictory positions on one and the same question (for Saṅghabhadra's refutation of the views of Vasubandhu, see Cox, 1995, 6–7). The *Dīpavaṃsa*'s (V.37) Mahāsaṅgītikas also regarded the Abhidharma as not the word of the Buddha.

Needless to say, one of the most decisive criteria for scriptural authorization was the recitation-cum-compilation of a given text or group of texts by a great disciple of the Buddha during the First Council, held in Rājagṛha immediately after the death of the master. According to the Vinayas of the Theravādins, the Mahīśāsakas, and the Mahāsāṅghikas (resp. Vin. ii.287; T. 1421 [XXII] 191ac; T. 1425 [XXII] 491c16), the monks assembled in Rājagṛha contented themselves with reciting, after Ānanda and Upāli, the dharma and the Vinaya, "the law and the discipline," no mention being made of the Abhidharma as an independent third "basket" (Kimura, 1968, 27–28). According to Anālayo (2014, 18), "the accounts of the first *saṅgīti* [communal recitation] in these Vinayas seem to have been finalized at a time when the Abhidharma had not yet become a collection in its own right." Other sources such as the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and the *Aśokāvadāna* ascribe the compilation of a *mātṛkā* to the convener of the first council, Mahākāśyapa (resp. T. 1451 [XXIV] 408b2–11; T. 2042 [L] 113c3–4; T. 2043 [L] 152a5). However, most sources agree that Ānanda himself recited an Abhidharmapiṭaka of various length (including *mātṛkās* alone) in Rājagṛha. This is true of, among many others, the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas (T. 1428 [XXII] 968b25–26), the *Vinayamātṛkā* of the Haimavatas (T. 1463 [XXIV] 818a28–29), and late Pali commentaries (Sv I.17; As I.3; Smp I.18). According to the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (T. 1435 [XXIII] 449a19), upon being asked by Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda revealed that the Buddha had taught the Abhidharma in Śrāvastī, and that "[t]he teaching given at that time was that breaches of the five precepts are conducive to rebirth in hell, whereas keeping the five precepts leads to a heavenly rebirth" (Anālayo, 2014, 19).

Extant Abhidharma Texts

Only the Theravāda has preserved a complete Abhidhammapiṭaka in an Indian language (Pali), while the seven canonical *abhidharma* treatises of the Sarvāstivādins have come down to us almost completely in Chinese translation. A very small portion of them is available in Tibetan, while a few scattered Sanskrit fragments have been preserved (Dietz, 2004). Only minute fragments of canonical Abhidharma texts of sects other than Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda have been preserved: some materials presumably belonging to the Kāśyapīya tradition are attested (Cox, 2014), and fragments from the **Śāriputrābhidharma* have been identified in the Schøyen collection (see below).

Theravāda canonical Abhidhamma

In style and language, the Theravāda Abhidhamma texts markedly differ from the Vinayapiṭaka and Suttapiṭaka (von Hinüber, 1996, § 137). Short questions and answers as well as many formulas often similar to those found in the *Niddesa* characterize the Abhidhamma literature. The Abhidhammapiṭaka and its parts are mentioned under this name for the first time in the *Milindapañha* (12,21–13,7). As there is no corresponding paragraph in the Chinese *Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra*, the Chinese version of the *Milindapañha*, the reference to this text may have been inserted only in Ceylon (von Hinüber, 1996, § 179). The Theravāda Abhidhammapiṭaka consists of the seven texts listed and briefly described below.

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Dhammasaṅgaṇi

The Theravāda Abhidhammapiṭaka begins with the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (alternative title *Dhammasaṅgaha*; Collection of Dhammas; the form *Abhidhammasaṅgaṇi* found in some early manuscripts is a misnomer). The structure of the text is discussed at length by E. Frauwallner (1995, 53–86). The absence of the traditional introduction (*nidāna*) "Thus have I heard…" in a text considered the "word of the Buddha" (*buddhavacana*) created a problem for Buddhist exegetes. The issue is discussed in the commentary, where various attempts to add a *nidāna* are mentioned (As 30,16–31,16). Usually, the Buddha is reported to have recited the Abhidhamma in heaven to his deceased mother and to the gods (see above), and later to have handed it down to Sāriputta (a list of the sequence of teachers and pupils from Sāriputta up to Mahinda is found in As 32,12–20). Certain manuscripts of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* even insert "At one time the Lord was residing among the Tāvatiṃsa gods…" in front of the *mātikā* with which the text begins. This *abhidhammamātikā* or "*abhidhamma* list," which also occurs in other Theravāda Abhidhamma texts, comprises the concepts *kusala* "salutary, (morally) good," *akusala* "(morally) bad," and *abyākata* "undetermined," immediately followed by the *suttantamātikā* or "*suttanta* (*sūtra*) list," which is largely based on concepts taken over from the *Saṅgītisuttanta* (i.e. *suttanta* no. 33 of the *Dīghanikāya*; Anālayo, 2014, 29–37). The text that follows (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi* §§ 1–1599) expands and explains the *mātikās*. It is divided into four sections (*kaṇḍa*): (1) *Cittuppādakaṇḍa* (§§ 1–582; Section on the Arising of Thoughts), (2) *Rūpakaṇḍa* (§§ 584–980, with another *mātikā*, §§ 584–594; Section on Matter), (3) *Nikkhepakaṇḍa* (§§ 981–1367; Summary Section), and (4) *Atthuddhārakaṇḍa* (§§ 1368–1599; Commentary Section). The titles of the sections are slightly different in the commentary (As 6,13–7,9). As the *mātikās* located at the beginning of the text are discussed in sections 3 and 4 only, it is clear that sections 1 and 2 are later additions. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is considered the youngest of the texts assembled in the Abhidhammapiṭaka (Frauwallner, 1995, 53).

Vibhaṅga

Although the *Vibhaṅga* (Explanation; Frauwallner, 1995, 43–48; von Hinüber 1996, §§ 138–139) does not begin with a *mātikā*, it presupposes such a list, which can indeed be reconstructed from the text itself. Usually the starting point is old canonical lists such as the five *khandhas* (*rūpakhandha*, *vedanākhandha*, *saññākhandha*, *saṅkhārakhandha*, *viññāṇakhandha*, "the aggregates matter (body), feeling, perception, conditioning factors, consciousness") or the twelve *āyatanas* "spheres (of perception)," that is, eye/visible object, ear/sound, and so forth, up to mind/mental object and so forth. Thus the *Vibhaṅga* systematizes older material drawn from the Suttapiṭaka.

The text is divided into 18 chapters with chapters 1–6 and 7–15 forming two units expanding on two *mātikās*. The last three chapters were originally separate Abhidhamma treatises which were subsequently included into the *Vibhaṅga*. The arrangement of chapter 16 (*Ñāṇavibhaṅga*; Explanation of Knowledge) and chapter 17 (*Khuddakavatthuvibhaṅga*; Explanation on the Small Items) follows the same numerical principle as the *Aṅguttaranikāya* with groups of 1–10, 18, 36, 72, of which only the first refers to Abhidhamma matters. Chapter 18 (*Dhammahadayavibhaṅga*; Explanation of the Heart of the Teaching) also begins with a *mātikā* of its own comprising, again, the five *khandhas*, the twelve *āyatanas*, and so forth. This chapter could be identical with the *Mahādhammahadaya*, which, according to the *Atthasālinī*, was considered as a possible candidate to replace the allegedly noncanonical *Kathāvatthu* (see above).

The *Vibhaṅga* shows many similarities with the *Dharmaskandha*, thus connecting early Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma (Anālayo, 2014, 88; see also below). It is generally considered the oldest text in the Abhidhammapiṭaka.

Dhātukathā

The *Dhātukathā* (Discussion of the Elements; Frauwallner, 1995, 48f.; von Hinüber, 1996, § 140) is a brief text which starts from *mātikās* of concepts similar to those found in the *Vibhaṅga*. The *Dhātukathā* bears some similarities with the Sarvāstivāda *Dhātukāya* and both may ultimately go back to the same origin (see below). The treatise owes its title to the fact that it investigates the ways in which different concepts are related to the *dhātus* or "elements." These elements are systematically analyzed as to whether they are included or not (*saṃgahīta*/*asaṃgahīta*), associated or dissociated (*sampayutta*/*vipayutta*), in a fourfold way: "included with non-included," "non-included with included," "included with included," and "non-included with non-included." This in a way anticipates methods of analysis fully developed only in later Buddhist scholasticism.

Puggalapaññatti

The *Puggalapaññatti* (Concept of Person; Frauwallner, 1995, 49ff.; von Hinüber, 1996, § 141–143; Anālayo, 2014, 52ff.) begins with a *mātikā* partly based on the *abhidhammamātikā* (see above). Various types of *puggalas* or "individuals, persons" are listed in groups from 1 to 10. This makes the text formally close to the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and particularly to the *Dasuttarasuttanta* (DN no. 34). When the compiler of the *Puggalapaññatti* drew material from the Suttapiṭaka, particularly from the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, he effaced the original "remembered orality" (von Hinüber, 1996, § 55) by removing the address *bhikkhave*, "o monks," and so on, thus assimilating the text to the Abhidhamma style. Because he limited his effort to reassembling the materials, it is impossible to assign to the text a place in the history of Abhidhamma. In spite of a similarity in title, the *Puggalapaññatti*, which has no parallels outside Theravāda, is entirely different from the Sarvāstivāda *Prajñaptiśāstra* (see below).

Kathāvatthu

The *Kathāvatthu* (Text Dealing with Disputes; Frauwallner, 1995, 86ff.; von Hinüber, 1996, § 144–151; for a Japanese translation, see Satō, 1991) is the only part of the Abhidhammapiṭaka traditionally dated (to the time of Aśoka, 218 years after the nirvāṇa) and ascribed to an author, Moggaliputtatissa, who is reported to have explained and expanded a *mātikā* of the *Kathāvatthu* originally uttered by the Buddha in heaven (see above). This assumption was made to save the canonicity of the text, which was not beyond doubt (As 3,25–29; 6,1–12). In structure and content, the *Kathāvatthu*, which consists of strictly formalized questions and answers, is quite different from the other Abhidhamma texts, because about 200 (according to tradition 500) controversial points of the Buddha's teaching are discussed (McDermott, 1975; Ganeri, 2001). The different views are ascribed to specific Buddhist schools by the commentary, which may be separated from the oldest parts of the *Kathāvatthu* by more than half a millennium.

Although some parts of the *Kathāvatthu* seem very old, in particular the discussion on the *puggala* or "person," which exhibits ancient linguistic features (Norman, 1979) and is close in content to the Sarvāstivāda *Vijñānakāya* (Bronkhorst, 1993), the specific structure of the text easily allows for additions, which are difficult to discern, as remarked long ago by La Vallée Poussin (1922, 520).

Yamaka

The *Yamaka* (Pairs; Frauwallner, 1995, 51–53; von Hinüber, 1996, § 152ff.) is a huge text which would cover about 2500 pages if it were printed in full. According to tradition, it is 25 times longer than the *Majjhimanikāya*. As suggested by E. Frauwallner, the title was chosen because two things form a pair when the second thing originates from the first. The fairly complicated structure of the *Yamaka* is explained in detail at the beginning of the commentary. All pairs are discussed at great length with all imaginable combinations being enumerated, which inspired the following remark to Frauwallner (1995, 53): "This is a particularly glaring example of how an intrinsically interesting problem can be inflated to the point of inanity using the Abhidharma method." Still, a later Theravāda Abhidhamma text contends: "The text is succinct to the extreme" (*Mohavicchedanī* 279,14).

Paṭṭhāna

The *Paṭṭhāna* (Basis [of All Other Abhidhamma Texts]; Frauwallner, 1995, 50ff.; von Hinüber, 1996, § 154 ff.), also known as *Mahāpakaraṇa* (Large Treatise), is by far the longest text in the Tipiṭaka. While explaining the title, the commentary even states that the actual length of the text is incalculable. All editions therefore abbreviate, that of the Pali Text Society into two volumes; to gain a better picture, it is imperative to use the five-volume Burmese edition (still abbreviated considerably!). The *Paṭṭhāna* begins with the section on *Tika* or triads followed by the section on *Duka* or dyads (arranged in the wrong order in the Pali Text Society edition). The *Paṭṭhāna*, which tries to comprehensively explain causality and thus, in the traditional understanding, to facilitate the use of the *suttantas* for Abhidhamma specialists, does not provide any new insights but endlessly invents new possible combinations of concepts: "method has replaced genuine thought" (Frauwallner, 1995, 51).

One canonical Theravāda Abhidhamma text is found in the Tipiṭaka, but outside the Abhidhammapiṭaka: the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (also called simply *Paṭisambhidā*; Path of Discrimination; Frauwallner, 1995, 87–89; von Hinüber, 1996, § 119–120). It is the only canonical Theravāda Abhidhamma text included in the *Khuddakanikāya* of the Suttapiṭaka, which seems to have been the only part of the Tipiṭaka still open for additions at the time when the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was created. The commentary

ascribes this work to Sāriputta.
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Sarvāstivāda Canonical

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2. *Dharmaskandha*; *Chos*
   zulun (法蘊足論; T. 1537;
3. *Prajñaptiśāstra*; *Btags p*
   足論; T. 1538; trans. Dhar
4. *Vijñānakāya*; *Rnam p*
   Shishen zulun (識身足論
   zang);
5. *Dhātukāya*; **Khams kyi*
   (界身足論; T. 1540; trans
6. *Prakaraṇa*(*pāda*); *Rab t*
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ascribes this work to Sāriputta. According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Island [Ceylon]; V.37), the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was rejected during the Second Council by the Mahāsāṅghikas, who would certainly never accept this typical Theravāda text; the *Dīpavaṃsa*'s assertion, moreover, is a glaring anachronism. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* consists of various texts apparently put together more or less at random. Only the first part, the *Ñāṇakathā* (Discussion on Knowledge), which originally might have been a separate work, begins with a *mātikā*; the other parts quote and comment on canonical *suttantas*. This text, which may have been put together in the 2nd century CE, is perhaps the first attempt to create a systematic handbook of Abhidhamma and is as such a forerunner of Upatissa's *Vimuttimagga* (Path to Liberation) and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path to Purity; Frauwallner, 1995, 89–95; von Hinüber, 1996, § 245–250). While the *Visuddhimagga* became the basic handbook for Theravāda (Mahāvihāra) orthodoxy, the *Vimuttimagga* enjoyed a wide international recognition, being still in use in 12th-century Bengal (Skilling, 1987, 7, 15).

Sarvāstivāda Canonical Abhidharma

Only a tiny percentage of the canonical Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivāda survive in an Indic language. With one exception (the *Prajñapti*), all are extant in Xuanzang's (玄奘) Chinese translations; two (the *Prakaraṇapāda* and the *Jñānaprasthāna*) have been translated twice into Chinese. Three sections of the *Prajñapti* are available in Tibetan translation, and one section survives in an 11th-century Chinese translation by Dharmapāla (Fahu [法護]) and Wejing (惟淨). The titles of the seven Sarvāstivāda canonical treatises, together with their Tibetan and Chinese equivalents, are as follows:

1. *Saṅgītiparyāya*; *'Gro ba'i rnam grangs*; *Jiyimen zulun* (集異門足論; T. 1536; trans. Xuanzang);
2. *Dharmaskandha*; *Chos kyi phung po*; *Fayun zulun* (法蘊足論; T. 1537; trans. Xuanzang);
3. *Prajñaptiśāstra*; *Btags pa*; *Shishe zulun* (施設足論; T. 1538; trans. Dharmapāla);
4. *Vijñānakāya*; *Rnam par shes pa'i tshogs*; *Shishen zulun* (識身足論; T. 1539; trans. Xuanzang);
5. *Dhātukāya*; **Khams kyi tshogs*; *Jieshen zulun* (界身足論; T. 1540; trans. Xuanzang);
6. *Prakaraṇa(pāda)*; *Rab tu byed pa*; *Pinlei zulun* (品類足論; T. 1542; trans. Xuanzang)/*Zhong shifen apitan lun* (衆事分阿毘曇論; T. 1541; trans. Guṇaprabha and Bodhiyaśas); and
7. *Jñānaprasthāna*/**Aṣṭaskandhaka*; *Ye shes la 'jug pa*; *Fazhi lun* (發智論; T. 1544; trans. Xuanzang)/*Ba jiandu lun* (八犍度論; T. 1543; trans. Saṅghadeva, Zhu Fonian, and Dharmapriya)

Since the *Jñānaprasthāna* was recognized as the most important Abhidharma text, it came to be known as "the body-treatise (*kāyaśāstra*)," whereas the other canonical texts were referred to as its "six feet" (*ṣaṭpāda*), the seven canonical Sarvāstivāda treatises being referred to collectively as the "Abhidharma with six feet" (*ṣaṭpādābhidharma*). This usage, which is not attested in the *Vibhāṣā* compendia, finds its first known occurrence in a postscript to the Chinese translation of the **Aṣṭaskandhaśāstra* (T. 1543 [XXVI] 887a19–24) written in 379 or 390 CE, very close in time to Kumārajīva, whose translations of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (T. 1509) and the **Tattvasiddhi* (T. 1646) mention the *ṣaṭpādābhidharma* without stating which individual texts are meant (Watanabe, 1954, 36ff.; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 160–162). Sthiramati's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Tattvārthā*, however, does not regard the *Dhātukāya* as a canonical Abhidharma text, and thus enumerates a total of only six treatises (D 4421, *tho* 324a2/P 5875, *tho* 91a1). Pūrṇavardhana's *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* (D 4092, *cu* 324a2/P 5594, *ju* 380b4) does likewise. This may explain the absence of citations of the *Dhātukāya* in important texts such as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Cox, 1998, 160n60; see below) and the *Abhidharmakośa* (Hirakawa, 1973). When cited in the *Abhidharmakośa*, the six treatises are called *śāstras* (*benlun* [本論]). The chronology of the seven treatises is difficult to assess. According to Puguang (普光, T. 1821 [XLI] 8b24f.), the chronological sequence of the seven treatises is as follows: *Saṅgītiparyāya*, *Dharmaskandha* and *Prajñaptiśāstra* (written/edited by direct disciples of the Buddha), *Vijñānakāya* (1st cent. after nirvāṇa), *Prakaraṇapāda* and *Dhātukāya* (early 3rd cent. after nirvāṇa), and *Jñānaprasthāna* (late 3rd cent. after nirvāṇa; Cox, 1995, 47n55). E. Frauwallner (1995, 13–14) was inclined to accept this relative chronology.

*Saṅgītiparyāya or *Abhidharmasaṅgītiparyāyapādaśāstra*

The *Saṅgītiparyāya*, ascribed to Mahākauṣṭhila and Śāriputra in the Indian and Tibetan (Yaśomitra, Bu ston) and the Chinese traditions respectively (Cox, 1998, 177n114), is a commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*, a discourse that, in increasing numerical order (from one to ten), lists 205 major concepts, for example, the three kinds of training (*śikṣā*), the four noble truths (*āryasatya*), and the five aggregates (*skandha*; Cox, 1998, 179; for another, Gandhari commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*, see Cox, 2014, 36–39; on a Sanskrit folio of the *Saṅgītiparyāya* in the Schøyen collection, see Matsuda, 2002, 239n1). The frame story of the treatise

> relates how disputes and schisms arose in the Jaina community after the Jina's death due to differing interpretations of the doctrine, and how Śāriputra, in order to prevent similar disputes within the Buddhist community, recited a systematic collection of the Buddhist doctrinal concepts and how the Buddha approved of and endorsed Śāriputra's recital. (Waldschmidt, 1955, 299, 309–314)

This treatise is generally regarded as the earliest Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text; its historical importance lies in the fact that it marks "the onset of a commentarial genre that was to form the Abhidharma" (Cox, 1998, 178). Although the *Saṅgītiparyāya* shows nonsectarian features common to ancient Buddhism, one can find the concept of "cessation through non-intelligence" (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*). This notion (in Abhidharma technical vocabulary, this *dharma*) is characteristic of the Sarvāstivāda (a denomination that is mentioned at the end of each of the 20 chapters) in that it presupposes the theory that the past, the future, and the present exist. (Xuanzang's Chinese translation is translated into Japanese by Watanabe, 1929, and into German by Stache-Rosen, 1968 together with the text's extant Sanskrit fragments; newly found fragments of this text are included in Matsuda, 2006; English summaries of the work are available in Frauwallner, 1995, 14–15; Potter, 1996, 203–216; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 67–68; Cox, 1998, 177–181.)

*Dharmaskandha or *Abhidharmadharmaskandhapādaśāstra*

The *Dharmaskandha*, which, together with the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, belongs to the earliest stage of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma treatises, is considered in the Indian tradition to have been compiled by the Buddha's direct disciple Śāriputra, while the Chinese tradition ascribes it to Maudgalyāyana (Cox, 1998, 181n126). The full text is extant only in Xuanzang's Chinese translation. The treatise is also known through 22 Sanskrit folios from a Mūlasarvāstivāda recension found in Gilgit (Dietz, 1985), which cover about 20 percent of the text. This Sanskrit recension, which seems to differ in structure from the Chinese version, has been edited by S. Dietz (1984) and supplemented by K. Matsuda (1986). The treatise consists of 21 chapters (Frauwallner, 1995, 16–17), at the beginning of each of which is quoted a *sūtra*, followed by explanations of the *sūtra*'s important concepts. E. Frauwallner (1995, 15–21) divides the treatise into three sections. The first section comprises 15 chapters providing detailed expositions on the "path to liberation" and various issues of religious praxis. The second section consists wholly of chapter 16, which deals with 78 defilements and is entitled *kṣudravastuka* ("miscellany"; *zashi* [雜事]). The third section includes the remaining five chapters dealing with basic doctrinal concepts such as the 22 faculties (*indriya*), 12 bases (*āyatana*), 5 aggregates (*skandha*), 62 elements (*dhātu*), and dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). Similarities between the *Dharmaskandha*, the Pali *Vibhaṅga*, and the **Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* (T. 1548) have been pointed out by various scholars (Fukuhara, 1965, 110–112, Frauwallner, 1995, 17–20). According to E. Frauwallner, the Sarvāstivāda *Dharmaskandha* and the Theravāda *Vibhaṅga*, "two versions of the same work," go back to a common ancestor predating Aśoka's missions; both of them "represent a step toward the composition of truly analytical and scholastic treatises independent of the sūtras" (Cox, 1998, 187). Let it be noted that the *Dharmaskandha* is to be credited with the all-important distinction between the path of vision (*darśanamārga*) and the path of cultivation (*bhāvanāmārga*), which would structure all subsequent Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, and Mahāyānist accounts of the path to liberation. (We owe an annotated Japanese translation to Watanabe, 1930a; English summaries and discussions include Frauwallner, 1995, 15–21; Potter, 1996, 179–187; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 68–70; Cox, 1998, 181–189.)

*Prajñaptiśāstra or *Abhidharmaprajñaptipādaśāstra*

The *Prajñaptiśāstra*, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana in India and to Mahākātyāyana in China (Cox, 1998, 189n143), is considered the latest of the three Sarvastivāda treatises belonging to this early stage of the overall development of Abhidharma literature (Sakurabe, 1969, 46). This treatise presents a *sūtra* quotation at the beginning of each of the chapters, followed by an account of various topics in question-and-answer form. Given the high number of its quotations in t

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ber of its quotations in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (145), the *Prajñaptiśāstra* likely "served as a handy sourcebook of succinct identifications, definitions, and canonical references on a variety of topics" (Cox, 1998, 197). The *Prajñaptiśāstra* surviving in Tibetan translation possesses three sections: (1) *Lokaprajñapti* (Instruction on the World; *'Jig rten gdags/btags pa*; D 4086/P 5587) dealing with Buddhist cosmology, (2) *Kāraṇaprajñapti* (Instruction about Causes; *Rgyu gdags/btags pa*; D 4087/P 5588) containing an account of the Bodhisattva and the wheel-turning king (*cakravartin*), and (3) *Karmaprajñapti* (Instruction on Karman; *Las gdags/btags pa*; D 4088/P 5589).

More than 20 percent of the *Lokaprajñapti* has been preserved in its original (Cox, 1998, 191) through Sanskrit fragments of Mūlasarvāstivāda provenance (Dietz, 1989). A great majority of the text of the *Kāraṇaprajñapti* has its counterpart in a seven-fascicle Chinese version (*Shishe lun* [施設論]; T. 1538). Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1918, 295–350) has provided an analysis and selected translations of the Tibetan *Lokaprajñapti* and *Kāraṇaprajñapti*. In 1922 Taiken Kimura conjectured, on the basis of a close analysis of the citations of the treatise in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, that the *Prajñaptiśāstra* may originally have had more subdivisions than the three extant sections. These chapters would have dealt with defilements (*anuśaya*), knowledge (*jñāna*), and meditation (*samāpatti/samādhi*). In the meantime, references to the titles **Anuśayaprajñapti* (*Phra rgyas btags*) and **Nāmarūpaprajñapti* (*Ming dang gzugs kyi btags*) in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā Ṭīkā* have come to light (Honjō, 1998). These references support Taiken Kimura's suggestion even though, as C. Cox rightly points out (1998, 192), the extent to which these eighth-century materials reflect the original structure of the treatise is difficult to assess. (In 1995 Takumi Fukuda discovered, in the library of Dōhō University, Nagoya, a draft of a full Japanese translation of the three *Prajñaptis*, completed in 1934 by Sei Katō, a graduate of Ōtani University, and began to publish it [Fukuda, 1998–2012]; Aohara has begun to publish a Japanese translation of the *Karmaprajñapti* [Aohara, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014] in the light of Katō's materials; for a Japanese translation of the Chinese version, see Watanabe, 1930b; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 70–71, and Cox, 1998, 189–197, provide useful summaries of the text.)

*Vijñānakāya or *Abhidharmavijñānakāyapādaśāstra*

The *Vijñānakāya* is extant only in Xuanzang's Chinese translation. Unlike the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, the *Dharmaskandha*, and the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, this treatise is not ascribed to a direct disciple of the Buddha, but to Devaśarman (reported to have lived 100 years after the *parinirvāṇa* and to have been active in Viśoka), and it is not a commentary on *sūtra* passages. These features suggest that it is much later than these three treatises. The *Vijñānakāya* is divided into 6 parts: (1) *Maudgalyāyana* (an opponent of unclear affiliation claiming that only the present exists), (2) person (*pudgala*), (3) causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*), (4) condition as object-support (*ālambanapratyaya*), (5) miscellany (*saṃkīrṇa*), (6) accompaniment (*samanvāgama*) or possession (*prāpti*). The first two chapters are polemical, while the other four are systematic, a feature that, together with differences in topics, suggests "that the *Vijñānakāya* is a composite text, perhaps compiled, rather than composed, by Devaśarman" (Cox, 1998, 198). The first chapter contains a controversy on the existence of past, future, and present. The second chapter deals with the existence of the person (*pudgala*) and exhibits close similarities with *Kathāvatthu* I.1 (i.e. §§ 1–69). Chapters three through six deal with "the nature, arising, operation, and transformation of states of thought or consciousness (*vijñāna*)" (Cox, 1998, 201), a range of topics that accounts for the title of the work. The importance of this highly innovative treatise (Frauwallner, 1995, 30–31) is indicated by the fact that it is cited 39 times in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. The *Vijñānakāya* indeed represents a major change, most conspicuously in the direction of a systematic theory of causality. (The first two chapters have been rendered into French by La Vallée Poussin, 1925; several parts of the second chapter have been translated into English by Fumimaro Watanabe [Watanabe, 1983, 154ff.]; here as elsewhere, we owe an annotated Japanese translation to Watanabe Baiyū, 1931; English summaries and discussions include Frauwallner, 1995, 28–31; Potter, 1998, 367–374; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 72–73; Cox, 1998, 197–205.)

*Dhātukāya or *Abhidharmadhātukāyapādaśāstra*

The *Dhātukāya* is extant only in Xuanzang's Chinese translation. This treatise is ascribed to Pūrṇa in India and to Vasumitra in China (Cox, 1998, 206n193), an attribution that may be due to the close connection between the *Dhātukāya* and the *Prakaraṇapāda*, which was authored by Vasumitra perhaps in the 4th century after nirvāṇa. The *Dhātukāya*, a work "of the *mātṛkā*-type accompanied by an explanatory text" (Frauwallner, 1995, 21), discusses mind (*citta*) and mental factors (*caitta*) in question-and-answer form. This treatise is divided into two parts. In the first part (**mūlavastuvarga*, "fundamental groups"), 14 groups comprising 91 mental factors are enumerated and defined, thus creating, and for the first time, a "system of psychology" (Frauwallner, 1995, 22). The names of these groups with Cox's English equivalents are as follows (Cox, 1998, 208–209):

1. ten factors of great extension (*mahābhūmikadharma*);
2. en defiled factors of great extension (*kleśamahābhūmikadharma*);
3. ten factors whose extension is that of limited defilements (*parīttakleśabhūmikadharma*);
4. five defilements (*kleśa*);
5. five views (*dṛṣṭi*);
6. five factors (*dharma*);
7. five types of contact (*saṃsparśa*);
8. five controlling faculties (*indriya*);
9. six varieties of perceptual consciousness (*vijñānakāya*);
10. six varieties of contact (*sparśakāya*);
11. six varieties of feelings (*vedanākāya*);
12. six varieties of ideas (*saṃjñākāya*);
13. six varieties of volition (*saṃcetanākāya*); and
14. six varieties of craving (*tṛṣṇākāya*).

In the second part (**vibhajyavarga*, "analysis," in 16 sections), these mental factors are analyzed according to two kinds of relations, that is, simultaneous mental association (*saṃprayoga*) and includedness (*saṃgraha*). The *Dhātukāya* was largely incorporated into the *Prakaraṇapāda* (Frauwallner, 1995, 25–27). This may explain why this treatise was not cited in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* or *Abhidharmakośa* and was not considered canonical by some Indian masters (see above, and Cox, 1998, 207). Whatever the case may be, "[t]he importance of the *Dhātukāya* lies in its exclusive focus on mental operations and in its efforts to develop a more abstract classification of, at least, the soteriologically significant mental phenomena" (Cox, 1998, 211). (There is an annotated English translation by Ganguly, 1994, with an introduction and a reproduction of the Taishō edition; Watanabe, 1932a, has provided an annotated Japanese translation of the *Dhātukāya*; English summaries and discussions of the work are available in Frauwallner, 1995, 21–28; Potter, 1996, 344–358; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 71–72; Cox, 1998, 206–212.)

*Prakaraṇapāda or *Abhidharmaprakaraṇapādaśāstra*

The *Prakaraṇapāda* has survived only in two Chinese translations: *Zhong shifen apitan lun* (衆事分阿毘曇論; T. 1541), translated by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas in 435–443 CE, and *Apidamo pinlei zu lun* (阿毘達磨品類足論; T. 1542), translated by Xuanzang in 660 CE. Sanskrit fragments from a commentary on the *Prakaraṇapāda* have been discovered in Turfan, which, besides testifying to the fact that the *Vibhāṣā*s were not the only available commentaries on "canonical" Abhidharma works, seem to reflect a divergent textual structure (Imanishi, 1975). The first chapter, entitled *Pañcavastuka*, may largely borrow from an independent text, the **Pañcavastuka*, translated into Chinese twice: the *Apitan wufaxing jing* (阿毘曇五法行經; T. 1557) by An Shigao (安世高), and the *Sapoduo zung wushi lun* (薩婆多宗五事論; T. 1556) by Facheng (法成). This indicates that some chapters of this treatise may at first have been composed separately (Cox, 1998, 218). The *Prakaraṇapāda* is attributed to Vasumitra in both India and China, but the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (T. 1509 [XXV] 70a16f.) attributes only four chapters to Vasumitra (chs. 4–7 according to Frauwallner's hypothesis), the other four being ascribed to *arhat*s from Kashmir (Cox, 1998, 212). It is considered to be the latest and in many ways the most significant of the "six feet" treatises (see above). The work is quoted no less than 106 times in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, which at times and quite surprisingly rejects the interpretations of the *Jñānaprasthāna* and chooses those of the *Prakaraṇapāda* instead (Cox, 1998, 214). The wide reception of the *Prakaraṇapāda* may be due to its "function as a sourcebook or proto-compendium uniting significant textual materials in a single text" (Cox, 1998, 215).

The treatise consists of 8 largely independent chapters:

1. *Pañcavastuka* (Five Groups; very close to the *Pañcavastuka*);
2. *Jñāna* (Knowledge; very close to the *Vijñānakāya*);
3. *Āyatana* (Sense Spheres; very close to the *Pañcaskandhaka*);
4. *Saptavastuka* (Seven Groups; very close to the *Dhātukāya*);
5. *Anuśaya* (Contaminants);

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6. *Saṃgrahādi* (Includedne
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8. *Nirvedha* (Penetration).

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2. **Saṃyojana* (Fetters);
3. *Jñāna* (Knowledge);
4. *Karman* (Action);
5. *Mahābhūta* (Fundament
6. *Indriya* (Controlling Fac
7. *Samādhi* (Concentratio
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aka);
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6. *Saṃgrahādi* (Includedness Etc.);
7. *Sahasraparipṛcchā* (Thousand Question); and
8. *Nirvedha* (Penetration).

One of the most interesting features of the *Prakaraṇapāda* is its first chapter on the *pañcavastuka*, “the fivefold classification of factors that would form the foundation of later Sarvāstivāda classifications of factors” (Cox, 1998, 215). This “method of encompassing and organizing all possible phenomena” (Cox, 1998, 220) distributes all factors into corporeality (*rūpa*), mind (*citta*), mind concomitants (*caitta*), factors dissociated from the mind (*cittaviprayukta*), and unconditioned factors (*asaṃskṛta*). (There is an annotated Japanese translation of the *Prakaraṇapāda* by Watanabe, 1932b; English summaries include Frauwallner, 1995, 32–36; Potter, 1996, 375–379; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 73; Cox, 1998, 212–221.)

*Jñānaprasthāna or *Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra*

As mentioned above, the *Jñānaprasthāna* is considered the most important of the seven canonical Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma treatises. This is reflected in the fact that a vast commentary on this treatise, the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, was compiled, comprising 200 fascicles in Xuanzang's Chinese translation (T. 1545) and generally regarded as “the definitive statement of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma exegesis” (Cox, 1998, 229). The *Jñānaprasthāna* is ascribed to Kātyāyanīputra, whose dates are variously given as 100, 300 or even 500 after nirvāṇa (Cox, 1998, 221; see also above). Two Chinese translations are extant, one by Saṅghadeva, Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) and Dharmapriya in 30 fascicles (T. 1543; 383 CE), entitled **Aṣṭagrantha* or **Aṣṭaskandha*(*ka*), the other by Xuanzang in 20 fascicles (T. 1544; 657–660 CE), entitled *Jñānaprasthāna*. The two translations differ in both structure and doctrine and most likely represent distinct Sarvāstivāda lineages. Sanskrit fragments have been discovered in Bamiyan and Kučā (Lévi, 1932, Demiéville, 1961). The *Jñānaprasthāna* consists of 8 chapters (**skandhakas*) entitled:

1. **Saṃkīrṇa* (Miscellany);
2. **Saṃyojana* (Fetters);
3. *Jñāna* (Knowledge);
4. *Karman* (Action);
5. *Mahābhūta* (Fundamental Material Elements);
6. *Indriya* (Controlling Faculties);
7. *Samādhi* (Concentration); and
8. *Dṛṣṭi* (Views).

Explaining the structure of these eight chapters in terms of mutual dependence, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545 [XXVII] 7a25ff.) states that

> [t]he first chapter is explained as presenting the factor of enlightenment, which occurs through the abandonment of defilements (Chapter 2). The abandonment of defilements depends on knowledge (Chapter 3), and a person who has given up the effects of action (Chapter 4) gives rise to that knowledge that abandons defilements. These varieties of action are dependent upon the four fundamental material elements (Chapter 5), and most prominent among the varieties of derived elements are the controlling faculties (Chapter 6). The purification of the controlling faculties takes place through concentration (Chapter 7), and to practice concentration, one must have surmounted false views (Chapter 8). (trans. Cox, 1998, 227–228)

(The **Aṣṭaskandhaka* [T. 1543] has been translated into Japanese with annotations by Nishi Giyū and Sakamoto Yukio, 1934; Xuanzang's Chinese version of the *Jñānaprasthāna* [T. 1544] has been translated with copious notes and tables by Sakurabe Hajime and Kaji Yōichi, 1996–2000; parts of the work have been translated into French by La Vallée Poussin, 1930; 1936–1937); Hurvitz, 1977, has dedicated a study to the *Jñānaprasthāna* 's path to liberation; English summaries include Potter, 1996, 417–449; Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 73–79; Cox, 1998, 221–229; the first two chapters have been retranslated from the Chinese of T. 1544 into Sanskrit by Śānti Bhikṣu Śastri, 1955.)

Abhidharma Canonical Texts of Other Sects

The extent to which Buddhist denominations other than the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins possessed canonical Abhidharma works, and *a fortiori* what these Abhidharmapiṭakas looked like, is very difficut to assess. As A. Bareau (1947–1950) has pointed out, there is no compelling reason to believe that every denomination had developed an Abhidharmapiṭaka of its own. Whereas certain groups that branched off from a mother sect likely kept the latter's Abhidharmapiṭaka with slight adaptations and emendations where necessary, other groups lacking an independent third basket may have borrowed one from a geographically close sect. According to Paramārtha, the Sāṃmitīyas, the Dharmottarīyas, the Bhadrayānīyas and the Ṣaṇṇagarikas, the four subsects that seceded from the Vātsīputrīya sect, kept the latter's "*Śāriputrābhidharma*" (not to be confounded with the homonym Dharmaguptaka work described below; the Vātsīputrīya *Śāriputrābhidharma* was otherwise known as the *Dharmalakṣaṇābhidharma*, in nine sections), although they deemed it insufficient, and completed it here and there with their own interpretations of the *sūtras* (Demiéville, 1931–1932, 58). In a similar way, in Sri Lanka and a Theravāda context, the Abhayagirivāsins and the Jetavanīyas apparently kept the Abhidharmapiṭaka of the Mahāvihāravāsins (Bareau, 1947–1950, 3). When it alludes to *abhidharma*, the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas may well refer only to the discipline of dogmatic exegetics rather than to a separate basket (T. 1421 [XXII] 132b; T. 1422 [XXII] 204a). The Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas, on the contrary, seems to point to the existence of a separate Abhidharmapiṭaka (T. 1425 [XXII] 295a, etc.; see Bareau, 1947–1950, 9n6), and the same applies to the Haimavatas, whose *Vinayamātṛkā* (T. 1463 [XXIV] 818a28f.) suggests that their Abhidharma was structurally very close, if not identical, to the Dharmaguptaka *Śāriputrābhidharma*, the only extant non-Theravādin and non-Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma treatise.

Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra

The *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra* has come down to us in a Chinese translation by Dharmayaśas and Dharmagupta in 30 fascicles, the *Shelifu apitan lun* (舍利弗阿毘曇論; T. 1548; Frauwallner, 1955, 221n1). This treatise is generally attributed to the Dharmaguptaka school (Bareau, 1950; Mizuno, 1996–1997, 319–340) in spite of the fact that the Chinese tradition regards it a Sāṃmitīya text (see above for a homonym Vātsīputrīya/Sāṃmitīya Abhidharma treatise). Sanskrit fragments from the *Śāriputrābhidharma* or a very similar text have been recently identified in the Schøyen collection by K. Matsuda (2002). The treatise consists of 5 chapters whose titles, in A. Bareau's Sanskrit restoration, are as follows:

1. *Sapraśnaka* (With Questions);
2. *Apraśnaka* (Without Questions);
3. *Saṃgraha* (Includedness);
4. *Saṃprayoga* (Simultaneous Mental Association); and
5. *Prasthāna* (Base).

Resemblances with the Sarvāstivāda *Dharmaskandha* and the Pali *Vibhaṅga* and *Puggalapaññatti* have long been recognized (Kimura, 1922, 73–118). E. Frauwallner has analyzed the *Śāriputrābhidharma* in terms of structure and content and as to the way in which its *mātṛkās* developed from those of earlier texts. According to him, this treatise of interesting idiosyncratic character "helps us to avoid the one-sided judgements that exclusive observation of the Abhidharma of the other schools might otherwise lead us into making" (Frauwallner, 1995, 116). (An annotated Japanese translation was published by Watanabe, 1934; English summaries and discussions include Frauwallner 1995, 97–117; Potter, 1996, 317–325.)

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Kanjur

The term "Kanjur" (*bka' 'gyur*, appearing in secondary literature also as Kah-gyur – e.g. in Csoma de Kőrös, 1836; 1839a; 1839b; Kangyur, Kangyour, Kanjour, or Kandjour) literally means "Words [of the Buddha] in Translation" in a very general sense. This broader meaning is, of course, always implied. Nowadays, however, it is understood by Western academic and Buddhist communities, as well as by the Tibetan tradition, primarily as a technical term denoting a particular body of literature, which, structured and edited in a specific way, contains – at least in theory and ideally – all the texts considered to be the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), translated into Tibetan primarily from Sanskrit but also from Chinese and occasionally from Central Asian languages. According to the Mahāyāna concept of the Buddha, however, the term and concept *buddhavacana* does not imply that these words were necessarily spoken by the historical (doctrinally speaking, *nirmāṇakāya*) Buddha Śākyamuni; they could be – and in the case of tantric literature often were – also revealed by the Buddha (or a buddha) in his *sambhogakāya* and *dharmakāya* aspects.

Together with the Tanjur (*bstan 'gyur*), which is roughly the collection of commentarial exegetical literature composed by Indian masters and translated into Tibetan, the Kanjur constitutes the literary corpus generally known today as "the Tibetan Buddhist Canon." While this term may be problematic, for practical purposes, it will be retained here.

By its general nature, the Kanjur has always been an open collection of texts that are considered to represent the word of the Buddha and its commentarial literature; texts could and were added or omitted according to availability, the editors' preferences, or "certain religious or political ideologies" (Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, 2009, 33; in general, Eimer, 1992, 12; Skilling, 1997b). Accordingly, nothing such as *the* Tibetan Kanjur exists, but rather a number of Kanjurs that are considered equally authoritative. Here, the collective "the Kanjur" is used when referring to the literary genre or the concept of a more or less complete collection of all sayings of the Buddha and the plural "Kanjurs" or the singular "a Kanjur" when referring to the individual versions/editions. Some 30 individual Kanjurs are known, and more continue to be discovered. They share the basic stock of texts but vary with regard to the number of texts contained, the versions of the texts transmitted, and their arrangement. Various collections show mutual cross-dependences and interdependences of various kinds and to various degrees.

For Tibetan Buddhists, a Kanjur is a set of sacred texts, its value exceeding by far that of a mere literary corpus, regardless of how precious. It represents the Buddha in his aspect of speech, and as such it is – in particular for lay people – an object of veneration and a source of blessing rather than literature to be read; merely touching a volume of a Kanjur or turning its leaves is considered meritorious. Reciting its words or having them recited by monks adds to the blessing, but understanding their meaning is not required; mass ritual recitations of a Kanjur can take place with many monks simultaneously reciting different volumes aloud, the resulting incomprehensible din in no way reducing the resulting merit produced. In Tibetan historiographic literature, such veneration is reflected by the frequent use of the expression "Kanjur Rinpoche" (*bka' 'gyur rin po che*), using the same honorific title Rinpoche ("Very Precious One," "Jewel"), by which incarnated lamas are generally addressed. This ritual significance is a possible reason for the existence of a considerable number of different Kanjurs, whereas only very few distinct Tanjurs are known.

The texts collected in the various Kanjurs are in principle of non-Tibetan origin; the majority of them were composed in India, a few possibly in Central Asia, and some tantric texts claim to be revealed by the cosmic Buddha or some tantric deity in the land of O rgyan (i.e. Uḍḍīyāna), present-day Swat in Pakistan. Some of the latter may be Tibetan compositions, quoting O rgyan as the place of origin for the sake of authorization, as this country was famous in Tibet for its tantric masters and magicians. The corpus of the Kanjur as such, however, is genuinely Tibetan; except for structural influences, as a whole it is unrelated to any of the Buddhist canons known in various Indian schools, for example, the well-known Pali Tipiṭaka of the Theravāda school or the Chinese *Dazangjing*. Although never defined as such, the Kanjur is basically a collection

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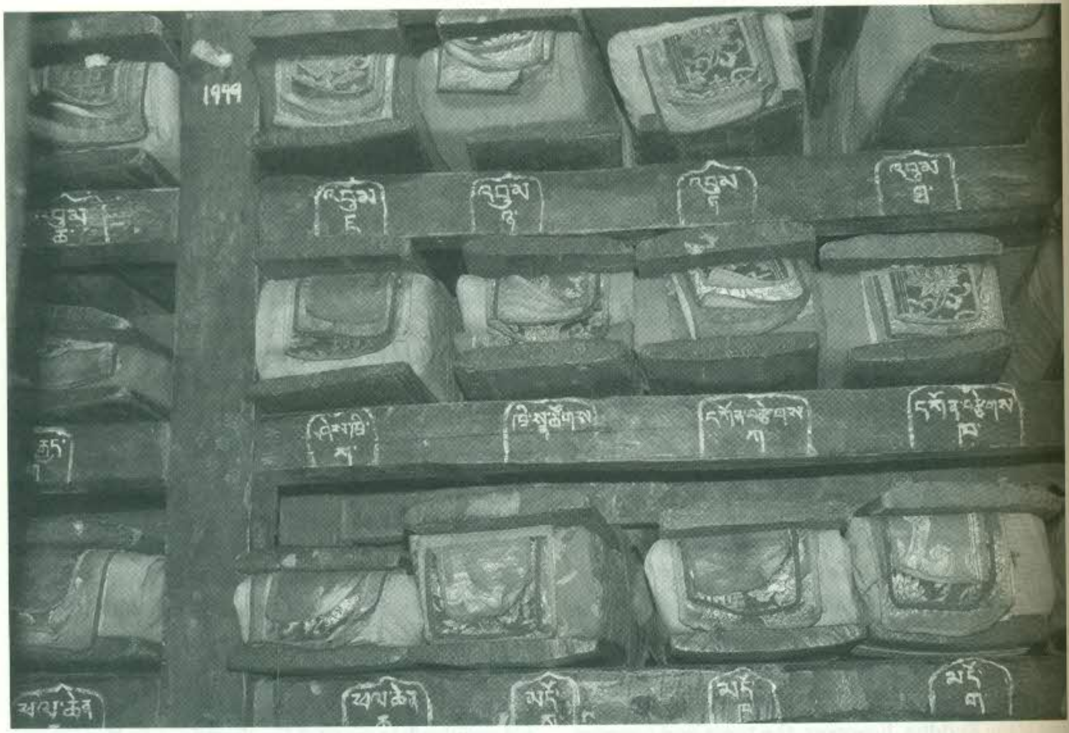

Fig. 1: A Kanjur at Bse go ma lha khang, Zhwa lu Monastery, central Tibet (photo by Katia Buffetrille, 1989).

of Mahāyāna scriptures. Translations of only a few texts contained in the *nikāya/āgama* corpora are included, since such texts were never systematically translated into Tibetan. Apart from the nine titles of its *Mahāsūtra* section (Skilling, 1997a), the *Lhan kar ma* (see below), a 9th-century catalogue of Buddhist texts translated during the Tibetan Imperial Period, lists 37 "Hīnayāna" *sūtra*s among its 739 titles, and only little of this material was translated in later centuries.

Content and Structure of Kanjurs

The Kanjurs known today (see below) consist of some 750–1,100 individual texts (Eimer, 1992, 12) in 100–119 volumes, with an average of around 500 leaves per volume. (An exception, the Early Mustang Kanjur, of which only its catalogue [Eimer, 1999] is extant, comprised 141 volumes.) Of these texts, 707 can be considered to constitute the basic stock; 542 are extant in all Kanjurs, and another 265 are missing from not more than one of them (Lainé, forthcoming a). However, this reflects nothing but the present state of our fragmentary knowledge. Documentary evidence testifies to the one-time existence of a great many Kanjurs (Almogi, 2012), and ongoing research continues to unearth more Kanjurs and manuscript collections that represent a preliminary stage to the fully edited Kanjurs. These latter collections occasionally preserve texts or versions of texts that were previously unknown, and they provide an increasing insight into a far richer range of the earliest traditions of Tibetan religious literature than is represented by the better-known Kanjurs. Thus, all sorts of statistics in this respect must constantly be revised.

The considerable discrepancy in the number of texts contained in the various Kanjurs is to some extent caused by a varying number of duplications. These might occur either simply by mistake or by the fact that several texts are included in the *sūtra* (*mdo*) as well as in the *tantra* (*rgyud*) section. Some short Prajñāpāramitā texts, for example, such as the well-known *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (*Heart Sūtra*), are assigned to both categories (Silk, 1994, 27ff.). Occasionally even different versions of the same text may be included in the same collection. This might have happened by oversight, or because the editors could not decide which version to consider more authentic. Another reason for the varying number of texts – possibly even the main reason – is

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the Kanjur's very nature as an open collection, editors being free to include or exclude certain texts when compiling or revising a Kanjur.

Individual Kanjur texts are arranged according to the basic literary/doctrinal genres, generally in "ascending" sequence, Vinaya (*'dul ba*), *sūtra* (*mdo sde*, in subclassifications, for which see below), and *tantra* (*rgyud sde*), but occasionally also in "descending" order, *tantra*, *sūtra*, and Vinaya, as in the editions of Peking and Cone. Already prior to their translation into Tibetan, Indian or Chinese scholars either considered certain *sūtras* to constitute a distinct genre or grouped them together and transmitted them as units. These groups were retained in Tibet and appear as additional sections of the Kanjur: Prajñāpāramitā (*sher phyin*), *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*phal cher/chen*), and *Ratnakūṭa* (*dkon brtsegs*). Of these, the general division "Prajñāpāramitā" can be found only in the catalogues; in the actual Kanjurs, it is generally split into separate sections for each of its big *sūtras*, which comprise more than one volume, *Śatasāhasrikā* (*'bum* or *yum*), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (*nyi khri*), *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā* (*khri brgyad*), *Daśasāhasrikā* (*khri pa*), and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*brgyad stong pa*) and a section "Various Prajñāpāramitā" (*sher/khri/sras sna tshogs*), normally consisting of only one volume, in which the shorter texts are collected. Within the sections, the volumes show a running numbering with the letters of the Tibetan alphabet (*ka, kha, ga*, etc.) used as numerical figures. An exception is the Peking edition, which has a continuous enumeration without regard for sections.

Variations of this general structure and additional subdivisions are found, of which the following may serve as examples: some Kanjurs (e.g. London, Stog, Shey, Ulaanbatar, Tokyo, Narthang, and Lhasa) count the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* as a separate section (*myang 'das*), usually in three volumes. The editions of the Stog Palace and London do not keep the traditional order of the subdivisions in their *sūtra* sections. In Stog, *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and *Ratnakūṭa* are placed after *Śatasāhasrikā*, and the sections (Various) *Sūtra* and *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* follow the remaining Prajñāpāramitā sections. In London the whole *tantra* section is placed between *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā* and *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

A special position is occupied by the genre of *dhāraṇī* (*gzungs*), meaning "(mystic) formula," some 250 short texts, consisting mainly of mantra, to which magical power is ascribed. Although they are obviously tantric in nature, they are sometimes included in the *sūtra* section and sometimes in the *tantra* section, and occasionally they constitute one or two distinct sections (*gzungs* or *gzungs 'dus* and *gzungs 'bum*) – for example, in the *Lhan dkar ma* catalogue, in the Kanjurs of Lithang, Derge (Sde dge), Urga, and in the Early Mustang Kanjur.

Some Kanjurs contain a few Nyingma *tantras*, tantric texts that are generally accepted as authentic only by the Nyingma (Rnying ma) school of Tibetan Buddhism and collected in great number in the Collection of Nyingma *tantras* (*Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*). Most of these Kanjurs include them in their general *tantra* sections, but the Kanjurs of Ulaanbataar, Lithang, Derge, and Urga, and, most probably, the 17th-century Kanjurs from Basgo and Hemis in Ladakh, dedicate a separate section (*rnying rgyud*) to them.

The Kanjur is per definition the collection of Buddha's words. Thus, the only objective criterion for including or excluding a text is its authenticity. In general, the introductory formula, "Thus I have heard" (*'di skad bdag gis thos pa*; Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*), is considered evidence that a text is the direct witness of a sermon or any particular teaching of the Buddha (Eimer, 2002, 7). Apparently, this did not suffice in all cases to decide whether a particular text contained the words of the Buddha or of a human master. This dilemma was known already in Indian Buddhism, where scholars disagreed on whether some Abhidharma texts should be considered *buddhavacana*. In line with different answers to this question, some Kanjurs (Ulaanbataar, Tokyo, Stog, London, and Shey) contain Abhidharma texts such as the *Lokaprajñapti* and *Kāraṇaprajñapti*, or for other reasons the *Kuṇālāvadāna* or *Li'i yul lung bstan pa* (a religious history of Khotan), while elsewhere (Derge, Peking, and Narthang) such texts are included in the Tanjur. It is to be noted that when these texts are included in the Kanjur, there exists no corresponding Tanjur in which they might have been placed.

Genesis of the Kanjur

The literary corpus known as Kanjur is the result of a long-term process that went on for more than five centuries. It was essentially promoted by large-scale enterprises of collecting and translating Buddhist scriptures, which for the greater part always depended on royal support and sponsorship. Thus, the landmarks of this development can be connected with the respective rulers of the time.

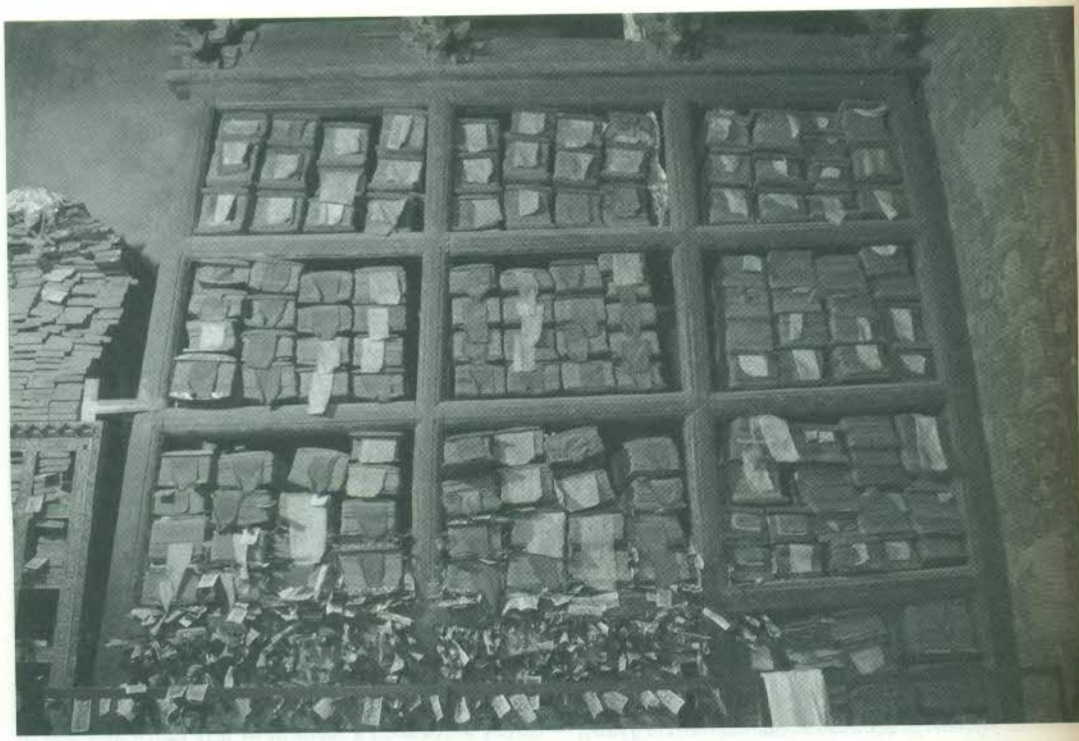

Fig. 2: Some volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā and *sūtra* sections at Kanam Monastery, Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India (photo by Helmut Tauscher, 2012).

Collections of the Imperial Period

The translation of Indian sacred texts into Tibetan began already with the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet (which took place, in a more organized form, from the 7th cent. onward), although not in a systematic way. During the reigns of King Khri srong lde brtsan (756–796) and his successors, Mu ne btsan po (797–799), Khri lde srong brtsan *alias* Sad na legs (800–815), and Khri gtsug lde brtsan *alias* Ral pa chen (815–838), in the period known as the time of the "earlier diffusion" (*snga dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, these activities were carried out systematically, on command and with support of the imperial court. In order to standardize the translations, the *Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa chen po*/*Mahāvyutpatti* was compiled, a Sanskrit-Tibetan terminological glossary, as well as the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, a commentary on selected terms from the *Mahāvyutpatti*. A great number of texts were translated in a systematic cooperation between Tibetan translators and Indian or Chinese scholars, and these translations were then copied and recopied and collected at royal palaces and monastic centers. These growing collections had to be structured and catalogued. The oldest known catalogues of this kind are the *Lhan kar ma*/*Ldan dkar ma* (Herrmann-Pfandt, 2008; Lalou, 1953) and the *'Phangs thang ma* (Halkias, 2004; Kawagoe, 2005), both catalogues of collections kept at royal palaces in central Tibet. A third work, the *Mchims phu ma*, mentioned in later sources, is not known to be extant.

According to the introductory section of the *Lhan kar ma*, these catalogues contained "all translations of words [of the Buddha] and scholarly treatises" (*bka' dang bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog*), and thus they can be regarded as forerunners of the Tibetan canon (extensively discussed in Skilling, 1997b). They were structured according to various categories, some of which are also to be found in the Kanjur (other categories, such as texts translated from Chinese, works of King Khri srong lde btsan, or *Mahāsūtra*, are not found in any Kanjur, although the works listed therein are generally included under the categories mentioned already above). The general distinction between Kanjur and Tanjur, however, was not yet made.

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During the "later diffusion" (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism (from the early 11th cent. onward), a new wave of collecting and translating Buddhist scriptures started under the patronage of the lama-kings of Guge-Purang in western Tibet, Ye shes 'od (947–1024) and Byang chub 'od (984–1078; these dates are not undisputed; for the sake of convenience, I follow Vitali, 1996, 185, 296). Their capital, Tholing, became a center of learning and translating. Prominent proponents were Rin chen bzang po *alias* the "Great Translator" (Lo tsā ba chen po; 958–1055), Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba (c. 1011–1064), and Rngog Blo ldan shes rab (c. 1059–1109); even the royal prince Zhi ba 'od, brother of Byang chub 'od, is among the translators of canonical texts. During this period, the term "Kanjur" might have occurred for the first time. Ye shes 'od is reported to have prepared three sets of "the entire Kanjur of pure gold" and four sets of a white Kanjur. For central Tibet, among other reports, "silver and golden Kanjurs" are mentioned in the biography of Rwa rDo rje grags (11th cent.; Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, 2009, 12ff.). These events are presented in sources, however, that date from the 15th century and that might have simply adopted the usual terminology of their time. As none of these collections of translations has survived, it is by no means obvious to what the term refers in regard to contents, arrangement, or extent. It also has to be noted that in the biography of Rin chen bzang po, composed by his pupil Ye shes dpal, this term does not appear, and *sde snod gsum ka*, the Tibetan equivalent for Tripiṭaka, is used, without, however, clearly indicating what the term denotes (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, 1996, 26).

Proto-Kanjurs

An intermediate stage between the collections of imperial times and the fully developed Kanjurs – of course not necessarily in all cases or in a straight development – can be seen in the group of proto-Kanjurs. These are, in an ideal case, complete collections of the Buddha's word but not yet systematically arranged into Kanjurs as described above. Similar or related texts are compiled into larger volumes, which, however, do not have any particular order among them. No complete collection of this kind is known so far; the only one with some degree of completeness is the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla in Lahul, northern India, compiled in the late 13th or early 14th century. (On this collection and the genre in general, see the introduction to Tauscher, 2008.) Nevertheless, fragments of proto-Kanjurs are to be found in various places in the Himalayan region; apparently this form of canonical collection was rather widespread before and around the time of the compilation of the first Kanjur in its fully developed form.

Collections of the Mongol Area

The time of Mongol and Yuan rule in Tibet (1240–1354) was particularly fruitful for the genesis and development of the Kanjur. Around 1272, activities of collecting canonical material started at Sakya (Sa skya), sponsored by the Mongol imperial family and culminating in 1285–1287, and already in 1275–1278, a Kanjur is reported to have been produced at the order of Lama 'Phags pa, the court chaplain of Khublai Khan. Between 1310 and 1328, the myriarchs of Tshal in central Tibet are reported to have financed a Kanjur in 250 volumes and one in 260 volumes (for a detailed account of these activities, see Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, 2009, 9ff.).

These collections have not survived, and their possible relation to the Old Narthang or the Tshal pa Kanjur (see below) is as unclear as is their exact nature. It can, however, be suspected that they followed a similar concept as the Kanjurs in the technical sense of the term.

The Old Narthang Kanjur

In a further development of these preliminary steps, the first Kanjur, the Old Narthang Manuscript Kanjur, which is not extant and known only from literary sources, was compiled in the first decades of the 14th century at Zhalu (Zhwa lu) Monastery at Narthang (Snar thang) in central Tibet. It is commonly connected with the name of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), the 11th abbot of Zhalu, who compiled an extensive catalogue of religious and philosophical scriptures (Nishioka, 1980–1983). His role in the actual production of the Kanjur, however, is not directly attested (Eimer, 1992, 177; see also Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, 2009, 9). From that time onward, the terms "Kanjur" and "Tanjur" appear to be established for large collections of translated canonical texts.

Transmission Lines and Groups of Kanjurs and Their Most Important Representatives

When A. Csoma de Kőrös studied a copy of the Narthang xylograph Kanjur (dating from c. 1730) in the early decades of the 19th century and initiated scholarly Kanjur research, he thought himself to be analyzing a copy of the one and only Kanjur; he even speaks of "the Tibetan work, entitled Kah-gyur" (Csoma de Kőrös, 1836; 1839a; 1839b). Following generations of researchers, becoming increasingly aware of the variety of Kanjurs, took the Old Narthang Kanjur as the prototype, to which all others can directly or indirectly be traced back. At present, however, it is widely accepted that different lines of canonical transmission are only conceptually indebted to the Old Narthang Kanjur but independent in their actual execution (Skilling, 1997b, 100); no *one* archetype of the Kanjur ever existed. None of these lines is pure; they show various degrees of interrelation and conflation. According to the various lines of transmission, four groups of Kanjurs are generally distinguished: the two main groups of Tshal pa and Thems spangs ma, a "mixed" group, and the group of "local" or "independent" Kanjurs. Each group has its distinctive features in terms of structure, arrangement, and the texts or versions of texts contained. They are, moreover, not homogeneous units. In particular among the local Kanjurs, some sections might be more closely related to a particular tradition and others to another; that is, some collections may be traced back to diverse sources, as a result of which filiations are complex and not unilinear.

None of the archetypes from which the main traditions descend has survived; the oldest known Kanjurs, as physical entities, date from the 17th century. The individual Kanjurs mentioned below are designated in modern scholarship according either to their place of origin or to the place where they are presently located, both in monasteries or royal palaces and in Western or Japanese libraries.

The Tshal pa group descends from a manuscript Kanjur compiled at the Gung thang Monastery of Tshal in central Tibet at the order of the myriarch Kun dga' rdo rje as part of the funeral ceremonies for his father in 1348; it was consecrated by Bu ston in 1351. For its compilation, material from the Old Narthang Kanjur was used to a large extent, so that it is sometimes considered a major revision of this Kanjur.

The majority of the Kanjur editions known today belong to this group. It is represented mainly by a number of block-print editions from Imperial China, starting with the first Kanjur to appear in printed form, that of Yongle (1410; Silk, 1996), and followed by its reprint of Wanli (1606; Mejor *et al.*, 2010) and a series of revised editions (Peking, 1684–1765, like the former designated by the Chinese imperial reign period under which they appeared; Eimer, 2007). The edition of 1717–1720 is edited in a modern reprint by D.T. Suzuki (1955–1961) and catalogued by D.T. Suzuki (1962); a recent high-quality digital scan edition of the Peking Kanjur held in the National Library of Mongolia has also appeared. The Kanjur of Berlin (1680; Beckh, 1914) and a Kanjur kept at the National Palace Museum at Taipei (18th cent.; now publ. in facsimile as *Longzangjing*, 2011) are the only manuscript Kanjurs of this group. The xylographs of Lithang/'Jang sa tham (1609–1614; Imaeda, 1982; 1984), Cone (1721–1731), Derge (Sde dge, 1733; Ui, 1934; publ. by Barber, 1991), and Urga (1908–1910; Bethlenfalvy, 1980) belong to a subgroup.

The Them spangs ma group goes back to a manuscript Kanjur compiled at Gyantse (Rgyal rtse) in central Tibet shortly after 1430. None of the Them spangs ma Kanjurs has ever appeared in printed form, which might be one of the reasons for the more limited dissemination of this group.

Its main representatives are the manuscript Kanjurs of Ulaanbaatar (n.d.), considered to be a direct copy of Them spangs ma and published in 2010 as Tempangma Kanjur by the National Library of Mongolia and others (see Web sites below; catalogued by Samten *et al.*, 2012; also Bethlenfalvy, 1982), Stog, produced during the reign of the Ladakhi king Nyi ma rnam rgyal (1694–1729; Skorupski, 1985), and Tokyo (1858–1878; Saitō, 1977). A subgroup showing influences of a particular western Tibetan tradition (Tauscher & Lainé, 2008) is represented by the Kanjurs of London (Pagel & Gaffney, 1996), an 18th-century copy of a manuscript from Shel dkar in southern Tibet, and the Kanjur of Shey in Ladakh (17th cent.; Lainé, forthcoming b).

The mixed group, consisting of the closely related xylograph Kanjurs of Narthang and Lhasa (Eimer, 1998), are based on a copy from the Tshal pa line, but they include a great number of emendations based on some copy from the Them spangs ma group; thus it combines characteristic features of both traditions. The edition of Narthang was initiated by the sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1705), but the carving of the printing blocks was stopped with his death. The undertaking was restarted by Mi pham pho lha

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The local or independent group consists of manuscript Kanjurs that were produced not at large monastic centers but at rather remote places and compiled from locally available material. They usually show closer similarities with Them spangs ma than with Tshal pa. This does not indicate direct relation; rather it provides evidence for common or related sources from which their materials were drawn. In general, they are independent from either of the two main lines of transmission as well as from other local Kanjurs. Although similar to the mainstream Kanjurs in content and size, they differ from them with regard to the texts included and their arrangement. Just like the proto-Kanjurs, they contain texts absent from the mainstream traditions, texts in different recensions or translations, and even translations from a different version of the Sanskrit original. Occasionally they contain two or more versions of the same text, and their sources might predate the archetypes of the two main groups (Eimer, 2012, 21; Tauscher & Lainé, 2013).

Presently the Kanjurs of Phug brag (c. 1700; Samten, 1992), O rgyan gling (c. 1700; Samten, 1994) and Bathang (15th–16th cents.; Eimer, 2012), as well as the so-called Early Mustang Kanjur (1436–1447; Eimer, 1999), are generally regarded as local Kanjurs. Kanjurs discovered in recent years at Hemis and Basgo in Ladakh might also be counted among this group.

The Phug brag manuscript Kanjur is difficult to classify, as it appears to be the conflation of at least two Kanjurs or proto-Kanjurs stemming from different traditions. It shares many distinctive features with the roughly contemporary O rgyan gling Kanjur at Tawang in western Arunachal Pradesh, which, of course, is not necessarily evidence of a direct relationship, since this relationship might very well date back to earlier centuries. A number of conformities indicate a connection between Phug brag and Them spangs ma or its sources; others are seemingly unique.

The Early Mustang Kanjur was compiled at the order of King A ma dpal (c. 1380–1440), probably using material from Sa skya. It is not extant, only its catalogue (*dkar chag*) surviving. Two Kanjurs kept at Lo Manthang and at Tsarang (Mathes, 1997) are considered to be copies, but they have not yet been studied in detail.

In 2007, two fragmentary Kanjurs were discovered at Hemis Monastery. Both were written during the reign of King Seng ge rnam rgyal, shortly after 1630, and are contemporary with the canonical manuscript material kept at Basgo, where in the late 20th century, a Kanjur was compiled out of at least five fragmentary sets.

Close similarities between the collections of Hemis and Basgo and the Early Mustang Kanjur provoke the hypothetical postulation of a Mustang group of Kanjurs in addition to the four groups generally accepted. This hypothesis is discussed in H. Tauscher and B. Lainé (2013).

The Comparative Kanjur

A modern edition of the so-called Comparative Kanjur (*bka' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma*; Hackett, 2012) does not fit into any of the groups mentioned, as it is not a separate Kanjur. It was compiled in Beijing in 2006–2009 by comparing eight Kanjur editions (Yongle, Lithang, Kangxi, Cone, Derge, Narthang, Khure, and Lhasa Zhol). Thus it represents something between an attempted critical edition of the Kanjur and a tool for Kanjur research.

Kanjur Research

Although the Kanjur has been an object of Tibetological research ever since the pioneering works of A. Csoma de Kőrös, it was only in recent decades that Kanjur research has justifiably emerged as an important subdiscipline within the field of Tibetan studies. It seeks to understand the evolving canon both as a record of the development of a substantial part of the Tibetan literary and religious heritage and as a source for the history of Tibetan Buddhism, since these usually massive products are the result of significant economic investment and thus by their very existence testify to the cultural capital of the regions and dynasties under which they were produced.

While previously these studies were handicapped by the fact that they require a vast amount of textual material and this material was either not easily accessible or not accessible at all, things have been changing rapidly in recent years. Increasingly access has been enabled, on the one hand, by the production of finding aids, including catalogues and databases, historical studies, and other research and, on the other hand, by the reproduction, through microfilm or digital means, of editions. In addition to the sources already mentioned, special note should be made of some of the databases established by academic organizations, for instance, by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center and by the universities of Vienna, Virginia, Ōtani, and Columbia (for Web sites, see below). While these databases provide catalogues, search engines, and other research tools, needless to say individual scholars have long studied texts contained in the Kanjur collections, paying attention to the history of these collections, their interrelations, and other problems. They have also, since A. Csoma de Kőrös and the very earliest days of modern Buddhist studies, produced translations of Kanjur texts. Recently more systematic efforts are being attempted along these lines, one example of which is the 84000 project (www.84000.co), which aims at a translation of the complete (Derge) Kanjur into English.

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HELMUT TAUSCHER

Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature

Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra

The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (Flower-Ornament Scripture; usually but incorrectly referred to as *Avataṃsakasūtra*), one of the most voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtras*, remains little studied in the West. However, in East Asia the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* plays an essential role, being regarded in some systems as the direct revelation of the highest truth that the Buddha realized under the Bodhi tree. The *sūtra* gave a fundamental impetus to the formation of the Huayan (華嚴) school, a distinct Chinese school that later spread throughout East Asia. This school elaborated the philosophy of interrelated existence of all phenomena.

The title *Buddhāvataṃsaka* refers in the first place to a scripture catalogued in China as an original or complete translation (*benbu* [本部]) of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (here "the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*"), extant in two Chinese (T. 278 [60 fasc.]; T. 279 [80 fasc.) and one Tibetan (D 44/P 761) translations. At the same time, *Buddhāvataṃsaka* also refers to a family or group of texts that the Buddhist tradition linked to the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Some of these texts are free-standing translations (*zhipin* [支品]) of scriptures corresponding to certain chapters in the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, while others do not correspond to any of the chapters, but the Buddhist tradition suspected the genesis of these texts to be closely related to the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and thus considered them to be Huayan-related works (*juanshujing* [眷屬經]; Hamar, 2007). As of the Sui period (581–618), the Chinese scripture catalogues (Fajing's [法經] *Zhongjing mulu* [眾經目錄; T. 2146 (LV) 119c11–120a1] and Yancong's [彥琮] similarly named work [T. 2147 (LV) 159a22–b6]) indicate the correspondences between the so-called partial translations and chapters from the larger works.

The textual history of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is very complex, and its study has just begun. However, it does seem clear that originally the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was compiled on the basis of shorter *sūtras*, some of which continued to circulate independently. In order to discuss the history, structure, and teaching of the *sūtra*, an overview will be helpful.

An Overview of the Content

In the Sarvāstivāda literature (e.g. *Divyāvadāna* XI *Prātihāryasūtra*) and the Bhadraśrī chapter (ch. 8 in the 60-fasc. version, ch. 12 in the 80-fasc. version, and ch. 17 in the Tibetan version) of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the term "*buddhāvataṃsaka*" means a special type of miracle of multiplication of one's own body that could be performed only by a buddha (Ōtake, 2007). Due to his magical power, the Buddha is able to manifest himself simultaneously at seven locations where the teaching was delivered during eight (in the 60-fasc. version) or nine (in the 80-fasc. and Tibetan versions) assemblies. The Buddha teaches in three human places (the place of enlightenment, the hall of universal light [Ōtake, 2007, 98–100], and the grove of Anāthapiṇḍada) and four heavenly realms (the heavenly realm of 33 gods on the peak of Sumeru, the palace of the god Suyāma, Tuṣita, and the palace of the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods). After Buddha appears at these locations, innumerable bodhisattvas arrive from the ten directions and surround him to listen to his teaching. Surprisingly, it is not the Buddha who delivers the teachings, but one of the bodhisattvas (most often Mañjuśrī or Samantabhadra) in the assembly takes this role. This is the narrative framework of the *sūtra* that arranges the otherwise loosely related chapters, or formerly independent works, into one scripture. The title indicates that one of the main features of this scripture is an abundance of visionary elements. These visions play an important role in underlining Mahāyāna doctrines, like emptiness, the fundamental sameness of all things, and so on. The image of all buddha fields contained in one atom, often repeated in the *sūtra*, led Chinese scholars to formulate a philosophy of the interrelated existence of all phenomena (McMahan, 2002).

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka* has two central topics: (1) the eulogy of the Buddha's abilities and his appearance in the world as a teacher and (2) the description of a bodhisattva's career. The two most famous chapters of the *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, describe the bodhisattva's practice. The *Daśabhūmika* (Ten Stages), in accord

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with its title, depicts the bodhisattva's path from the vow to liberate all living beings from suffering to enlightenment in ten stages:

1. joy (Skt. *pramuditā*);
2. freedom from defilements (Skt. *vimalā*);
3. splendor (Skt. *prabhākarī*);
4. radiance (Skt. *arciṣmatī*);
5. difficult to be overcome (Skt. *sudurjayā*);
6. presence (Skt. *abhimukhī*);
7. distant journey (Skt. *dūraṃgamā*);
8. immovability (Skt. *acalā*);
9. excellent wisdom (Skt. *sādhumatī*); and
10. dharma cloud (Skt. *dharmameghā*).

These ten stages became a part of the 52 stages of the bodhisattva path traditionally attributed to the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. The ten stages of faith (*shixin* [十信]) are as follows:

1. the stage of faith (*xinxin* [信心]);
2. the stage of mindfulness (*nianxin* [念心]);
3. the stage of endeavor (*jingjin xin* [精進心]);
4. the stage of mental stability (*dingxin* [定心]);
5. the stage of the wisdom of understanding emptiness (*huixin* [慧心]);
6. the stage of pure self-restraint (*jiexin* [戒心]);
7. the stage of the returning of merit (*huixiang xin* [迴向心]);
8. the stage of maintaining the dharma within oneself (*hufa xin* [護法心]);
9. the stage of detachment (*shexin* [捨心]); and
10. the stage of aspiration (*yuanxin* [願心]).

Listed below are the ten abodes (*shizhu* [十住]):

1. initial determination for enlightenment (*chu faxin zhu* [初發心住]);
2. preparation of the ground (*zhidi zhu* [治地住]);
3. practice (*xiuxing zhu* [修行住]);
4. noble birth (meaning being "reborn" as a product of the teachings; *shenggui zhu* [生貴住]);
5. skill in means (*juzu fangbian zhu* [具足方便住]);
6. right mindfulness (*zhengxin zhu* [正心住]);
7. nonregression (*bu tui zhu* [不退住]);
8. youthful nature (innocence and purity; *tong zhen zhu* [童真住]);
9. prince of the teaching (*wangzi zhu* [王子住]); and
10. coronation (as a sovereign or master of the teaching; *guanding zhu* [灌頂住]; (Cleary, 1983, 186).

The ten practices (*shixing* [十行]) are as follows:

1. gladdening practice (*huanxi xing* [歡喜行]);
2. beneficial practice (*raoyi xing* [饒益行]);
3. practice of nonopposition (*wu weini xing* [無違逆行]);
4. practice of indefatigability (*wu qurao xing* [無屈橈行]);
5. practice of freedom from ignorance and confusion (*wu chi luan xing* [無癡亂行]);
6. practice of skillful revelation (*shan xian xing* [善現行]);
7. practice of nonattachment (*wu zhuo xing* [無著行]);
8. practice of that which is difficult to attain (*nande xing* [難得行]);
9. practice of goodness (*shanfa xing* [善法行]); and
10. practice of real truth (*zhenshi xing* [真實行]); (Clear, 1983, 189).

The following are the ten dedications of merit (*shihuixiang* [十迴向]):

1. dedication to saving living beings (*jiuhu yiqie zhongsheng li zhongsheng xiang huixiang* [救護一切眾生離眾生相迴向]);
2. indestructible dedication (*bu huai huixiang* [不壞迴向]);
3. dedication equal to all buddhas (*deng yiqie zhu fo huixiang* [等一切諸佛迴向]);
4. dedication reaching all places (*zhi yiqie chu huixiang* [至一切處迴向]);
5. dedication of the inexhaustible treasury of virtue (*wujin gongde cang huixiang* [無盡功德藏迴向]);
6. dedication of all roots of goodness in accord with indestructibility (*ru yiqie pingdeng shangen huixiang* [入一切平等善根迴向]);
7. dedication according to all living beings (*deng suishun yiqie zhongsheng huixiang* 等隨順一切眾生迴向]);
8. dedication of the character of true thusness (*zhenru xiang huixiang* [真如相迴向]);
9. unattached, unbound, and liberated dedication (*wufu wuzhuo jietuo huixiang* [無縛無著解脫迴向]); and
10. infinite dedication equal to the cosmos (*ru fajie wuliang huixiang* [入法界無量迴向]); Cleary, 1983, 191–192).

The virtual enlightenment (*dengjue* [等覺]; also known as *wugou di* [無垢地], the undefiled stage),

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and marvelous enlightenm
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mentioned in the *sūtra*. Th
the *Renwang hu guo bore b*
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and the *Pusa yingluo ben*
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both native Chinese comp
exegetical tradition linked
the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūt*
bodhisattva path has 52 s
be a Chinese idea.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* tells
named Sudhana, who visit
all walks of life, including
the question about the bo
listening about the practi
he is told to go on his qu
at the tower of Maitreya,
he enters the tower, he ha
of reality. The *sūtra* stress
hisattvas are able to crea
sake of living beings, and
penetrating (Gómez, 19
encounters, we gain som
context of the *sūtra* that
royal women patrons in
time (Osto, 2008).

In the Chinese exeget
sattva's practice represe

Table 1

Sanskrit	Buddha (T. 278)
	(1) 世 眼
	(2) 盧 佛

ixing [十行]) are as follows:
ictice (*huanxi xing* [歡喜行]);
tice (*raoyi xing* [饒益行]);
onopposition (*wu weini xing*

defatigability (*wu qurao xing*

eedom from ignorance and
chi luan xing [無癡亂行]);
lful revelation (*shan xian xing*

onattachment (*wu zhuo xing*

t which is difficult to attain
得行]);
dness (*shanfa xing* [善法行]);

truth (*zhenshi xing* [真實行]);
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e ten dedications of merit
):
ving living beings (*jiuhu yiqie*
hongsheng xiang huixiang [救
生相迴向]);
dedication (*bu huai huixiang*

al to all buddhas (*deng yiqie*
[等一切諸佛迴向]);
hing all places (*zhi yiqie chu*
切處迴向]);
he inexhaustible treasury of
ngde cang huixiang [無盡功

l roots of goodness in accord
tibility (*ru yiqie pingdeng*
g [入一切平等善根迴向]);
rding to all living beings (*deng*
ongsheng huixiang 等隨順一

e character of true thusness
uixiang [真如相迴向]);
ound, and liberated dedica-
uo jietuo huixiang [無縛無著

on equal to the cosmos (*ru*
uixiang [入法界無量迴向]);
192).
nment (*dengjue* [等覺]; also
垢地], the undefiled stage),

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and marvelous enlightenment (*miaojue* [妙覺]) are the last and highest stages of a bodhisattva's development. However, the ten stages of faith are not mentioned in the *sūtra*. These names originate from the *Renwang hu guo bore boluomiduo jing* (仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經; *Sūtra* of Benevolent King; T. 246) and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* (菩薩瓔珞本業經; Bodhisattvas' Diadem Primary Activities; T. 1485), both native Chinese compositions. Only the Chinese exegetical tradition linked the ten stages of faith to the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*. The notion that the bodhisattva path has 52 stages likewise appears to be a Chinese idea.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* tells the story of a young boy named Sudhana, who visits 53 spiritual friends from all walks of life, including female teachers, to raise the question about the bodhisattva's practice. After listening about the practice of the spiritual friends, he is told to go on his quest until he finally arrives at the tower of Maitreya, the future buddha. When he enters the tower, he has an insight into the realm of reality. The *sūtra* stresses that buddhas and bodhisattvas are able to create magical bodies for the sake of living beings, and all these forms are interpenetrating (Gómez, 1977). Through Sudhana's encounters, we gain some hints about the social context of the *sūtra* that reveal the importance of royal women patrons in Indian Buddhism at the time (Osto, 2008).

In the Chinese exegetical tradition, the bodhisattva's practice represents the cause of enlightenment, while the result of this practice is the buddhahood that is also described extensively by the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. It includes many depictions of the supreme body of the teaching, the *dharmakāya* (Guang Xing, 2005). The *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavasūtra*, which corresponds to chapters 32 in T. 278 (see the table), reveals that the reason why the Buddha appeared in the world was to benefit sentient beings, and in order to accomplish this aim, he had recourse to a variety of skillful methods (*upāya*). This *sūtra* shows ten aspects of the Tathāgata:

1. the characteristics of the manifestation of Tathāgata;
2. the body of Tathāgata;
3. the voice of Tathāgata;
4. the mind of Tathāgata;
5. the realm of Tathāgata;
6. the deeds of Tathāgata;
7. the perfect enlightenment of Tathāgata;
8. the turning of the dharma wheel by Tathāgata;
9. the *parinirvāṇa* of Tathāgata; and
10. the merits originating from seeing, hearing, and being associated with Tathāgata.

The *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavasūtra* is a precursor to the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, the idea of universal access to buddhahood, as it stresses that all living beings have the wisdom of the Buddha, but due to their defilements, they are not able to see it. The Buddha's mission is to reveal this fact to living beings (Takasaki, 1958).

Table 1

Sanskrit	Buddhabhadra (T. 278)	Śikṣānanda (T. 279)	Tibetan (D 44/P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
	(1) 世間淨眼品	(1) 世主妙嚴品	(1) *'jig rten gyi dbang po thams cad kyi rgyan gyi tshul rab tu byung ba*	
	(2) 盧舍那佛品	(2) 如來現相品	(2) *de bzhin gshegs pa*	
		(3) 普賢三昧品	(3) *kun tu bzang po'i ting nge'dzin dang rnam par 'phrul pa rab tu 'byung ba*	
		(4) 世界成就品	(4) *'jig rten gyi khams rgya mtsho shin tu bstan pa'i phyogs gsal bar bya ba yang dag par bsgrubs pa*	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sanskrit	Buddhabhadra (T. 278)	Śikṣānanda (T. 279)	Tibetan (D 44/P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
		(5) 華藏世界品	(5) *'jig rten gyi khams rgya mtsho gzhi dang snying po me tog gi rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i yon tan rgya mtsho yongs su dag pas snang ba*	
			(6) *'jig rten gyi khams rgya mtsho'i khor yug gi rgyan rgya mtsho shin tu bstan pa*	
			(7) *'jig rten gyi khams rgya mtsho'i sa'i gzhi'i rgyan shin tu bstan pa*	
			(8) *zhing gi rgyud kyi gnas shin tu bstan pa*	
			(9) *'jig rten gyi khams kyi rgyud rnam par dgod pa shin tu bstan pa*	
		(6) 毘盧遮那品	(10) *'rnam par snang mdzad*	
			(11) *de bzhin gshegs pa phal po che*	
	(3) 如來名號品	(7) 如來名號品	(12) *sangs rgyas kyi mtshan shin tu bstan pa*	佛說兜沙經 (T. 280 [X] 445a5–446a15) 佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 446b28–447a18)
	(4) 四諦品	(8) 四聖諦品	(13) *'phags pa'i bden pa*	
	(5) 如來光明覺品	(9) 光明覺品	(14) *de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'od zer las rnam par sangs rgyas*	佛說兜沙經 (T. 280 [X] 446a15–b9) 佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 447a19–b4)
	(6) 菩薩明難品	(10) 菩薩問明品	(15) *byang chub sems dpas dris pa snang ba*	
Gocarapariśuddhi	(7) 淨行品	(11) 淨行品	(16) *spyod yul yongs su dag pa*	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 28 [X] 447b6–449b23) 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282 [X] 451a6–454a7)
Ratnolkādhāraṇī	(8) 賢首菩薩品	(12) 賢首品	(17) *bzang po'i dpal*	

	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
gya ying po brgyan sho yongs	
gya mtsho'i ya mtsho	
gya mtsho'i tu bstan pa	
as shin tu	
i rgyud rnam bstan pa	
zad	
hal po che	
an shin tu	佛說兜沙經 (T. 280 [X] 445a5–446a15)
	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 446b28–447a18)
od zer las s	佛說兜沙經 (T. 280 [X] 446a15–b9) 佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 447a19–b4)
s dris pa	
g pa	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 28 [X] 447b6–449b23) 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282 [X] 451a6–454a7)

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sanskrit	Buddhabhadra (T. 278)	Śikṣānanda (T. 279)	Tibetan (D 44/P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
	(9) 佛昇須彌頂品	(13) 昇須彌山頂品	(18) *de bzhin gshegs pa ri rab kyi rtse mor gshegs pa*	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 449b25–29) 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282 [X] 454a8–20)
	(10) 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說偈品	(14) 須彌頂上偈讚品	(19) *ri rab kyi rtse mo de bzhin gshegs pa'i rnam par 'phrul pa dang byang chub sems dpa'i tshogs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 449b29–c4) 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282 [X] 454a20–26)
	(11) 菩薩十住品	(15) 十住品	(20) *byang chub sems dpa'i rnam par dgod pa bcu bstan pa*	佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281 [X] 449c4–450c25) 菩薩十住行道品 (T. 283) 佛說菩薩十住經 (T. 284)
	(12) 梵行品	(16) 梵行品	(21) *tshangs par spyod pa*	
	(13) 初發心菩薩功德品	(17) 初發心功德品	(22) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dang po bskyed pa'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i dpe yang dag par bsags pa tshigs bcad pa*	
	(14) 明法品	(18) 明法品	(23) *chos snang ba*	
	(15) 佛昇夜摩天宮自在品	(19) 昇夜摩天宮品	(24) *ran mtshe ma'i gnas na rnam par 'phrul ba*	諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282 [X] 454a8–20)
	(16) 夜摩天宮菩薩說偈品	(20) 夜摩宮中偈讚品	(25) *rab mtshe ma'i gnas su byang chub sems dpa'i 'dus pas tshigs su bcad pa bstan pa*	
	(17) 功德華聚菩薩十行品	(21) 十行品	(26) *yon tan gyi me tog shin tu bsags pa zhes bya ba byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa bstan pa*	
	(18) 菩薩十無盡藏品	(22) 十無盡藏品	(27) *gter mi zad pa bcu bstan pa*	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sanskrit	**Buddhabhadra (T. 278)**	**Śikṣānanda (T. 279)**	**Tibetan (D 44/P 761)**	**Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan**
	(19) 如來昇兜率天宮一切寶殿品	(23) 昇兜率天宮品	(28) *de bzhin gshegs pa dga' ldan du bzhud pa dang gshegs pa dang bzhugs pa'i rgyan*	
	(20) 兜率天宮菩薩雲集讚佛品	(24) 兜率宮中偈讚品	(29) *dga' ldan gyi gnas su byang chub sems dpa' 'dus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa bstan pa*	
Vajradhvaja	(21) 金剛幢菩薩十迴向品	(25) 十迴向品	(30) *rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyis yongs su bsngo ba*	
Daśabhūmika	(22) 十地品	(26) 十地品	(31) *sa bcu*	漸備一切智德經 (T. 285) 十住經 (T. 286) 佛說十地經 (T. 287)
			(32) *kun tu bzang pos bstan pa*	大方廣普賢所說經 (T. 298)
		(27) 十定品	(33) *ting nge 'dzin bcu*	等目菩薩所問三昧經 (T. 288)
	(23) 十明品	(28) 十通品	(34) *mngon par shes pa*	
	(24) 十忍品	(29) 十忍品	(35) *bzod pa*	佛說如來興顯經 (T. 291 [X] 614b15–617b7)
	(25) 心王菩薩問阿僧祇品	(30) 阿僧祇品	(36) *sems kyis rgyal pos dris nas grags la 'jug pa bstan*	
Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇodbhāvana	(26) 壽命品	(31) 壽量品	(37) *tshe'i tshad*	顯無邊佛土功德經 (T. 289) 佛說較量一切佛剎功德經 (T. 290) *De bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi sangs rgyas gi yon tan brjod pa'i rnam grangs* (P 772) *Bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyal po'i mdo* (P 934)

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sanskrit	**Buddhabha (T. 278)**
	(27) 菩薩 處品
	(28) 佛不 品
	(29) 如來 海品
	(30) 佛小 功德
	(31) 普賢 品
Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava	(32) 寶王 起品
Lokottaparivarta	(33) 離世
Gaṇḍavyūha	(34) 入法
Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna	

	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
dga' ldan du gs pa dang	
u a' ad	
ba	
	漸備一切智德經 (T. 285)
	十住經 (T. 286)
	佛說十地經 (T. 287)
n pa	大方廣普賢所說經 (T. 298)
	等目菩薩所問三昧經 (T. 288)
	佛說如來興顯經 (T. 291 [X] 614b15–617b7)
is tan	
	顯無邊佛土功德經 (T. 289)
	佛說較量一切佛刹功德經 (T. 290)
	De bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi sangs rgyas gi yon tan brjod pa'i rnam grangs (P 772)
	Bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyal po'i mdo (P 934)

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sanskrit	Buddhabhadra (T. 278)	Śikṣānanda (T. 279)	Tibetan (D 44/P 761)	Partial extant Chinese and Tibetan
	(27) 菩薩住處品	(32) 諸菩薩住處品	(38) *byang chub sems dpa'i gnas*	
	(28) 佛不思議法品	(33) 佛不思議法品	(39) *sangs rgyas kyi chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa*	*Sangs rgyas kyi chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa* (P 854)
	(29) 如來相海品	(34) 如來十身相海品	(40) *de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku'i mtshan rgya mtsho bstan pa*	
	(30) 佛小相光明功德品	(35) 如來隨好光明功德品	(41) *dpe byad bzang po'i 'od er bstan pa*	
	(31) 普賢菩薩行品	(36) 普賢行品	(42) *kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa bstan pa*	
Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava	(32) 寶王如來性起品	(37) 如來出現品	(43) *de bzhin gshegs pa skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa*	佛說如來興顯經 (T. 291 [X] 592c6–614b14)
Lokottaparivarta	(33) 離世間品	(38) 離世間品	(44) *'jig rten las 'das pa*	度世品經 (T. 292)
Gaṇḍavyūha	(34) 入法界品	(39) 入法界品	(45) *sdong pos brgyan pa*	大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293)
Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna				佛說羅摩伽經 (T. 294) 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品 (T. 295) 文殊師利發願經 (T. 296) 普賢菩薩行願贊 (T. 297) *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po* (P 716)

Origin

According to a Buddhist legend, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was brought to the human world from the palace of serpents (*nāga*) by Nāgārjuna (T. 1870 [XLV] 586c23–26). He had found three versions of this scripture and chose the one consisting of 100,000 *ślokas* and 48 chapters, as the other two versions he thought to be too long for humans. Rather than the *sūtra* having originally been such a massive work, however, it appears more likely that it was compiled from originally independent sources. One reason to favor this scenario is that several chapters of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* that circulated independently before being incorporated into the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* are cited in Indian *śāstra* literature, without being referred to as part of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. The *Sūtrasamuccaya*, attributed to Nāgārjuna but composed by an unknown author in the 5th century CE, not only cites the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* twice by name but also cites component texts under their own titles: *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ch. 34 of T. 278), *Daśabhūmika* (ch. 22 of T. 278), *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava* (ch. 37 of T. 278), *Tathāgataguṇajñānacintyaviṣayāvatāranirdeśa* (T. 302, 303, 304; Johnston, 1950, 8–9), *Śraddhābalādhānāvatāramudrā* (T. 305), and *Lokottaraparivarta* (ch. 33 of T. 278; Skilling & Saerji 2013, 203–205). The *Ratnagotravibhāga*, written by Sāramati in the 5th century CE, quotes from the *Rulai chuxian pin* chapter (如来出現品; Appearance of Tathāgata in the World; **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava*; ch. 32 of T. 278; Johnston, 1950, 22.10–24.8), while in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Śāntideva (686–763 CE) quotes from the *Xianshou pin* chapter (賢首品; Leader of the Good) as *Ratnolkādhāraṇī* (ch. 8 of T. 278; Bendall, 1897–1902, 3.15–5.6; 153.11–15; 327.5–347.11), the *Shi huixiang pin* chapter (十廻向品; Ten Dedications) as *Vajradhvaja* (ch. 20 of T. 278; Bendall, 1897–1902, 22.5–33.10; 213.3–216.5; 278.14–283.2; 291.10), the *Li shijian pin* chapter (離世間品; Detachment from the World) as *Lokottaraparivarta* (ch. 33 of T. 278; Bendall, 1897–1902, 151.13–152.19), and the *Jingxing pin* chapter (淨行品; Pure Practice) as *Gocarapariśuddhi* (ch. 7 of T. 278; Bendall, 1897–1902, 350.21, but the identification is questionable). Additional Indian texts that cite portions of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* as independent texts include Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* and its commentary, the *Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā* (*Lokottaraparivarta* and *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava*), Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* (*Gocarapariśuddhi*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Lokottaraparivarta*, *Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhava*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, and *Śraddhābalādhāna*), the same author's *Madhyamakāloka* (*Daśabhūmika*, *Lokottaraparivarta*, and *Gaṇḍavyūha*), and Bhavya's *Madhyamakahṛdayatarkajvālā* (*Daśabhūmika* and *Lokottaraparivarta*; Skilling & Saerji, 2013).

However, this does not imply that the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was not known in India. A colophon to the recently discovered Sanskrit manuscript of the *Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇodbhāvana*, one of the component texts of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, proves that something known as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Vaipulyapiṭaka* existed as a collection already in the Indian subcontinent, and thus the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is not an East Asian innovation. The colophon states the following:

> From the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, a/the *Vaipulyapiṭaka*, the seventeenth Mahāyānasūtra, "The proclamation of virtues of the infinite Tathāgatas' buddha-fields (*Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇodbhāvana*)" by name, is complete. (Tseng, 2010, 585n2)

Moreover, the colophon of a manuscript of the text appended to the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the *Samantabhadracaryānirdeśaparivarta*, reads as follows: "The *Samantabhadracaryānirdeśaparivarta*, 30th [in numerals 31st] portion of the 100,000 [*śloka*] book of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Mahāvaipulyasūtra*, is complete" (Hori, 2012, 21n25; Matsuda, 1988, 18–19; as Matsuda notes, the text in question corresponds to the ch. 31 in the 60-fasc. Chinese translation). It is thus plausible that some form of a larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* did indeed already exist in India, although its extent need not overlap precisely with the Chinese or Tibetan sources.

The role of Central Asia is very important in the spread of the *sūtra* eastward. The appearance of the images of Vairocana, the cosmic buddha, especially his representation with the *dharmadhātu* (cosmic sphere; Sorensen, 2004) might indicate that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was popular in Central Asia. In addition, the Sanskrit manuscripts of both Chinese translations of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* are said to have been brought to China from Khotan. In reconstructing the process of genesis of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the *sūtra* entitled *Fo shuo pusa benye jing* (佛說菩薩本業經; The Fundamental Activity of a Bodhisattva as Related by the Buddha; T. 281), translated by Zhi Qian (支謙) between 222 and 228 CE, might play an important role (Sakamoto Yukio, 1956; Nattier, 2005). The antecedents of several chapters in the 60-fascicle larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* can be discerned in the work, namely, the *Rulai*

minghao pin; (The Names
in T. 278), *Rulai guangming*
through the Light; ch. 5 of T.
Practice; ch. 7 of T. 278),
Ascent of Buddha to the
ch. 9 of T. 278), *Pusa*
shuojie pin; (The
the Palace of the Glorious
ch. 10 of T. 278), and *Pusa*
of the Bodhisattvas; ch. 11
lators of the larger
bhadra and Śikṣānanda –
this scripture, adopting
bodhisattvas, even if they
Three other early
(佛說兜沙經; T. 280; said
Lokakṣema between 178
qiu fo benye jing (諸菩薩
Ask about the
dha; T. 282; attributed to
4th cents.), and the
薩十住行道品; Practices
Bodhisattvas; T. 283;
[265–309 CE]), can be
that corresponds to the
On the basis of a
and vocabulary of the
ing texts (T. 280, 282,
however, that the
jing and *Zhupusa qiu fo*
identified; the entire
attributed to Lokakṣema
structed text must be a
Fo shuo pusa benye jing
had been broken into
sion. This scripture
be called a proto-
Buddhāvataṃsaka

Sanskrit Texts

No Sanskrit version of a
has survived, but its
by the second
Zhiyan (智儼; 602–668
had seen the Sanskrit
(大慈恩) Monastery,
titles in Chinese
Zhiyan explicitly
[XLV] 588a14–18), must
tral Asia, since in this
in the Indian

āpraṇidhāna, and Śraddhā-
ne author's *Madhyamakāloka*
ottaraparivarta, and *Gaṇḍa-*
Madhyamakahṛdayatarkajvālā
Lokottaraparivarta; Skilling &

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abuddhakṣetraguṇodbhāvana,
onent texts of the larger
roves that something known
nsaka Vaipulyapiṭaka existed
ly in the Indian subcontinent,
vataṃsaka is not an East Asian
phon states the following:

> *aṃsaka*, a/the *Vaipulyapiṭaka*,
> hāyānasūtra, "The proclama-
> infinite Tathāgatas' buddha-
> *hakṣetraguṇodbhāvana*)" by
> Tseng, 2010, 585n2)

hon of a manuscript of the
end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the
nirdeśaparivarta, reads as fol-
bhadracaryānirdeśaparivarta,
] portion of the 100,000 [*śloka*]
taṃsaka Mahāvaipulyasūtra,
2012, 21n25; Matsuda, 1988,
es, the text in question corre-
the 60-fasc. Chinese transla-
ble that some form of a larger
indeed already exist in India,
ed not overlap precisely with
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va as Related by the Buddha;
hi Qian (支謙) between 222
an important role (Sakamoto
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minghao pin; (The Names of the Tathāgata; ch. 3 in T. 278), *Rulai guangmingjue pin* (Enlightenment through the Light; ch. 5 of T. 278), *Jingxing pin*; Pure Practice; ch. 7 of T. 278), *Fo sheng Xumiding pin*; (The Ascent of Buddha to the Peak of Mount Sumeru; ch. 9 of T. 278), *Pusa yunji miaosheng dianshang shuojie pin*; (The Bodhisattvas Gather as Clouds in the Palace of the Glorious Victory and Recite Poems; ch. 10 of T. 278), and *Pusa shizhu pin*; (The Ten Abodes of the Bodhisattvas; ch. 11 of T. 278). The later translators of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* – Buddhabhadra and Śikṣānanda – seem to have consulted this scripture, adopting some translations of names of bodhisattvas, even if they may have been erroneous. Three other early translations, the *Fo shuo dousha jing* (佛說兜沙經; T. 280; said to have been translated by Lokakṣema between 178 and 189 CE), the *Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing* (諸菩薩求佛本業經; Bodhisattvas Ask about the Fundamental Activity of the Buddha; T. 282; attributed to Nie Daozhen, late 3rd-early 4th cents.), and the *Pusa shizhu xingdao pin* (菩薩十住行道品; Practices of the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattvas; T. 283; attributed to Dharmarakṣa [265–309 CE]), can be fitted together to make a text that corresponds to the *Fo shuo pusa benye jing*. On the basis of a comparative study of the style and vocabulary of the three partially corresponding texts (T. 280, 282, 283), it can be determined, however, that the translators of the *Fo shuo dousha jing* and *Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing* were mistakenly identified; the entire reconstructed text should be attributed to Lokakṣema (Nattier, 2005). This reconstructed text must be a second recension of the *Fo shuo pusa benye jing* translated by Zhi Qian, which had been broken into three parts during transmission. This scripture preserved in two recensions can be called a proto- *Buddhāvataṃsaka* or a smaller *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Nattier, 2007).

Sanskrit Texts

No Sanskrit version of a complete *Buddhāvataṃsaka* has survived, but its former existence is attested by the second patriarch of the Huayan school, Zhiyan (智儼; 602–668 CE), who reported that he had seen the Sanskrit manuscript in the Dacien (大慈恩) Monastery, and who recorded its chapter titles in Chinese translation. This manuscript, which Zhiyan explicitly indicates was on paper (T. 1870 [XLV] 588a14–18), must have been written in Central Asia, since in this period, paper was unknown in the Indian subcontinent (Hori, 2012, 20n24). Several portions of the larger text are extant in Sanskrit, the most well-known of which are the *Daśabhūmika* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The Sanskrit prose text of the *Daśabhūmika* was first edited by J. Rahder (1926) and the verse section together with S. Susa (Rahder & Susa, 1931–1932). A better edition is the one by Kondō (1936), although it too is far from perfect (Yuyama, 1996, 269). The *Gaṇḍavyūha* was published by D.T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (1934), and a new edition of the beginning of the text, consulting a number of manuscripts and collating the Tibetan and three Chinese translations, was published by Tamura Chijun (2006). L.O. Gómez published a critical edition of some verses from the *Nidānaparivarta* and *Samantagambīraśrīvimalaprabhā* section of *Gaṇḍavyūha* based on four Sanskrit manuscripts, the two Sanskrit editions, and the Peking and Lhasa Kanjurs (Gómez, 1967). Additional fragmentary Sanskrit materials have been published, for instance by S. Hori (2002; 2012), belonging to chapter 2 of the 60-fascicle version and corresponding to chapters 2, 3, and 4 in the 80-fascicle and Tibetan versions. Extremely useful for the study of this text is the careful collation table of versions in Sanada Ariyoshi (1959).

Some *Gaṇḍavyūha* fragments' folio numbering indicates that they belonged to larger sets, but it cannot be certain that this implies the existence of a complete *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Hori, 2012, 20). For instance, the aforementioned *Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇodbhāvana* is found as one of 20 texts in a fragmentary manuscript located in the Potala Palace, Lhasa (Tseng, 2010, 557–593); the other 19 texts are not related to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. This text is the chapter Life Span in the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (ch. 26 of the 60-fasc. Chinese version, *Shouming pin* [壽命品]; ch. 31 of the 80-fasc. version, *Shouliang pin* [壽量品]; and ch. 37 of the Tibetan version, *Tshe'i tshad*). Two freestanding Chinese translations also exist, *Xian wubian fotu gongde jing* (顯無邊佛土功德經; T. 289) and *Fo shuo jiaoliang yiqie fosha gongde jing* (佛說較量一切佛刹功德經; T. 290), as do two freestanding Tibetan translations, *De bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi sangs rgyas gi yon tan brjod pa'i rnam grangs* (D 104/P 772) and *Bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyal po'i mdo* (D 268/P 934).

The Sanskrit *Daśabhūmika* is translated into English by M. Honda (1968) and into modern Japanese by N. Aramaki (1974), who used Kondō's edition but translated it in an extremely interpretive manner making cross-references to the source text often very challenging. Some verses of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* are translated into English by L.O. Gómez (1967), while the whole text is translated into modern Japanese by Y. Kajiyama *et al.* (1994). It is important to note that the impact of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is not by any means limited to textual materials. Most strikingly, the narrative of the *sūtra* provides the basis for the reliefs that adorn the Javanese monument of Borobudur.

The Larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*

The 60-Fascicle Version

Our information on the first complete Sanskrit manuscript is associated with Zhi Faling (支法領), who is said to have traveled to Khotan (Yutian [于闐]; present-day Hetian Xian [和田縣]) in order to obtain a manuscript of this *sūtra*. The Khotanese people must have credited this scripture with some kind of special power as they refused to give this work to foreigners. Finally, Zhi Faling was able to persuade the king of Khotan to grant him a copy of this scripture, and thus he took a Sanskrit version of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, which consisted of 36,000 *ślokas* (Chn. *jie* [偈]) to the Chinese capital Chang'an. He went to Jiankang (建康), where he met the Kashmirian monk Buddhabhadra and asked him to translate the *sūtra*. On Apr 30, 418 CE, he began the work and completed it on Jul 6, 420. High-ranking officials provided financial support for the work. This translation, titled *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* (大方廣佛華嚴經), originally consisted of 50 fascicles, but by the start of the Tang period (618–907 CE), it was called the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing* (T. 278). Divākara (known as Rizhao [日照]), an Indian who arrived in the Chinese capital in 680 CE, brought with him the Sanskrit manuscript of the last chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Using his Sanskrit manuscripts and eight others, he compared the Sanskrit texts with the translation by Buddhabhadra. He found that Buddhabhadra's version is incomplete, and several sections are missing. The missing parts were translated, and the last chapter was spread independently during the Tang dynasty (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing rufajie pin*; 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品; T. 295). These parts were incorporated into the 60-fascicle translation in the Song period (T. 278 [IX] 765a3–767b28, 783b28–c15; on this 60-fascicle version, see Park, 2014; for a German translation, see Doi, 1978–1983).

The 80-Fascicle Version

The Sanskrit manuscript on which the second Chinese translation (T. 279) was based was also taken from Khotan by order of Empress Wu Zetian (武則天; 623/625–705 CE), a fervent supporter of Buddhism and especially of the Huayan school. Śikṣānanda brought the scripture to China and later settled in the eastern capital, Luoyang, where he began translating it. This Sanskrit manuscript was longer than the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing* by 9,000 *ślokas* and consisted of a total of 45,000 *ślokas*. The work commenced on May 1, 695, and was completed on Sep 6, 699, with a foreword written by the empress herself. This version has been translated into English in its entirety by T. Cleary (1984–1987). The chapter *Rulai chuxian pin* (如來出現品; Manifestation of the Tathāgata) of the 80-fascicle version was translated separately (Chien, 1993); the same chapter was translated from the Tibetan version into Japanese (Takasaki, 1975). Traditionally, the Chinese 80-fascicle version was translated into Tangut, Uighur, and Manchu languages, while the Tibetan version was translated into Mongolian.

The 40-Fascicle Version

The king of the southern Indian state of Oḍḍiyāna sent a Sanskrit manuscript that became the basis for the 40-fascicle *Huayan jing* to Emperor Dezong (德宗; r. 779–805 CE), which Prajña (744–810[?] CE) translated into Chinese (*Dafangguang fohuayan jing* [大方廣佛華嚴經]; T. 293). Prajña began the translation on Jul 13, 796, and completed it on Mar 16, 798. He was assisted by the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, Chengguan (澄觀; 738–839 CE). This version contains all the parts that are missing from the last chapter of the 60- and 80-fascicle recensions.

Of particular interest in this regard is the last fascicle, which includes the *Puxian guangdayuanwang qingjing jie* (普賢廣大願王清淨偈; The Vow of Samantabhadra; Skt. *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*). This text was first translated by Buddhabhadra as a separate work under the title *Wenshu shili fayuan jing* (文殊師利發願經; T. 296) and is shorter than later translations (44 verses in contrast to 62 of the other versions). The second translation was prepared by the famous tantric master Amoghavajra (705–774 CE) under the title *Puxian pusa xingyuan zan* (普賢菩薩行願贊; T. 297). The Sanskrit text has 62 verses and has attracted the attention of scholars from very early on (Watanabe Kaigyoku, 1912; Shiraishi, 1962). The text is also available in Khotanese (Asmussen, 1961) and was likewise translated into Uighur (Ishihama Juntarō, 1950). A recent discovery at the Kongōji (金剛寺) in Japan is of a phonetic transcription of the text in Sanskrit written in Chinese

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The Tibetan Translation

The Tibetan translation, titled *Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*, was prepared in the first quarter of the 9th century by two Indian masters, Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi, as well as the Tibetan master Ye shes sde. The colophon of the Derge edition mentions two lines of tradition of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*: one is the Chinese, the other the Indian.

In the Chinese line of tradition, the teaching was transmitted from the Buddha to Mañjuśrī and then on to Nāgārjuna. Buddhabhadra (Paṇḍita Byang chub bzang po) and Śikṣānanda (Paṇḍita Dga' ba) subsequently translated it into Chinese. The text was later passed on by the Chinese Thu thu zhun hwa shang, and then Dbus pa blo gsal Sangs rgyas 'bum, a 13th-century scholar and polymath of the snar thang tradition of the Bka' gdams tradition, obtained the teaching from the Chinese Gying ju hwa shang.

The Indian line of tradition is as follows: from the Buddha to Nāgārjuna, then to Āryadeva, and later to 'Jam dpal grags pa (Mañjuśrīkīrti), who is said to have been the eighth king of Shambala and the second Panchen Lama. The teaching was received by a contemporary of Milarepa's (1040–1123), Bari lo tsaba (1040–1111), the second throne holder of the Sakya tradition, from Rdo rje gdan pa, and later by the great Sakya master Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158) from Mchims brtson seng, who was Bari lo tsaba's disciple. According to the tradition, there must have been a Tibetan translation of the Chinese version, but if it actually existed, it has not survived.

The number of chapters of the three versions of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* differs: the 60-fascicle Chinese version consists of 34 chapters, the 80-fascicle Chinese translation contains 39, and the Tibetan translation has 45. There are two reasons for this discrepancy. First, new chapters were added to the later versions. The *Ten Concentrations* chapter can only be found in the 80-fascicle (*shiding pin* [十定品]) and Tibetan texts (*ting nge 'dzin bcu*), while chapter 11 of the Tibetan translation, *The Garlands of Tathāgata* (*de bzhin gshegs pa phal po che*), and chapter 32, *The Speech by Samantabhadra* (*kun tu bzang pos bstan pa*), are found only in the Tibetan version. Second, the text is divided into chapters in different ways, and thus the chapter titles also differ. Chapter 2 of the 60-fascicle Chinese text, *Vairocana Buddha* (*lushena fo pin* [盧舍那佛品]), for instance, is divided into five separate chapters in the 80-fascicle version, whereas into nine in the Tibetan version.

Independently Circulated Scriptures of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*

Before the compilation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, some chapters were translated as independent *sūtras*, and these can shed some light on the formation of the larger version. As mentioned above, the two versions of the *sūtra* entitled *Fo shuo pusa benye jing* could be an intermediate stage of the formation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. In terms of textual history, the *Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* (佛說如來興顯經; The Appearance of Tathāgata as Related by the Buddha; **Tathāgatotapattisaṃbhavanirdeśa*), translated by Dharmarakṣa in 292 CE, reveals some features of the process. According to the title, it should correspond to the chapters *Baowangrulai xingqi pin* (寶王如來性起品; ch. 32) of the 60-fascicle version, *Rulai chuxian pin* (如來出現品; ch. 37) of the 80-fascicle version and *De bzhin gshegs pa skye ba 'byung ba bstan pa* (ch. 43) of the Tibetan version. However, the second half of Dharmarakṣa's translation corresponds to the chapter *Shiren pin* (十忍品; Ten Acceptances; ch. 24 of the 60-fasc. version; ch. 29 of the 80-fasc. version; ch. 35 of the Tibetan version), which precedes the chapter *Rulai chuxian pin* (如來出現品; Manifestation of Tathāgata), and several other chapters are inserted between them. This chapter must have been quite popular during the Tang dynasty, as the version of the the 60-fascicle *sūtra* was cirulated as an independent scripture under the title *Dafangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* (大方廣如來性起微密藏經; Kimura, 1999). The importance of the *Daśabhūmika* is demonstrated by the fact that, before and after the appearance of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, it was translated several times. Dharmarakṣa translated it under the title *Jianbei yiqie zhi de jing* (漸備一切智德經; Gradually Obtaining the Virtue of Omniscience; T. 285) in 297 CE, and Śīladharma translated it in 799

CE under the title *Foshuo shidi jing* (佛說十地經; The Ten Stages; T. 287). Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas translated it under the title *Shizhu jing* (十住經; The Ten Abodes; T. 286).

Among the texts that were independently circulated, some scriptures do not correspond to any of the extant portions of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* but are associated with its content, and the Chinese catalogues arranged them under the rubric of Huayan-related scripture. Fazang wrote that two *sūtra*s had originally been found in the Sanskrit version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, but the Chinese translations did not include them as they lacked their own chapter titles. One of them, the *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviṣayāvatāranirdeśa* has three Chinese translations, *Du zhufo jingjie zhiguangyan jing* (度諸佛境界智光嚴經; T. 302; trans. unknown), *Fo huayan ru rulai de zhi busiyi jingjie jing* (佛華嚴入如來德智不思議境界經; T. 303; translated by Jñānagupta between 581 and 601 CE), and *Dafangguang ru rulai zhi de busiyi jing* (大方廣入如來智德不思議經; T. 304; translated by Śikṣānanda between 652 and 710 CE), and one Tibetan translation, *De bzhin gshegs pa'i yon tan dang ye shes bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i yul la 'jug pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (D 185/P 852) by Jñānagarbha and Ye shes sde. The other scripture, *Da fangguang fo huayan jing xiuci fen* (大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分; Section on the Cultivation of Loving Kindness of the *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaipulyasūtra*; T. 306), was translated by the Khotanese monk *Devendraprajña (提雲般若) in 691 CE. An earlier recension of this *sūtra*, *Maitrībhāvanāprakaraṇa*, was preserved as chapter 3 of the indigenous Khotanese Buddhist work the *Book of Zambasta*, dated to the mid-5th century CE (Duan, 2007; Martini, 2011). However, Fazang noted that the *Śraddhābalādhānāvatāramudrā*, translated into Chinese by Dharmaruci in 504 CE as *Xinli ruyin famen jing* (信力入印法門經; T. 305) and into Tibetan as *Dad pa'i stobs bskyed pa la 'jug pa'i phyag rgya zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (P 867) by Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde, was not found in the Sanskrit version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

Commentaries

No Indian commentary to any version of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* collection has survived, nor is it certain whether one ever existed. Two Indian commentaries relevant to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* have been preserved, however, although both discuss only one chapter of the *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika*. The first is the **Daśabhūmivibhāṣā* (*Shizhu piposha lun*; 十住毗婆沙論; T. 1521), which, according to tradition, was written by Nāgārjuna and which comments on the first two of the ten stages. The second is the **Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (*'Phags pa sa bcu'i rnam par bshad pa*; D 3993/ P 5494; *Shidi jing lun* [十地經論]; T. 1522), which is attributed to Vasubandhu (400–480 CE) and which expounds on the entire *sūtra*. A subcommentary on the latter is Sūryasiddhi's *Daśabhūmivyākhyānavyākhyāna* (D 3998/ P 5499). An additional short commentary preserved only in Tibetan is the *'Phags pa sa bcu'i mdo sde'i gleng gzhi'i bshad pa* (D 3999/P 5500). The text appended to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, has been subject to a large number of commentaries (D 4011–4015/P 5512–5516).

The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* was a very influential text in East Asian Buddhism. A Buddhist school was established that regarded this *sūtra* as the highest teaching of the Buddha. This school was called Huayan (華嚴) in China, Hwaŏm in Korea, and Kegon in Japan. The scholar-monks of this school wrote a great deal of exegetical works on this *sūtra* that explained the text sentence by sentence or summarized its central concepts in treatises. Here, only those seminal works that explain the text sentence by sentence are mentioned. The second patriarch of the Huayan school, Zhiyan (智儼; 602–668), who proposed several new tenets based on his understanding of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, wrote his commentary on the 60-fascicle Chinese translation, the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* (大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌; The Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃasaka-sūtra: A System for Plumbing Its Mysteries and a Model for Its Thorough Understanding T. 1732). The third patriarch, Fazang (法藏; 643–712), the de facto founder of the school who formulated the system of Huayan thought, authored a commentary on the 60-fascicle translation, the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (華嚴經探玄記; Exploring the Mysteries of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra; T. 1733). He also assisted the second translation of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* and started to write his commentary on the 80-fascicle but died before he could complete it. His disciple, Huiyuan (慧苑; 673–743), finished his work; it has been preserved only partly under the title *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* (續華嚴經略疏刊定記; A Record of Editorial Decisions Made in Continuing [Fazang's] Short Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra; vol. III, no. 221). This commentary includes some references to the original Sanskrit words of the *sūtra*. The lay

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hermit Li Tongxuan (李通玄; 635–730) wrote a commentary on the 80-fascicle version, the *Xin Huayan jing lun* (新華嚴經論; A Commentary on the New Avataṃsaka-sūtra; T. 1739), which contains many innovative concepts on the meaning of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*. The fifth patriarch, Chengguan (澄觀; 738–839), was called the commentator (*shuzhu* [疏主]), as his main works are his commentary on the 80-fascicle translation, the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* (大方廣佛華嚴經疏 ; A Commentary on the Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra; T. 1735), and the subcommentary, the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔; A Record of the Explanation on the Meaning of the Commentary on the Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra; T. 1736). These two works, which include references to more than three hundred Buddhist and non-Buddhist works, became the authoritative commentaries on the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* in East Asia.

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Imre Hamar

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IMRE HAMAR

Dhāraṇī Sūtras

Dhāraṇī literature is one of the least-studied streams of Buddhist scriptural traditions. While the meaning of *dhāraṇī* is complex and context sensitive, those texts called *dhāraṇī* scriptures can be defined in most cases as works centered on a *dhāraṇī* spell. This diverse body of incantation literature has existed for some two millennia, and practices related to it have been popular and widespread up to the present time. Although several *dhāraṇī* scriptures and numerous individual *dhāraṇī* spells survive in Central, East, and Southeast Asia in Sanskrit, the present article deals mainly with *dhāraṇī* literature in its native South Asian contexts. Our sources have been preserved almost exclusively in Sanskrit manuscripts, and finds of *dhāraṇī* inscriptions have been rare on the subcontinent.

The Definitions of *Dhāraṇī*

Dhāraṇī is an exclusively Buddhist term, the primary literary meaning of which is not completely clear. In the extended sense, *dhāraṇī* has most often been interpreted as "spell." However, its semantic range is wider than the sphere of incantations, with a further principal interpretation as "memory" or "mnemonic device." Especially in earlier sources, *dhāraṇī* was a mnemonics-related term in most cases, a use that appears to have faded away with the course of time. At least synchronically speaking, *dhāraṇī* is decidedly polysemic and context sensitive (Davidson, 2009). In the present literary context, the "spell" interpretation of *dhāraṇī* as used here describes a reasonably distinct scriptural body. However, *dhāraṇī* is often appositional or interchangeable with two other closely related words – mantra and *vidyā*, which also refer to a spell.

The Definitions of *Dhāraṇī* Scripture

To determine the scope of *dhāraṇī* scripture, it is helpful to look for clarifications in the Chinese context. Here we find that within this category fall "those Buddhist texts that center on the presentation and means to actualize the incantations known as *dhāraṇī*s" (Copp, 2011, 176). This definition seems to be valid for South Asia as well and, recalling the fluidity of the usage of *dhāraṇī*, mantra, and *vidyā*, we find that *dhāraṇī* texts inevitably belong to a larger class of what may be labeled Buddhist spell or incantation literature. Simultaneously, there is no uniform name for pieces of *dhāraṇī* literature in South Asia: some are called *dhāraṇī*; others are called *sūtra* (exposition), *vidyā* (spell), *kalpa* (ritual manual), or *pratyaṅgirā* (countermagic). Often, more than one of the previously mentioned words are used in a particular title, and sometimes *rāja*/*rājñī* (king/queen) is appended to the whole heading to express higher rank and authority. Occasionally, a single text can be referred to by various titles – a phenomenon quite common in South Asia. Thus, *dhāraṇī* literature is a heterogeneous body with respect to titles, and we have to classify a wider range of scriptures of various designation under the umbrella of *dhāraṇī*. *Dhāraṇī* texts vary in length and degree of compositeness. Such scriptures stretch from a few dozen lines to several hundred, written in prose or prosimetric style and may contain elements such as a frame story, *dhāraṇī*(s)/mantra(s)/*vidyā*(s), narrative(s), list(s) of benefits or other components, and instruction(s) for use.

The Language of *Dhāraṇī*s

Dhāraṇī spells are regarded as uttered by the Buddha in the majority of cases. They have a special prose language sharing many features with mantras. A main difference between the two appears to be quantitative: *dhāraṇī*s are usually longer than mantras. These incantations are mostly divided into smaller sections (*pada*) that may contain salutations, invocations, or supplications; vocatives predominantly in the feminine; short sentences with imperatives; various mantras or mantric formulas; distinctive and intensifying alliterations; exhaustions and augmentations; and further miscellaneous sections, which sometimes convey onomatopoeia or musicality (Castro-Sanchez, 2011, 70–75). It is a key characteristic of these spells as found in our manuscript evidence that they are often personalized,

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with the donor's or beneficiary's name inserted into them at particular points. The language of *dhāraṇīs* includes both meaningful and meaningless contents. Setting aside seed syllables (*bīja*), which are at least lexically plainly unintelligible (*āḥ*, *hrīḥ*, *phaṭ*, etc.), the occurrence of such, apparently meaningless, words (*mili mili*, *culu culu*, and the like) has raised the possibility that some may be connected to non-Sanskritic traditions, by the influence of which features of the Dravidian language family entered these otherwise linguistically Indo-European Buddhist incantations (Bernhard, 1967).

The Origins of *Dhāraṇī* Literature

The earliest material evidence for the presence of Buddhist spells in South Asia dates to the 1st century CE; Gandharan manuscript fragments of an incantation (*vidyā*) expounded by the *nāga* king Manasvin have been recently discovered (Strauch, 2014). There are a number of further, seemingly early sources that may help to cast more light on the beginnings of Buddhist spell practice and literature: references to the employment of mantras are present, for example, in various Vinayas, and *dhāraṇīs* are included in the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*) and the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (Davidson, 2009, 2014a). Probably the earliest *dhāraṇī* text in Chinese translation comes from the late 2nd century (Harrison & Coblin, 1999). While we can only speculate about the period before the 1st century CE, the rise of *dhāraṇī* literature cannot be separated from another closely related phenomenon within Buddhism, namely, providing both spiritual and worldly protection (Skt. *paritrā*; Pal. *paritta*; or Skt. *rakṣā*; Pal. *rakkhā*) by various means. Pali *paritta* collections have been in use up to the present time in Theravāda lands, and texts of other mainstream Buddhist schools related to magical practices are also likely to have once been grouped together, as there are references to a *Dhāraṇīpiṭaka* or *Mantrapiṭaka* of the Dharmaguptakas and Mahāsāṃghikas, and a *Vidyādharapiṭaka* of the Mahāsāṃghikas in some sources (Skilling, 1992, 114–115), although recent research suggests that these may have been imaginary containers (Davidson, 2014b). The ancient roots of *dhāraṇīs* are still obscure; their emergence may partly be connected to indigenous mantric lore that found its way first to the *Atharvaveda* and then to both early Brahmanic and Buddhist spell literatures.

The Affiliations of *Dhāraṇī* Literature

The establishment of a conclusive classification for this literature has posed problems since the beginning of modern Buddhist Studies in the 1840s, as it is not completely straightforward how *dhāraṇī* scriptures should be positioned in the history of South Asian Buddhism. A fundamental difficulty concerns the loose boundaries separating various types of apotropaic cultures, namely, the protective recitation of certain *suttas*/*sūtras*, including *paritta* (safeguard), *mahāsūtra* (great *sūtra*), *svastigāthā* (verse of welfare), and *rakṣā* (protection) (Skilling, 1992), and the employment of specific magical formulas, *vidyā*, mantra, and *dhāraṇī*. This situation is further complicated by the prevailing problem that, in the course of time, the position of such practices, especially that of *dhāraṇīs*, appears to have been fluid, as they were adopted by different streams of Buddhism. Such variations seem to be reflected in a number of *dhāraṇī* manuscript colophons, which sometimes do refer to Mahāyāna and in a few instances also have tantric allusions (Hidas, 2012, 77–87). It is noteworthy that except in colophons, Mahāyāna is rarely mentioned, and there is little that could be described as Mahāyāna in many of these scriptures. From a general point of view, it appears then that the use of texts and formulas for magical-ritualistic purposes has been present in a wide variety of Buddhist texts. With the exception of the Theravāda, which does not embrace explicit magical means at least at the canonical level, there is evidence for the use of incantations in some mainstream schools: Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, and Mahāsāṃghika (Skilling, 1992). Actual *dhāraṇīs*, however, appear to have risen to preeminence in a Mahāyāna context. *Dhāraṇīs* gained further palpable popularity within tantric Buddhism, and were later classified by theorists in the *kriyātantra* (ritual tantra) category (Dalton, 2005), although this assignment is to a certain extent artificial and automatic. It seems that *dhāraṇī* practices contributed to the rise of Tantrism and that they represent the earliest form of esoteric Buddhism. The classification of *dhāraṇī* scriptures as *sūtra* or *tantra* is much varied and sometimes controversial within Tibetan and Chinese textual systems, showing that the positioning of these scriptures was problematic in earlier times as well.

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Dhāraṇī Manuscripts

Dhāraṇī scriptures survive in manuscript form in South Asia, though most remain unpublished. The birchbark, palm-leaf, and paper codices originate almost exclusively from the northern parts of the subcontinent, most being preserved in Nepal. On the basis of catalogues, their number can be estimated to be over 1,300. The most common single category, of more than 300, transmits the *Pañcarakṣā* (Five Protections) collection, and numerous codices contain the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (*Dhāraṇī* Collection) and *Saptavāra* (Seven Days) compendiums. Among individual texts the *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra, Grahamātṛkādhāraṇī, Sitātapatrā/Mahāpratyaṅgirā* and *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* prominently outnumber all others.

Dhāraṇī Scriptures

The calculation of the number of *dhāraṇī* scriptures in South Asia is not without difficulties, as the number of surviving individual *dhāraṇīs* is several times greater than those *dhāraṇīs* with a specific associated scripture. It is not known whether these spells have actually circulated without such scriptures, or whether these texts have been lost in the original language in the course of time. A thorough comparison of surviving manuscripts with Chinese and Tibetan translations would throw more light on this question. The *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* refers to a fabulous "many-hundred-thousand-ten-million" *dhāraṇīs*, but there is solid evidence for the existence of more than 350 incantations in the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* collections. What may be called "actual" *dhāraṇī* scriptures amount to a much smaller number – about 30 survive in South Asia.

Before enumerating actual *dhāraṇī* scriptures, two further closely related groups should be mentioned. The first consists of texts that refer to *dhāraṇī* but do not include a *dhāraṇī* spell. These scriptures usually mention *dhāraṇī* in the context of mnemonics as part of the bodhisattva practice, and it is here that we have the highest degree of fluidity regarding the meaning of this word. Such texts include the *Daśabhūmika, Lalitavistara*, Prajñāpāramitā literature, *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, Samādhirāja, Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. In these scriptures, *dhāraṇī* does not seem to occur as an incantation but rather as a means of remembrance, understanding, and contemplation (Braarvig, 1985).

The second group consists of scriptures that do incorporate one or more *dhāraṇī* spells but are not centered on them. Such texts include the *Gaṇḍavyūha, Kāraṇḍavyūha, Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, Laṅkāvatāra, Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, Prajñāpāramitā literature, *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Sarvadurgatipariśodhana, Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, and *Suvarṇabhāsottama*. In some cases, such as chapter 21 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or chapter 9 of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, it is not clear whether the *dhāraṇī* sections have been part of these scriptures from the earliest times or are later additions.

Texts centered on a *dhāraṇī* spell may be considered actual *dhāraṇī* scriptures. These focus on a specific incantation, its origins, benefits, and ways of employment. However, since there is considerable fluidity regarding the use of the terms *vidyā*, mantra, and *dhāraṇī*, the name of this group could perhaps be extended to "spell scriptures." Such scriptures include the *Amoghapāśa, Aparimitāyus, Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa, Dhvajāgrakeyūra, Ekādaśamukha, Gaṇapati, Grahamātṛkā, Hayagrīva, Hiraṇyavatī, Mahāmaṇivipulavimāna, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmāyūrī, Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Mahāśītavatī, Mārīcī, Megha, Mekhalā, Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā/Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī, Parṇaśavarī/Prajñāpāramitā, Ratnaketu, Ṣaṇmukhī, Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna, Sitātapatrā/Mahāpratyaṅgirā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Vajravidāraṇī*, and *Vasudhārā*. It should be noted that some of these actual *dhāraṇī* scriptures – namely the *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa, Ekādaśamukha, Gaṇapati, Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, and *Vajravidāraṇī* – are available at the moment only in a concise form in South Asia, containing the essence (*hṛdaya*) of a longer text, said by tradition to have existed at some time in the (perhaps mythical) past.

There are also texts that bear most characteristics of an actual *dhāraṇī* scripture but do not contain spells. Such texts include the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* and the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*. Instead of an incantation, these scriptures incorporate various sorts of enumerations like vows or praises, which seem to have functions similar to those of the spells – namely it is claimed that their recitation, usually along with the whole scripture, brings about desired effects.

Some texts titled *dhāraṇī* do not bear the characteristics of an actual *dhāraṇī* scripture. These include the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī/Nirvikalpapraveśadhāraṇī* and the unpublished *Bhīmasenadhāraṇī* (e.g. Cambridge Ms. Add. 1359).

Lastly, another group of texts consists of ancillary works connected to various *dhāraṇī* traditions.

These include texts called *vidhi* (manual), *stotra* (praise), and *sādhana* (worship). Many of these works are related to the phase in South Asian Buddhism in which these spells had already been deified (see below).

A Brief Description of *Dhāraṇī* Scriptures

The settings and key characters of *dhāraṇī* scriptures vary considerably from mundane to celestial and show the striking comprehensiveness of this genre. There are several pieces of *dhāraṇī* literature in which the place of teaching is a historical North Indian city and the protagonists are prominent followers of the Buddha. The *Gaṇapatihṛdaya* is taught by the Buddha to his closest disciple Ānanda in Rājagṛha. Beside the spell essence (*hṛdaya*), this text contains details of benefits and ritual instructions. The *Mahāmantrānusāriṇīsūtra* has come down to us in manuscripts preserving two different places of teaching: one in Vaiśālī and the other in Rājagṛha. The lord gives instructions to Ānanda to go to Vaiśālī hit by a devastating earthquake and storm and save the city from the resulting calamities by the recitation of various spells and verses. The *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* is taught by the lord in Rājagṛha. This scripture is another account of the alleviation of calamities in Vaiśālī. Besides the Buddha, the main characters are the guardian deities of the directions called the Four Great Kings who offer protection. This text consists of *dhāraṇīs*, verses, various lists of deities, *yakṣas* and mountains, enumerations of benefits, and a number of ritual instructions in its latter part. The *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī* is expounded by the Buddha in Śrāvastī, where Ānanda requests him to provide help for a monk suffering from a snakebite. What follows is an extensive teaching including various spells, long lists of malevolent beings, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, herbs, rivers, mountains, constellations, *ṛṣis*, poisons, trees, and ritual instructions at the end. The *Mekhalādhāraṇī* is taught by the lord to Ānanda in Kapilavastu after his son Rāhula informs him about being disturbed by malevolent *rākṣasīs*. This fragmentary scripture contains some spells, references to benefits, and brief ritual instructions. The *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣadhāraṇī* is likely to be an extract of a longer version in its surviving form. It appears to have been explicated by the Buddha to Ānanda and consists of a spell section followed by a list of benefits. The *dhāraṇī* is prescribed to be copied and deposited in a *caitya* and to be worshipped thereafter. The *Mahāśītavatī* is taught by the lord to Rāhula in Rājagṛha. It provides protection from *graha* demons and all sorts of further dangers. This scripture includes a *dhāraṇī*, lists of benefits, and instructions for use. The *Mārīcīdhāraṇī* is revealed by the Buddha to an assembly of monks in Śrāvastī. It expounds the *dhāraṇī* of the goddess Mārīcī, including an enumeration of dangers from which protection is provided. The *Ratnaketuparivarta* or *Mahāsaṃnipātaratnaketudhāraṇīsūtra* is taught by the lord in Rājagṛha. It is a long and complex scripture that consists of many chapters and includes various spells and astrological references. It is composed around a story of Māra's resistance against the Tathāgata. The *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* is expounded by the Buddha in Kauśāmbī. A layman called Sucandra requests a sermon from the lord so that beings may become prosperous. Then the Buddha teaches this *dhāraṇī* along with enumerations of benefits and ritual instructions for use. Having received this spell, Sucandra turns wealthy. This scripture concludes with a conversation between the lord and Ānanda. It is notable that manuscripts of this text were preserved in a Jaina library as well (Jaini, 1968).

In another set of *dhāraṇī* scriptures the place of teaching or the main characters and in many cases both of these belong to celestial spheres. The *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* contains the spell of Aparimitāyus Buddha, and it is taught by the lord to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in Śrāvastī. Those who recite, copy, or worship this text are granted longevity and will be reborn in Aparimitāyus' buddha field. It is also stated that they will be reborn in Amitābha's blissful Sukhāvatī land. Further benefits include reverence by various buddhas and the attainment of the highest perfect awakening. The *Ekādaśamukhahṛdaya* is expounded by the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the presence of the lord in Śrāvastī. This spell provides ten main benefits and various further ones. There are some mantras listed connected to a ritual to be performed. The *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* consists of two parts (*kalpa*), and it is taught by the Buddha to the great god Brahmā on Mount Vajrameru. In an earlier version of this scripture the place of teaching is likely to have been the Gṛdhrakūṭa near Rājagṛha. The first and main part includes separate *dhāraṇī* and *mantrapada* sections, nine narratives, enumerations of benefits, and ritual instructions for the preparation of an amulet. The second part includes lists of further benefits, another *dhāraṇī*, and ritual instructions for healing and protection. The

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Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī contains the first part of the voluminous *Amoghapāśakalparāja*. The setting is Mount Potalaka, where the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara requests permission from the Buddha to recite this spell. As it is stated in various references, including 28 blessings, this incantation provides general protection and all sorts of benefits. After the *dhāraṇī* essence (*hṛdaya*), a number of ritual instructions are given. In the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra*, the place of teaching is again Mount Potalaka, where the lord dwells with an assembly of *bhikṣus*, bodhisattvas, and other beings. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī asks Avalokiteśvara to request a sermon from the Buddha for the benefit of all beings. This scripture includes a number of *dhāraṇīs* and *mantrapadas* along with instructions for use and lists of benefits. The *Ṣaṇmukhīdhāraṇī* is taught by the lord to an assembly of bodhisattvas above the prominent celestial Śuddhāvāsa world realm. This scripture consists of a list of benefits, a *dhāraṇī*, and brief instructions for use. A central benefit of the employment of this spell is promised to be the attainment of the highest perfect awakening. The *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* has been published from a Nepalese manuscript that contains only the *dhāraṇī* section. On the basis of unpublished Sanskrit witnesses this teaching is given by Amitāyus to Avalokiteśvara in the land of Sukhāvatī.

There is a case when the *dhāraṇī* is revealed to mythical beings in their own dwelling place. The *Meghasūtra* is taught by the Buddha in the mansion of two *nāga* kings, Nanda and Upananda, to an assembly including hundreds of *nāgas*. After worship, a *nāga* king requests a sermon from the lord so that the troubles of these mythical serpent beings may subside and they may provide enough precipitation. Then the Buddha teaches them the practice of friendliness and gives two *dhāraṇīs* and a list of names of tathāgatas to be recited. Following these sections, ritual instructions for rainmaking are disclosed.

In a few instances *dhāraṇī* scriptures are infused with some *vajra* flavor. In the *Grahamātṛkādhāraṇī*, the lord stays in Aḍakavatī, the mythical capital of *yakṣas*, with a great assembly. When the powerful deity Vajrapāṇi requests a sermon from the Buddha so that beings can be protected from *graha* demons, the lord teaches a *maṇḍala* ritual to worship the *grahas*, and a *dhāraṇī* is given thereafter. The *Vajravidāraṇānāmadhāraṇīhṛdayopahṛdayamūlasūtra* is taught by Vajrapāṇi in the presence of the Buddha among the people called *vajras*. This scripture includes a description of benefits and a spell section. Sometimes *dhāraṇīs* are taught to the highest-ranking gods. The *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī* is expounded by the Buddha in the abode of the Trāyastriṃśat gods. Their chief, Śakra requests a sermon from the lord after having been defeated by the *asuras*. Following the *dhāraṇī*, references to benefits and instructions for use are given. The *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā* or *Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinīdhāraṇī* is taught by the Buddha on Mount Svarṇaśṛṅga in the mansion of Vaiśravaṇa. The eminent deity Nārāyaṇa requests a sermon from the lord so that beings may become invincible in battle. Then the Buddha gives a *dhāraṇī* along with instructions for use, including the visualization of the personified "Queen of Spells" (*vidyārājñī*). The *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrāparājitāpratyaṅgirāmahāvidyārājñī* is expounded by the lord in the abode of the Trāyastriṃśat gods. This scripture includes spell sections, enumerations of benefits, and instructions for use.

Finally, a couple of *dhāraṇīs* survive without a setting or with no context specified. The *Parṇaśavarīdhāraṇī* is identical to the *Prajñāpāramitādhāraṇī*. The *Hayagrīvavidyā* is given without a frame story. It contains a spell and instructions for use. Only the latter portion of the *Hiraṇyavatīdhāraṇī* remains. The preserved folio with the colophon contains ritual instructions for the recollection of this spell which results in the appeasement of malevolent beings and the establishment of safeguard by various bodhisattvas and deities. The *Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparājadhāraṇī* survives only in fragmentary form. The preserved folios contain ritual instructions including the use of mantras and brief references to various benefits.

Dhāraṇī Collections

Some *dhāraṇī* scriptures and numerous *dhāraṇī* spells were incorporated into collections over the centuries. There are three influential compendiums in South Asia: *Pañcarakṣā*, *Saptavāra*, and *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*.

The *Pañcarakṣā* (Five Protections) consists of the *sMahāmantrānusāriṇī*, and *Mahāśītavatī*. The earliest evidence for texts grouped together as *gzungs chen po lnga la* (Five Great *Dhāraṇī*) comes from the Tibetan *Ldan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ma* catalogues around 800 CE, but this compendium is somewhat different from the surviving Sanskrit collection, which is preserved in manuscripts dating back to the 11th century (Skilling, 1992).

The *Saptavāra* (Seven Days) incorporates the *Vasudhārā*, *Vajravidāraṇā*, *Gaṇapatihṛdaya*, *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, *Parṇaśavarī/Prajñāpāramitā*, *Mārīcī*, and *Grahamātṛkā*. This collection associates each *dhāraṇī* with a specific day of the week, a tradition going back to at least the 16th century in Nepal (Bühnemann, 2014).

The number of magical texts included in the (*Bṛhad*)*dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*s ([Great] *Dhāraṇī* Collections) varies considerably, from a couple of pieces to more than 350. There seems to be a core of circa 150 texts present in all the longer compendia, however, their sequence is not completely fixed. The earliest witness of this tradition dates back to around the 13th century (Cambridge Ms. Add. 1680.8) and probably reflects a more ancient practice. Beside incantations from scriptures mentioned so far, titles in the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*s include the *Abhayaṃkarī*, *Cintāmaṇi*, *Cundā*, *Ekajaṭā*, *Hemāṅgā*, *Jambhala*, *Jāṅgulī*, *Jātismarā*, *Karṇajāpā*, *Kurukullā*, *Mūlavidyā*, *Nīlakaṇṭha*, *Ṣaḍakṣarī*, *Śākyamuni*, *Sahasrāvartā*, *Sarvapāpadahanī*, *Sarvarogapraśamanī*, *Siddhinikā*, *Trailokyavijayā*, and *Vajracarcikā* spells. This collection has not yet been published, but a list of texts present in various manuscripts is printed in S. Matsunami (1965, 287–349) and the formation of this genre is discussed in R.M. Davidson (2014b).

The Deification of *Dhāraṇī* Scriptures

Several *dhāraṇī* scriptures became personified or deified over the centuries. This process appears to have happened usually after the emergence of a certain scripture, although there are cases when references to a divine being are already present in the root text in its surviving form (e.g. *Mārīcīdhāraṇī*). In the majority of cases, the deity associated with a *dhāraṇī* text is female, although it appears that some of them were male initially. The origins of such personifications may be linked to those feminine vocatives in the *dhāraṇī* spells that address various female entities with a wide range of epithets. After deification, an intricate system of iconography emerged depicting these deities, and the worship of many of them is described in collections such as the *Sādhanamālā* or *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Simultaneously, it appears that in the course of time, various deities started to have *dhāraṇī*s related to them as recorded in various *dhāraṇī* collections. These include such important figures as Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Hevajra, Mahākāla, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Ratnasambhava, Tārā, Vajravārāhī, and Vajrayoginī.

Dhāraṇī Practice and Benefits

The ritual instruction parts of *dhāraṇī* scriptures outline the employment of spells in various ways. The main objective of the use of *dhāraṇī*s appears to be the establishment of protection, and this seems to be brought about primarily by recitation. Protection is promised from all sorts of conceivable threats: humans, nonhumans, *vetāla*s, *kākhorda* sorcery, demons, poison, weapons, sickness, fever, possession, epidemics, weakness, snakebite, spells, magical bonds, wizardry, fire, water, obstacles, great dangers, calamities, drought, floods, thunderbolt, dispute, bad dreams, bad rebirth, bad omens, bad constellations, physical defects, sorrow, the evil eye, royal power and punishment, thieves, robbers, armies, war, famine, earthquake, meteors, untimely death, insects, worms, wild animals, the loss of vital fluid, and so forth. Numerous *dhāraṇī*s promise purification from bad actions and sins committed in the past. At the same time, positively speaking one is also promised fertility, the birth of a son, rebirth as a male, recollection of former lives, prosperity, respect, happiness, beauty, fearlessness, longevity, full consciousness, good rebirth, the protection of the state, good crops, gain of supernatural powers, and so on. Diverse uses refer to the preparation of an amulet, the mounting of the *dhāraṇī* on a flagstaff, the preparation of an enchanted and knotted thread or five-colored twine, the copying of the text along with inserting the donor's name and then turning it into a book and keeping it as an apotropaic object, the use of a *caitya* image or an image of a deity, the performance of worship, the preparation of a *maṇḍala*, and the application of herbal ointments. *Dhāraṇī* practices primarily aim at worldly goals; occasionally, however, higher objectives including the understanding of all phenomena (dharma) or the attainment of awakening are also referred to. Certain *dhāraṇī* practices have some moral ambiguity: harming others (i.e. the enemy) by the use of spells are mentioned in several sources.

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Further Reading

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Dhāraṇīs Beyond South Asia

Both individual *dhāraṇīs* and complete *dhāraṇī* scriptures gained remarkable influence in Buddhist lands of Asia from the early centuries of the Common Era onwards. The incantations were usually adopted in the original Sanskrit, often transcribed phonetically into Chinese or Tibetan characters for example, and in East Asia many times the Indic Siddham script was used to represent the mantric syllables. The *sūtras* themselves were translated into local languages, sometimes rewritten and transformed. Starting perhaps with Central Asia, *dhāraṇīs* spread over almost all regions in the course of centuries and have remained in use up to the present in several places. The popularity of certain *dhāraṇī* texts beyond South Asia most likely reflects ancient Indian preferences as well – although this is at times difficult to determine because of the scarcity of evidence regarding native contexts. The use of incantations generally follows instructions present in the Sanskrit sources, with a main focus on recitation for various benefits, outlined earlier in this article. Some peculiar ritual uses, however, perhaps partly of local origins, include the employment of *dhāraṇīs* at funerary rites (Copp, 2014) and raising *dhāraṇī* pillars made of stone (Kuo, 2014).

Further Reading

Most of the primary sources referred to are available online in the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL) and the Digital Sanskrit Buddhist Canon (DSBC). Recent relevant studies, unmentioned above, include those by R.D. McBride (2005), U. Pagel (2007), P. Copp (2008), J. Silk (2008), K. Shinohara (2010; 2012; 2014a; 2014b), C.D. Orzech *et al.* (2011), G. Schopen (2012), G. Hidas (2013; 2014) and A. Griffiths (2014). The majority of these works cover areas outside South Asia. Numerous references to previous research are given by R.M. Davidson (2009) and P.M. Castro-Sanchez (2011), and a descriptive overview of publications dealing with this topic across Asia is provided online by P. Copp (2010). The iconography of several *dhāraṇī* deities has been discussed recently, for example, by M. Shaw (2006), G. Bühnemann (2006), G. Mevissen (2006; 2009), E. Allinger and G. Melzer (2010), and J. Kim (2013).

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GERGELY HIDAS

Laṅkāvatārasūtra

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is one of the most important scriptural sources for later Mahāyāna doctrine, presenting a combination of *śūnyatā* (emptiness), *tathāgatagarbha* (buddha embryo), and *ālayavijñāna* (storehouse consciousness) theories. It is generally considered to have been composed in a comparatively late phase of the compilation of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, not earlier than the 3rd century CE, and in any event after the formation of the corpus of Prajñāpāramitā *sūtra*s. Its exact dating, however, is controversial, due to the evident relation between the composition of the scripture and the lives and ideas of some of the most important Mahāyāna thinkers. The title *Laṅkāvatāra* is supposed to be understood as "[The Buddha's] Descent into Laṅkā." Sri Lanka is popularly believed to be the legendary Laṅkā; however, this is debated (see Kibe, 2011).

Textual Transmission

Modern Editions

In 1923, Nanjio Bunyiu published what remains the only full modern scholarly edition of the Sanskrit text, based on a mere five Sanskrit manuscripts but consulting three Chinese and one Tibetan translation. Jikido Takasaki produced a revised edition of the *Kṣaṇika* chapter in 1981, based on a mere five manuscripts. Gishin Tokiwa (2003) revised Nanjio Bunyiu's text on the basis of Guṇabhadra's translation (see below).

Manuscripts and Recensions

Many Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are known, although this does not necessarily equate to a broad textual basis since most of them are probably related to one another. Photographs of at least 20 different Nepalese Sanskrit paper manuscripts, copied between the 17th and 19th centuries, are preserved by the Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project collection, approximately 13 of which are complete or almost so. Five manuscripts, originally collected by Ekai Kawaguchi, a Japanese monk famed for his journeys to Nepal and Tibet in the early 20th century, are preserved in Tokyo University Library (mss. 327–333); number 333 is the only palm-leaf manuscript accessible at present. Although undated, on the basis of paleographic features it might have been produced in the 12th century. Other manuscripts are preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in the Cambridge University Library, and elsewhere. In 1977, L. Chandra published a reproduction of a single Nepalese manuscript. While it is not easy to establish a plausible stemma of all the manuscripts, since they share a Nepalese origin, they are likely to be related in some fashion.

It is always worthwhile to study manuscripts not only for their contents but also in light of how they have been used. The rubrication on the *dhāraṇī* in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. Add. 915; fols. 117r–118v) could indicate that the manuscript was used for practice before it was sent to Europe in the 19th century. The marginal annotation, probably in Newari, in the Nepal National Archives (A112-10; fols. 13–19) seems to be notes taken during lectures. This is considered evidence that this manuscript was used for study.

In addition to manuscripts from Nepal, there are at least three Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet. They too, however, are originally Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts, which were probably copied before the 12th century. Only one sample is available: a small extract published in V. Tseng (2010), in which the 24 verses of chapter 8 are incorporated.

The interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in Sanskrit is difficult in part because of its linguistic peculiarities. These can be due to unique compounds. For instance, some compounds occur only in this text, although similar ideas may be found elsewhere, whereas others present unexpected word orders. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* tends to form set phrases that are grammatically uncommon, using them repeatedly in both verses and prose. Moreover, irregularities concerning verbs and pronouns are often found. And finally, the verses of the text sometimes present problems that are at least partly due to the greater grammatical and syntactical freedom that is permissible in verse composition.

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Translations

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Translations

According to the ancient catalogues, four Chinese translations of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* were made, of which only the latter three are extant:

1. a translation with an uncertain title by/ Dharmakṣema (曇無讖; Tan Wu Cheng; translated between 412 and 420 CE; already lost in the Tang Dynasty);
2. Guṇabhadra's *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經; translated in 443 CE; T. 670; in four fascicles);
3. Bodhiruci's *Ru lengqie jing* (入楞伽經; translated in 513 CE; T. 671; in ten fascicles); and
4. Śikṣānanda's *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* (大乘入楞伽經; translated between 700 and 704 CE; T. 672; in seven fascicles).

Guṇabhadra's *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* has been the most popular version, though many Chinese Buddhist scholars complained about the difficulties of understanding it, due to its being literally translated according to the Sanskrit syntax and the poorly polished Chinese.

According to Fazang (法藏; 643–712 CE), one of the collaborators in the translation of Śikṣānanda's *Dasheng ru lengqie jing*, it is based on five Sanskrit manuscripts, and the two earlier Chinese editions were also examined during the translation process, inheriting their benefits and avoiding their defaults.

Bodhiruci's *Ru lengqie jing* was criticized by traditional scholars for its overinterpretation. We can see through a comparison with Nanjio Bunyiu's edition and the other two Chinese versions some indications that Bodhiruci's work contains interpretative elements especially in some doctrinally obscure passages in the prose portions of the first eight chapters. However, in the last chapter, it is sometimes even closer to the Sanskrit versions than Śikṣānanda's translation.

The earliest extant manuscript of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is probably a copy of Guṇabhadra's translation from Dunhuang, made in 509 CE by the monk Jianhui (建暉; China National Library, 1276). There are around 90 Chinese manuscripts of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* from Dunhuang, of which two-thirds are Śikṣānanda's translation.

Two Tibetan translations are found in the Kanjur. The first, whose sources are still not entirely clear, bears the title *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo* (D 107/P 775) and is said to have been made by the bilingual Dunhuang native Chos grub/Fa Cheng (法成; late 8th–early 9th cent.[?]) from a Chinese version. However, it is possible that both the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions were consulted, a possibility suggested by similarities to the extant Sanskrit versions (Suzuki, 1930, 12–13). The second translation, *Lang kar gshegs pa rin po che'i mdo las sangs rgyas thams cad kyi gsung gi snying po zhes bya ba'i le'u* (D 108/P 776), is accompanied by a Chinese commentary written by *Wenhui probably in the mid-9th century (for the correspondences between this commentary and Guṇabhadra's translation, see Suzuki, 1930, 14). The title of *Lang kar gshegs pa rin po che'i mdo las sangs rgyas thams cad kyi gsung gi snying po zhes bya ba'i le'u* corresponds to the subtitle of Guṇabhadra's translation, *Yiqie Foyuxin pin* (一切佛語心品; Chapter on the Essence of All Buddhas' Words).

The text is also preserved in Tibetan at Dunhuang (Pelliot tib. 608; Stein tib. 167; *Lhan dkar ma* 84, 252) with the title *Lang kar gshegs pa*. The former, almost complete, has 123 leaves, while of the latter only two leaves remain. The two manuscripts are probably of the same text. Both of them do not differ much from the version preserved in the *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*. According to the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, in ancient times already, King Khri Lde srong btsan (r. 800–815 CE) ordered that the Old Tibetan translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, translated by a group of learned scholars assembled around his father Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 755–794[?] CE), be circulated as an example of an authoritative Tibetan translation of a Buddhist scripture.

A Dunhuang manuscript preserved in the British Library (Or. 8210/S. 5603) is a curiosity, written in both Chinese vertically and Tibetan horizontally from left to right between the Chinese lines.

Structure and Textual Genesis

Almost all the complete Sanskrit versions have ten chapters and share the same text structure – as in Nanjio Bunyiu's edition. Guṇabhadra's translation, which is generally regarded among modern scholars as translated around the time when the scripture was composed and thus rather close to the Ur-*Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, has four parts sharing the same name, *Yiqie Foyuxin pin* (see above), with numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 added, something that could be interpreted as reflecting the fact that Guṇabhadra was actually translating a part of a larger composition. It lacks the counterparts of chapters 1, 9, and 10 in the Sanskrit version, and the equivalents in Bodhiruci's *Ru lengqie jing*, Śikṣānanda's *Dasheng ru lengqie jing*, and the *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*. The other two Chinese versions are not very different from each other in their contents, although Bodhiruci's translation has more chapter divisions and elaborations. Nanjio Bunyiu tabulated the chapter divisions, comparing the Sanskrit text and the three Chinese translations of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in his edition.

The major part of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* – the dialogue between the Buddha and his disciple Mahāmati – is organized in a repeated structure: one or more prose paragraphs focusing on one topic, in which a few related subtopics are sometimes included, are followed by *śloka* verses as a summary. The last chapter is a summary of the whole scripture, consisting exclusively of 884 verses, out of which 215 have equivalents in chapters 2–6. Presumably the quoted verses and the previous corresponding prose passages can be regarded as the core of the original form of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Takasaki, 1980, 345).

The organization and chapter titles used in Nanjio's edition are meant to be based on the chapter colophons of the Sanskrit manuscripts. But, evidence overlooked by Nanjio suggests that the title of chapter 8 should be *Amāṃsabhakṣaṇaparivarto 'ṣṭamaḥ* (Chapter Eight on Not Eating Meat), agreeing with Bodhiruci's *Ru lengqie jing*, Śikṣānanda's *Dasheng ru lengqie jing*, and the *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*. For the chapter 10, it seems likely that the expression *sagāthaka*, which has generally been interpreted as the title of chapter 10, was actually extracted from the general colophon occurring after chapter 10's last verse. In other words, *sagāthaka* is to be construed as *mahāyānasūtraṃ sagāthakaṃ*: "*sūtra* of the Mahāyāna together with (its?) verses." According to Takasaki (1980, 345; though the opposite opinion was held by Tucci, 1928, 546), this verse section belonged to, but was not necessarily part of, the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. The idea that chapter 10 remained an independent text may be supported by the fact that one of the manuscripts preserved in Tibet consists merely of verses and is entitled *Laṅkāvatāra*.

Grammatical anomalies abound in verses, but these are found together with the corresponding classical forms, thus making it likely that these irregular forms were used deliberately for metrical reasons. Sometimes the prose and the following verses are not strongly connected, and sometimes the verses seem to introduce new ideas. The relationship among the verses from chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6, their related prose parts, and the *gāthās* in chapter 10 are extremely complicated.

It is probably reasonable to regard chapter 1 in the Sanskrit text as an accretion postdating Guṇabhadra's translation, which does not contain it, for no verse from this initial part is ever quoted in chapter 10. Moreover, chapter 1 has no connection whatsoever with the rest of the *sūtra*, Rāvaṇa even being omitted until he is requesting the Buddha. Compared with many other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, it has a rather austere opening part, even bereft of any depiction of Laṅkā and the Buddha's descent.

Chapter 8 is a watershed in the textual genesis and transmission of the text, with several peculiarities. In contrast to its precise and exhaustive rendering in other chapters, Guṇabhadra's translation is more concise than the Sanskrit and the other two Chinese translations in the prose portion. All the later versions but Śikṣānanda's translation misplaced the order of verses and prose of Mahāmati's question about meat eating. The original placement is preserved in Guṇabhadra's translation and Śikṣānanda's translation (probably because of the latter's consultation of Guṇabhadra's *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* during the translation process). In verse 8.16, the Buddha prohibits meat eating, enumerating the scriptures in which he has voiced this prohibition, including the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* itself. In this list, the *Nirvāṇasūtra* appears (except in Guṇabhadra's translation). This might indicate that the *Nirvāṇasūtra* was composed and its name added to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* between Guṇabhadra's translation (443 CE) and Bodhiruci's translation (513 CE). However, it is also possible that the respective translators, Guṇabhadra and Bodhiruci, coming from different parts of India, used different recensions of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, providing variants, at least at certain points. Moreover, contrary to chapters 2–6, which are chiefly concerned with sophisticated philosophical discussions, chapter 8 deals with the practitioners' behavior. It is possible that chapter 8 was originally a separate text, inserted into the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Schmithausen, 2010).

If chapters 1, 9, and 10 are all later accretion, then the question remains whether they were added at the same time, by the same group of people, and with the same motivation. It might be tempting to attribute a certain part of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* to a certain Buddhist school – for instance, chapter 1 to the Mādhyamika and chapter 10 to the Yogācāra – as S. Kim (2002, 56) has suggested. But this is hardly convincing in light of the fact that, for example, the *ālayavijñāna* is praised in chapter 1 (regarded as Mādhyamika), whereas Nāgārjuna is likely alluded to in chapter 10 (considered Yogācāra).

Contents and Doctrinal

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* repe
such as the following:

- five dharmas (*pañcad*

1. *nāma* (word);
2. *nimitta* (characteristic);
3. *vikalpa* (conceptualizati
4. *samyagjñāna* (right cog
5. *tathatā* (suchness).

- three natures (*trisvabh*

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2. *paratantrasvabhāva* (de
3. *pariniṣpannasvabhāva* (

- eight consciousnesses

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2. *manas* ([deluded] consc
3. *manovijñāna* (mind con

4.–8. the five *pravṛttivijñ*
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- two selflessnesses (*dv*

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2. *pudgalanairātmya* (the

- mind only (*cittamātra*

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Contents and Doctrinal Analysis

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* repeatedly mentions topics such as the following:

- five dharmas (*pañcadharma*):

1. *nāma* (word);
2. *nimitta* (characteristic);
3. *vikalpa* (conceptualization);
4. *samyagjñāna* (right cognition); and
5. *tathatā* (suchness).

- three natures (*trisvabhāva*):

1. *parikalpitasvabhāva* (thoroughly imagined nature);
2. *paratantrasvabhāva* (dependent nature); and
3. *pariniṣpannasvabhāva* (absolute nature).

- eight consciousnesses (*aṣṭavijñāna*):

1. *ālayavijñāna* (storehouse consciousness);
2. *manas* ([deluded] consciousness);
3. *manovijñāna* (mind consciousness);

4.–8. the five *pravṛttivijñānas* (actual consciousnesses/functional consciousnesses: seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling/touching).

- two selflessnesses (*dvinairātmya*):

1. *dharmanairātmya* (the selflessness of phenomena); and
2. *pudgalanairātmya* (the selflessness of person).

- mind only (*cittamātra*/*svacittadṛśyamātra*).

The essence of all teachings of the buddhas and the core of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are the eight consciousnesses, the five dharmas, the three natures, and the two selflessnesses. The three natures, two selflessnesses, and eight consciousnesses are all included in the five dharmas. These teachings are directly realized by buddhas and advanced bodhisattvas, but not by the non-Buddhists and the *Śrāvakas*.

While the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* certainly is an important source for the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, it is also often considered to be composed from a Vijñānavāda standpoint (Takasaki, 1980; Schmithausen, 1992). While discussions about the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* usually focus on the *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* and the relationship between them, we also not infrequently see a tendency to exaggerate and overemphasize one of the elements.

Various theoretical and practical topics are taught in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, but they are scattered in different chapters and not well organized logically in sequence.

Without any claim to be even remotely comprehensive, the following might be noticed. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* refutes non-Buddhist ontological theory; since existence and nonexistence are mutually independent, the bodhisattvas should realize phenomena to be all seen in one's mind. There is no contradiction between the teaching that all phenomena are nonarisen and the teaching that they are like illusion.

There is both a mundane mind only (*laukikaṃ cittamātram*) and the mind only taught by the Buddha. Bodhisattvas should not make the statement that all phenomena do not arise, and neither should they say that everything is empty. Otherwise people will become afraid and distance themselves from the Mahāyāna. Rather they should say that everything is like a dream. In the chapter on not eating meat, it is stated that in saṃsāra, any sentient being can be one's family member. Cooked meat has the odor of burnt corpse, and gods keep away from meat eaters.

Commentaries, Quotations, and Influence

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* has had profound influence in all the regions where Mahāyāna Buddhism is found. However, no ancient Sanskrit commentaries are thus far accessible. Two short treatises by Āryadeva, now only preserved in Chinese and translated by Bodhiruci (*Tipopusapo lengqie jing zhongwaidao xiaosheng zonglun* [提婆菩薩破楞伽經中外道小乘宗論]; T. 1639; and *Tipopusashi lengqie jing zhongwaidao xiaosheng niepanlun* [提婆菩薩釋楞伽經中外道小乘涅槃論]; T. 1640) are the earliest commentaries available, but their authenticity is not beyond debate. In the Tibetan canon, there are two commentaries, **Āryalaṅkāvatārasūtravṛtti* (D 4018) and **Tathāgatahṛdayālaṅkāra* (D 4019), composed respectively by Jñānaśrībhadra, a probably 11th-century Kashmirian representative of the Yogācāra school and a logician, and by Jñānavajra, of whom there is little known. The former, not in a typical Sanskrit commentary style, seems to comprise lectures about the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* given to the Tibetan audience and recorded by the author's Tibetan pupils (Hadano, 1975). The latter too may not be a translation of a Sanskrit text: the commentator consistently follows the internal foot order of *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo* in the verses, and there is a short paragraph immediately following the commentary of 10.103, which justifies the reoccurrence of 10.72. However, 10.72 does not appear here in any available Sanskrit manuscript, but it does occur immediately after 10.103 in the *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*. Additionally, there are a few cases in which the commentator seems to comment on the basis of a misunderstanding of the *Lang kar gshegs pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*.

According to the *Lhan dkar ma* catalogue, there may be another commentary preserved in the Dunhuang collection (Stein 219), which could be a translation of a Sanskrit text by Paṇḍita Bin tar ta li la (perhaps a mistake for Rathalīla), with the title *Laṅkāvatāraṭīkā* (*Lhan dkar ma* 568–570). This commentary has been missing since Bu ston's time.

More than 14 commentaries written by Chinese Buddhist scholars from the Tang to the Qing dynasties are extant, among which 12 were composed mainly based on Guṇabhadra's translation. Only one was based on Śikṣānanda's translation, while the others compared all three versions.

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* has been quoted widely by both important early representatives of the Yogācāra school and Mādhyamikas. Vasubandhu cited verses of chapter 10 in the *Vyākhyāyukti* (Lindtner, 1992, 274–276), and Bhāviveka quoted the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* at least ten times in his commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* entitled *Prajñāpradīpa*. Later, it was cited an authority in Buddhist treatises of various schools in both Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions. The following are only some examples whose authenticity, authorship, and date are less questionable: *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti (7th cent.), *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (8th cent.), *Madhyamakāloka* and *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla (8th cent.), *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla (8th cent.), *Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā* of Haribhadra (late 8th cent.), *Sarvarahasyanibandha*, *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, and *Muktāvalī* of Ratnākaraśānti (early 11th cent.).

Legend has it that the putative (and perhaps mythical) founder of the Chan school, Bodhidharma, regarded the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as suitable at that time for Chinese Buddhists and handed Guṇabhadra's translation to his successor Huike (慧可; 487–593 CE) signalizing their heart-to-heart communication and the confirmation of attaining the scope of self-realization (*yinxin* [印心]). Later, the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* instead was used for such a purpose, but the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* maintained its importance in the Chan tradition in China and Zen tradition in Japan, especially for its ideas about buddhahood, nirvāṇa, meditation, the relationship between dharma and speech, and so forth.

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is considered one of the six fundamental scriptures of the Faxiang school (法相宗; often understood as the Chinese Yogācāra school). It was also widely studied and quoted in other influential Chinese Buddhist schools, such the Huayan (華嚴) and the Tiantai (天台). Frescoes based on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are found in 12 caves in Dunhuang. There are likewise narrative and story texts in the Dunhuang collection drawing materials from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

Parallels, Presumed Date, and Background

The dating of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is a very controversial issue, which is related to some other highly disputable problems like the dating of Vasubandhu and the chronological arrangement of his works, and the ascription of some works such as the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (see Buescher, 2008, 36–40). The main stream of modern scholars, though they differ in details, hold the opinion that the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* belongs to the group of Mahāyāna *sūtras* composed at the late stage of Vasubandhu or even after Vasubandhu. Their main arguments can be summarized as follows:

1. From the doctrinal point of view, the *cittamātra/vijñaptimātra* and the *tathāgatagarbha* theories, and especially the connection between *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*, are not discussed before Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

2. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is not quoted in earlier Yogācāra works, that is, those attributed to Maitreya, Asaṅga, and those often considered Vasubandhu's early compositions, excluding texts whose authorship is controversial. And legends from Tibetan and Chinese sources say that Nāgārjuna already knew the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and commented on it.

There are impressively close parallels between the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā(kārikā)* 20 and 28, which already exist in Guṇabhadra's translation (Schmithausen, 1992). This assumption is based on the following hypotheses: Mahāyāna *sūtras* appeared chronologically in accordance with the flourishing of different schools, namely:

1. the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*;
2. the typical Yogācāra scriptures such as the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, and;
3. the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which aim at the synthesis of *ālayavijñāna* and *tathāgatagarbha*.

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Laṅkāvatārasūtra. Vasubandhu is dated to circa 400–480 CE (recently questioned by Franco, 2010; see also Deleanu, 2006, 196, who suggests 350–430 CE), and the *Triṃśikā*(*kārikā*) is his latest work.

This theory has to confront the difficulty that some expositions that cite the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are generally considered to have been composed before Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. A considerable number of citations and parallels of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* are found in early Indian Madhyamaka *śāstras*, especially in some works attributed to Nāgārjuna (Lindtner, 1982; 1992), though many of these ascriptions may be challenged.

We should expect, of course, a gap between the formation of an idea and the composition of a scripture in which the doctrine is expressed, especially in an oral-tradition culture.

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SHANSHAN JIA

Lotus Sūtra

The *Lotus Sūtra* (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*) may be the best known Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture; at least in East Asia, from a relatively early period it assumed a position of special, even unique, influence. While its impact in the Indian subcontinent itself appears to have been limited (Silk, 2001), it was highly honored in Central Asia in its Sanskrit form, to judge from manuscript evidence. Its major historical impact, however, no doubt took place through its Chinese translations, in which the text received nothing short of wholesale veneration. It may be ironic, therefore, given this imbalance in influence, that the modern scholarly appreciation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and of Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures in general, was shaped by the discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts of the *sūtra* in Nepal in the first half of the 19th century. The generously annotated translation of the text by the groundbreaking French scholar Eugène Burnouf in 1852, which remains a landmark of scholarship, transformed Western appreciations not only of the *sūtra*, but of Buddhism *tout court* (Yuyama, 2000). The *sūtra* was thus not only crucial for the formation of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in East Asia, but it stands at the fountainhead of modern studies of Buddhism as well. M. Deeg (2012) offers a survey of the Western translation and reception history of the *sūtra*.

Although it would be rash to speak of a single main idea of the *sūtra*, one dominant theme is the primacy of Śākyamuni Buddha. Facing the potential crisis of the spiritual vacuum caused by the absence of the Buddha from the world, the authors of the *Lotus Sūtra* responded with a radical revaluation of Śākyamuni's presence. Whereas other plausibly more or less contemporary Mahāyāna scriptures, while certainly not disparaging Śākyamuni, rather promote the sanctity of other buddhas, such as Amitābha/Amitāyus or Akṣobhya, or of the ineffable teaching itself, as one sees in the Prajñāpāramitā ("Perfection of Wisdom") tradition, the authors of the *Lotus Sūtra* focus virtually all their attention on Śākyamuni, and especially on the mystery of his continued presence in the world after his (for them, only apparent) nirvāṇa. The scripture promotes itself and its vision by proclaiming that while the Buddha – as universally accepted and shared Buddhist history maintains – taught several paths to spiritual advancement, it is in actual fact only the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* itself which is Śākyamuni's perfect teaching, his ultimate message of salvation and liberation. Thus the eternal buddha Śākyamuni is portrayed as employing skillful means (*upāya*) to cultivate all beings, according to their various capacities, one such means being the manifestation of a death in nirvāṇa, though in reality there is only a single approach (*ekayāna*, "unique vehicle"), and through that single approach all beings will attain buddhahood. While Śākyamuni is eternal, phenomenally his life came to an end in this world, and his successors, bodhisattvas, emerging from out of the earth itself, should preach this truth to others and energetically promote its salvific message. This message that all beings can attain buddhahood because they are bodhisattvas, future buddhas, is a groundbreaking revolution in Buddhist history, and among other things leads to a reorientation which values life and practice in this world, in contrast to the dichotomous saṃsāra-this world/nirvāṇa-other world distinction of the earlier tradition. The *Lotus Sūtra* is also especially important for its portrayal of the savior figure of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Chn. Guanyin [觀音]), doubtless the most prominent and influential bodhisattva in all Mahāyāna Buddhist lands, a prominence this figure attained in no small part precisely thanks to his portrayal in the *Lotus Sūtra* itself.

Sources

The *Lotus Sūtra* may originally have been composed in a form of Middle Indic (see below), at an unknown date but perhaps sometime just before or after the beginning of the 1st millennium CE. It is not possible to know where this may have taken place. While no direct traces of this stage of textual development are known to exist, we do have a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts of the *sūtra*, preserved in several regions of Asia (an outdated but still useful survey of sources is Yuyama, 1970. For more recent information see Yuyama, 1987, Tsukamoto, 1986, and Toda, 1997. Mochizuki, 1998, provides a catalogue

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of articles. Regarding research on Central Asian manuscripts see Nakamura, 1980, 184–185n7, and, for more recent work, the material listed in Wille, 1998, 241n2). The manuscripts have been divided by scholars according to their textual filiations: (1) Nepalese manuscripts; (2) Gilgit manuscripts; (3) Central Asia manuscripts; and (4), Afghani manuscripts. (1) & (2) are relatively similar and together compose one group. The most numerous manuscripts are those preserved in Nepal. A number of these have been published in transcription (especially by Toda Hirofumi [戸田宏文] and through the Institute of Oriental Philosophy of the Sōka Gakkai), and in facsimile, for example by Tsukamoto *et al.*, 1977–1982, and also more recently in beautiful color reproductions, again by the Institute of Oriental Philosophy. We owe the existence of the manuscripts from Nepal primarily to the fact that as one of the "nine dharmas," the text had (as it continues to have) a ritual importance in Nepal, and was thus frequently copied in this context. These manuscripts, or modern copies thereof, are found in collections around the world. Older manuscripts, or fragments thereof, some dating back to the 5th century CE, have been preserved in the extreme Northwest of the South-Asian subcontinent, in Gilgit (Group [2] in the above classification, Watanabe, 1972–1975, von Hinüber, 1982; von Hinüber, 2012), and in several spots in Central Asia (Group [3], Kashgar: Baruch, 1938; Bechert, 1972; Lokesh Chandra, 1976; Khadalik: Wille, 2000; Turfan and other sites: Jiang, 1997). Research on the Kashgar versions (more precisely the Marburger fragments; Bechert, 1972) and especially on the oldest Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa (see below and Karashima, 1992; 1998) suggest that there once existed a version of the *sūtra* in a northwestern Middle-Indic dialect, but no direct evidence for such a version has yet been found. Later manuscripts are either in Sanskrit or, like the Nepalese manuscripts on which the *editio princeps* of H. Kern and B. Nanjio (1908–1912; see below) is primarily based, are largely written in so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. While most manuscripts were probably meant either for recitation or ritual use, some were clearly intended primarily as objects as such, that is, for devotional purposes. In East Asia a great number of Chinese manuscripts were produced with tremendous attention given to their visual appearance (see below).

The pioneering edition of the Sanskrit text was published in 1908–1912 by Hendrik Kern (1833–1917) and Bunyu Nanjio (Nanjō Bun'yū [南条文雄], 1849–1927). Being based on a collation of Nepalese manuscripts made by B. Nanjio, contrasted by H. Kern with a then newly-available Central Asian manuscript, the result has been criticized as a conflation of distinct recensions. However, this is probably too harsh a judgment, since H. Kern's aim was to seek the underlying unity and correct the Nepalese text in light of what he saw as the original shape of the text (for a reappraisal see Vetter, 1999; Silk, 2012). This edition continues to be the most widely used; although a great deal of research has now been published on the Sanskrit sources, no up-to-date critical edition of the text as a whole has yet appeared. A start on some portions has been made by Seishi Karashima (2003; 2004; 2005a; 2006a), taking into account all available evidence. The publications of Wogihara and Tsuchida (1934–1935; an index is Itō, 1993) and P.L. Vaidya (1960) have little to no independent value.

The text was translated into English from Sanskrit by H. Kern (1884), even before the publication of the first Sanskrit edition. This remains the only published English rendition of the Sanskrit. Along with the above-mentioned translation by E. Burnouf, the *sūtra* has been translated into Western languages repeatedly, virtually always based, however, not on Sanskrit sources but rather on the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva (representative examples are Hurvitz, 1976; Watson, 1993; Robert, 1997; Deeg, 2009; for a briefly annotated list of translations see Teiser and Stone, 2009a, 237–240, who list 15 separate items, though this is clearly incomplete; for instance Meazza, 2001, translates from Sanskrit into Italian). The *sūtra* has been repeatedly translated into modern Japanese (including a number from Sanskrit, and at least one from Tibetan), and into other Asian languages. While few of these are of scientific utility, they more importantly well illustrate the degree of continuing, and growing, popular interest in the *sūtra*.

Like most such scriptures, the *Lotus Sūtra* is known not only in its Indic language form but also in translations. A Tibetan rendering is preserved in the Kanjur, *Dam pa'i chos padma dkar po* (D 113/ P 781), made in the 9th century CE by Surendrabodhi and Sna nam Ye shes sde (a rudimentary edition is Nakamura 1976–1997; the pagination is conveniently made to match the Sanskrit edition of Kern and Nanjio). However, an older or unrevised translation also exists, and is of great philological significance (Simonsson, 1957; ed. Karashima, 2005b; 2006b; 2007; 2008). The text, however, like most *sūtras*, does not appear to have played any significant role in Tibetan Buddhist thought or practice.

The historically most influential versions are, without doubt, those in Chinese. Four are preserved, another three are recorded as having been completed, but were lost. The available versions are:

1. *Zhengfahua jing* (正法華經; T. 263) by Dharmarakṣa (*fl.* 265–313 CE), dated to 286 CE;
2. *Miaofa lianhua jing* (妙法蓮華經; Jpn. Myōhō renge kyō; T. 262) translated in 406 CE by Kumārajīva (350–409 CE);
3. *Tanpin miaofa lianhua jing* (添品妙法蓮華經; T. 264) by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, produced in 601 CE; and
4. *Satanfentuoli jing* (薩曇分陀利經; T. 265), may belong to the Western Jin (西晋; 265–316 CE; corresponding to ch. 11 only, see below).

Although the *Zhengfahua jing*, the oldest translation, had an impact on developing Chinese Buddhist traditions, it is rather the *Miaofa lianhua jing* that was to have the most lasting importance for all of East Asian Buddhism, down to the present day. The *Tanpin miaofa lianhua jing* is a sort of revision of the translation of Kumārajīva, with commentarial notes. Finally, the *Satanfentuoli jing* (the title is a phonetic transcription of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*) is a rendering of a single chapter, corresponding to chapter 11 (see below).

Karashima (1992, 253–260) argued that the *Zhengfahua jing* and *Miaofa lianhua jing* are more closely related to the Sanskrit recension found in the Central Asian manuscripts than to that represented by the Gilgit-Nepalese manuscripts, while in contrast the *Tianpin miao falianhua jing* corresponds more closely to the Gilgit-Nepalese recension. The *Zhengfahua jing* is particularly important for the light it sheds on stages of development of the *sūtra* even older than the oldest evidence provided by Sanskrit manuscripts.

Although the text circulated widely in China in manuscripts and later xylograph form, we can get some notion of its earlier popularity from the Dunhuang collections. S.F. Teiser calculates that there are something like 4,500 separate manuscript copies (complete or partial) of the Chinese *Lotus Sūtra* – mostly the *Miaofa lianhua jing* – in the main Dunhuang collections, but surely many more once existed. One manuscript (*Pelliot chinois* 3788) is a single surviving example of 3000 that were copied in the 680s CE "on behalf of the posthumous fate of the parents of Empress Wu" (Teiser, 2014, 67, 67n131). The text was, moreover, frequently engraved on stone at a number of sites in various areas of China between 600 and 840 CE (Teiser, 2014, 67–68).

Three additional Chinese translations are recorded in catalogues as having been produced, but they are not known to exist:

1. (*Zheng*) *Fahua sanmei jing* ([正]法華三昧經) translated by Zhi Jianglangsha (支彊良接) in 255 CE (T. 2154 [LV] 628c21–22);
2. *Sayunfentuoli jing* (薩芸芬陀利經), translated by Dharmarakṣa in 265 CE (T. 2154 [LV] 628c23–26). (Although this is the cited title, it is certainly an old error of 芸 [*yun*] for 曇 [*tan*], matching the title of the *Satanfentuoli*, above.); and
3. *Fangdeng fahua jing* (方等法華經) by Zhi Daogen (支道根) in 335 CE (T. 2034 [XLIX] 69a26–b2; T. 2154 [LV] 628c27–629a2).

The *sūtra* was also translated into Central Asian languages, including fragments in Uigur (Elverskog, 1997, 59ff.; Zieme, 2005; Yakup, 2011; a translation of a Chinese commentary is also known, Kudara, 1988), and the complete text in Tangut (from Kumārajīva's Chinese translation; Nishida, 2005). Although the text as such was apparently never translated into Khotanese, one quoted verse and a metrical summary are known (Bailey, 1971; 1972; Emmerick, 1992, 27ff.). As for East Asian vernaculars, although it is perhaps not correct to speak of a "translation" as such, there are records of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* being read out in Japanese in a way that was apparently understandable as early as the 11th or 12th century (Apple, 2011). The date of the first translation of the Chinese into Japanese is unknown, but the oldest complete manuscript of the text in which the Chinese is presented in Japanese reading order – again, not a translation – appears to be that dated to 1330, the *Bannaji-bon Kana Hokekyō* (鑁阿寺本假名法華經; Kabutogi, 1955; Kawamura, 1979). The first Korean version dates to 1463, a work which combines a Korean rendering of Kumārajīva's Chinese text, *Myobŏb ryŏnhhwa'gyŏng* (conventionally *Bŏphwa'gyŏng ŏnhae*) with a commentary, the *Miaofalianhuajingyaojie* (妙法華經要解; ZZ 602), by the Chan monk Jiehuan (戒環; ?–1129?; Kim Kyongkon, 2014). However, the text was apparently never of great importance in Korea (Groner & Stone, 2014, 3).

In some East Asian traditions, Kumārajīva's text is joined together with the *Wuliangyi jing* (無量義經; Innumerable Meanings *Sūtra*; T. 276) and the *Puxian jing* (普賢經; *Sūtra* of [Meditation on] Samantabhadra; T. 277) to form the "Threefold Lotus *Sūtra*" (*Fahua sanbu jing* [法華三部経]; Jpn. *Hokke sambukyō*); the latter of the two additional texts, the *Puxian jing*, is important in Tiantai (天台) repentance rituals.

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The text is quoted, though infrequently, by Indian authors (Silk, 2001; Mochizuki, 2011). However, a commentary of probable Indian provenance, attributed to Vasubandhu, is preserved only in Chinese translation, the *Miaofa lianhuajing youbotishe* (妙法蓮華經憂波提舍; **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkopadeśa*; T. 1519; study and trans. in Abbott, 1985; T. 1520 may be closer to the original than T. 1519). Although not known in Tibet as such, there is an apparent reference to this commentary in Bu ston's 14th-century catalogue in his *Chos 'byung* (History of Buddhism), but nothing else is known of this translation (Nishioka, 1981, #667, *pad ma dkar po'i 'grel pa dbying gnyen gyis mdzad pa*; see also #664, *pad ma dkar po'i don bsdus pa 100 śloka*). These may, however, represent translations from Chinese, in which there are a large number of *Lotus* commentaries. One such commentary, the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanzan* (妙法蓮華經玄賛; T. 1723) by [Kui]ji ([窺]基), was indeed known in Tibet, and partially translated as the *Dam pa'i chos puṇḍarīka'i 'grel pa* (D 4017/P 5518).

A series of indices (Sanskrit–Tibetan–Chinese; Chinese–Sanskrit; Tibetan–Sanskrit) was prepared based on the Kern-Nanjio edition (Asano *et al.*, 2003; Ejima *et al.*, 1985–1993; 1998). Very valuable glossaries of the two Chinese translations of Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva have also appeared (Karashima, 1998; 2001a).

Doctrines

The *Lotus Sūtra* is renowned not only for its doctrinal contents, which put forth a striking vision of a timeless Buddha and his salvific intent, but for its style. Some of this reputation is based on an appreciation of the beauty of the language of Kumārajīva's translation, but the structure of the *sūtra* is also esteemed. The presentation of Śākyamuni as transcending the bounds of time is central to the *Lotus*'s vision. The Buddhist communities which followed the generations after the death of the Buddha obviously faced a problem: how to maintain the charisma and power of the Buddha in a world from which he was now absent. One solution is that promoted by the *Lotus Sūtra*: drawing on ideas found elsewhere (on some of the background, see Tsukamoto, 2007; and from a different perspective, Hiraoka, 2012), such as the contingency of our ordinary ideas, the empty reality of selflessness and so on, the authors of the *Lotus* offer a Buddha who is now every bit as present in the world as he ever was. One way of understanding this solution is the *via negativa*, as in the Prajñāpāramitā tradition, but for the authors of the *Lotus*, and for its followers, the result is instead a world in which not just buddhahood as a potential but the Buddha himself is eternally present and accessible. This powerful vision has permeated the reception of the *Lotus Sūtra* down to today, and its theology has had a profound impact on virtually all of Mahāyāna Buddhism, directly or indirectly.

The text presents itself in a form rather more narrative and poetical than is common in Mahāyāna scriptures. The narratives, and especially parables, which populate the text convey the diverse themes and messages of the *sūtra* in a sometimes quite dramatic fashion, which is underscored by the huge audience of human and celestial beings, the frequent display of cosmic miracles of illumination, and the apparition of myriads of buddhas and bodhisattvas. These doctrinal and thematic emphases of the different parts of the *sūtra* – possibly related to its historical phases of composition – are reflected in certain key terms. One of the most important is *upāyakauśalya* (Chn. *fangbian*, Jpn. *hōben* [方便]), the "skillful means" used by the Buddha to explain the dharma in ways appropriate to his audience (Pye, 2004). Also central is the notion of the *ekayāna* (Chn. *yisheng* [一乘]), "one/single/unique vehicle." The authors of the text faced the challenge of explaining why, if the Buddha is omniscient, and moreover infinitely compassionate, he should nevertheless teach paths which are anything less than perfect. In other words, why, alongside the *buddhayāna*, or as it is sometimes called the *mahāyāna* or *bodhisattvayāna*, did he deign to teach the path of the auditors (*śrāvakayāna*) and of the lone buddhas (*pratyekabuddhayāna*), in all the *triyāna*, the "three vehicles"? The *sūtra* answers that the path of the auditor and of the lone buddha are none other than skillful means propounded in order to save beings in a fashion appropriate to their individual (limited) levels of spiritual maturity: the ultimate teaching is indeed nothing other than that of the *Lotus* itself. The *sūtra*, moreover, emphatically promotes itself as a *Vaipulyasūtra*, a term which may be synonymous with Mahāyāna, but which the text contrasts with other varieties of teaching (such as [mere] *sūtra*s, *gāthā*, etc.; Karashima, 2015, 124). All of these examples illustrate the intention of its authors to raise the *Lotus* above all other expressions of Buddhist scripture, placing it into a category beyond, an attempt which the history of the text demonstrates to have succeeded admirably.

The notion of the *ekayāna* and the existence of the eternal Buddha were reinforced by the vision of bodhisattvas emerging from the earth to keep, recite and copy the *sūtra*, and propagate its teaching in the future (ch. 14; Kumārajīva 15). These bodhisattvas hand down one and the same *ekayāna* teaching for the eternal Buddha generation after generation, and are portrayed as preachers of the teaching (*dharmabhāṇaka*). The most important example of such a figure is chapter 19's bodhisattva Sadāparibhūta, the Buddha in a previous life, who proclaims to everyone he meets: "I do not insult you worthy persons! I do not despise you. Why? You all follow the bodhisattva-path, and will become Tathāgatas, Arhats, Perfect Buddhas!" (Kern & Nanjio, 378,1–3; for the corresponding passage in Kumārajīva's translation, see Hurvitz, 1976, 280).

While resting entirely within the Mahāyāna project, the *Lotus Sūtra* sees itself, however, in line with this theme of self-promotion, as transcending a number of traditional modes of Mahāyāna bodhisattva practice, such as the gradual cultivation of virtues enumerated in the six perfections (*pāramitā*). Instead, it offers as a recurring theme a reflexive focus on the *sūtra* itself, and a central role for the preacher. The text repeatedly asks its audience to preserve, recite and copy or transcribe it, even if they may be slandered and persecuted (a feature some modern scholars have interpreted as indicating that the *sūtra*'s authors operated in an environment hostile to their innovative ideas [e.g. Karashima, 2001b]). This is meant to underscore the text's universal salvific power. Just as in other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, the ultimate soteriological goal for an individual who has set out on the bodhisattva path is to achieve the "unsurpassable perfect awakening" (Skt. *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*). However, here this awakening is universal in the sense that every living being striving on the path of bodhisattvahood can achieve it. The presentation of this idea is underlined by the cosmological range of the *sūtra*, which spans myriads of Buddha worlds and countless eons of time. Since it is difficult to reach the unsurpassable perfect awakening, the text seeks to assure its audience that the goal can indeed be accomplished by having the Buddha offer a prediction (Skt. *vyākaraṇa*) of the realization of this awakening to a huge number of bodhisattvas, who are present mostly in the latter half of the text. The *Lotus* itself promises awakening to each and every being. The preacher of the *sūtra* is to be esteemed just as the *sūtra* itself is esteemed; he is the living representative in every generation of the expounders of the text, that is, the living representative of the Buddha himself in the world. It additionally should be noted that, with the influential story of the *nāga* (dragon) girl who attains buddhahood, the *sūtra* seems to advocate a revolutionary idea that women may attain buddhahood directly (see below; this story is not found in all versions of the text, Nattier, 2009, 97).

In all, it may be that taken individually elements of the rhetoric and doctrine of the *Lotus* are indeed found elsewhere as well. However, the way these elements are innovatively woven together in the *Lotus Sūtra* proved to be the key to its success.

Chapter Outline

Although it cannot begin to capture the richness of the text overall, the following overview of the content of the *sūtra* is based on the Sanskrit version and Kumārajīva's (K) translation, with the basic differences between them noted. Note, however, that the Central Asian Kashgar manuscripts agree in some key respects with K, against the other Sanskrit lineages. (For a simple table comparing the chapter divisions in the Nepalese Sanskrit and three Chinese translations, see Tsukamoto, 2007, 430–431.)

The *sūtra* opens with a grandiose display of the Buddha in deep contemplation (*samādhi*), emitting light from the tuft of hair between his eyebrows (*ūrṇā*) and illuminating the whole universe in the midst of a huge audience (ch. 1: *Nidāna*; Introduction; *Xu pin* [序品]). In chapter two, *Upāyakauśalya* (Skillful Means; *Fangbian pin* [方便品]), the Buddha explains that through skillful means he teaches the three vehicles as actually one, a key idea developed throughout the text.

In chapter three, *Aupamya* (Parable; *Piyu pin* [譬喻品]), the theme of skillful means is further developed when the Buddha makes a prophecy of future buddhahood to his disciple Śāriputra, and recounts the parable (*upamā*) of the burning house. Often depicted visually in very dramatic fashion, this illustrates how and why he preaches the dharma differently. The image is presented of the children of a merchant trapped in a burning house; their father knows that the children, intent on their play, will not hear his pleas that they flee the danger they face, but he accomplishes his aim of saving them by luring the children out of the house through the promise to give each of them the toy cart he particularly desires. However, when the children are free of the conflagration, each is rewarded not differentially but with the very best of carts. The message is that while there may appear to be distinct vehicles, in

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(*upamā*) of the burning house.
ly in very dramatic fashion, this
hy he preaches the dharma dif-
presented of the children of a
a burning house; their father
ren, intent on their play, will
they flee the danger they face,
his aim of saving them by lur-
f the house through the prom-
m the toy cart he particularly
en the children are free of the
s rewarded not differentially
t of carts. The message is that
ear to be distinct vehicles, in

the end the father (Buddha) presents his beloved children only the very best one. In making explicit the metaphor, the *sūtra* itself has the Buddha reflect that all beings are his children, and the best of carts is explicitly homologized to nothing other than the buddha vehicle (*buddhayāna*), through which those beings are brought to nirvāṇa. In the chosen imagery there is an obvious link with the early Buddhist "Fire Sermon," (SN 35.28), in which the Buddha proclaims that the entire world is ablaze with desire, and so on. Here the *Lotus Sūtra* transforms this earlier Buddhist ascetic vision into one of universal salvation. It is notable that the Buddha is here clearly homologized to the father; the implications of this are profound for developing "theistic" elements in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Regarding the father's actions and the application of skillful means, the *sūtra* itself asks whether he lied to his children, to which it replies emphatically that he did not: skillful means appear dishonest only to those who do not understand the intention behind the salvific tactic.

In chapter four, *Adhimukti* (Conviction; *Xinjie pin* [信解品]), another of the Buddha's great disciples, Mahākāśyapa, presents the parable of the prodigal son in order to stress that the Buddha's message has been presented to all his disciples, but they were not able to realize its true intent. A run-away son, in search of employment, stumbles into his rich father's estate without realizing who the owner is, or their relationship. The father recognizes his son, but fails to convince him of his true identity. He then knows that revealing to the son his patrimony will be fruitless. Instead, he has his son work on the estate as a common laborer. Only years later, after the son has become a diligent and responsible man, does the father again reveal to him that he is heir to all his father's wealth. In the same way, the Buddha only seems to have disciples who did not inherit the true riches of his ultimate teaching. In the end, however, these disciples too will share in the Mahāyāna treasures, even though they may seem to be stuck in the poverty of the Hīnayāna, the "inferior vehicle." This term is of some importance for this *sūtra*, and plays a role in many later Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrinal developments, but neither in this *sūtra* nor elsewhere does it ever have any sociologically real referent; it points, instead in a generic way to those who might hold views considered wrong by Mahāyāna authors. The *Lotus Sūtra*, that is, disparages ideas it finds objectionable, not communities. On the contrary, the *sūtra*'s message is universalistic: even those on the wrong, limited path are, and have been all along, embraced by the Buddha's true teaching.

Chapter five, *Auṣadhi* (Herbs; *Yaocao yu pin* [藥草喻品]), presents another parable, in which a cloud rains on different plants, including medical herbs, without distinction between their different functions and qualities, and each herb is nourished according to its needs. This demonstrates that the Buddha offers only one vehicle to the different kinds of living beings without distinction, and his teachings are received in individually appropriate ways. In chapter six, *Vyākaraṇa* (Prediction; *Shouji pin* [授記品]), the Buddha predicts buddhahood for four of his followers.

Chapter seven, *Pūrvayoga*, (Former Striving; *Huacheng yu pin* [化城喻品]; Parable of the Magically Created Citadel), describes at length the career of a buddha of the past (as suggested by the Sanskrit title), Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū. Here the Buddha recounts the story of the past buddha who preaches to the 16 sons of a king. After the passage of huge periods of cosmic time, this buddha again preaches to these young men, this time the *Lotus Sūtra* itself, which they memorize. Practicing again for very long ages, the 16th of these princes, like his brothers, becomes a buddha himself, none other than Śākyamuni, who in this self-same *Lotus Sūtra* recounts this very story. In this fashion the *sūtra* effectively lifts its own revelation out of the limits of time, rendering it both timeless/eternal and authorless. All Buddhist truth is true without the contingencies of time; that is, buddhas realize the truth, they do not create it. But the *Lotus* differs here in explicitly declaring itself, as a specific articulation of that truth, to also transcend temporality. The chapter ends with the parable of the magic city (as suggested by the Chinese title), which describes the Buddha's skillful means in leading living beings to salvation: a caravan guide leads a party of men who are expecting to find a treasure at the other side of a desert. (Metaphors of trade are very common in much Indian Buddhist literature.) In order to inspire them, he conjures a city in which they can rest until they are able to resume their journey. Thus, nirvāṇa, as imagined by the earlier dispensation which the *Lotus* seeks to supersede, is presented as of only provisional meaning. The goal of the earlier teaching is thus reinterpreted as only a skillful means to encourage beings onward to the true goal of perfect awakening, buddhahood.

In chapters eight, *Pañcabhikṣuśatavyākaraṇa* (Prediction to Five Hundred Monks; *Wubai dizi shouji pin*

[五百弟子授記品]), and nine, *Ānandādivyākaraṇa* (Prediction to Ānanda and Others; *Shouxue wuxueren ji pin* [受學無學人記品]; Prediction to Those Who Have Completed and Those Still on the Path), the Buddha again predicts buddhahood for others of his disciples. In the former, the Buddha teaches the parable of a drunken man whose friend secretly sews into his garment a jewel of great price. The man proceeds to live in poverty for years, unaware that he is actually all along fantastically wealthy. After some time his friend meets him again, and is astonished that the man has continued to live in penury, unaware of what had been bestowed upon him – just as the disciples of the Buddha are unaware, in their doctrinal poverty, that the Buddha had actually given them the priceless gift of his Mahāyāna teaching all along.

Chapter ten, *Dharmabhāṇaka* (Preachers of the Dharma; *Fashi pin* [法師品]), praises the merits of those who preach and uphold the *sūtra* (*dharmabhāṇaka*). Chapter eleven, *Stūpasaṃdarśana* (Apparition of the Stūpa; *Jian baota pin* [見寶塔品]), presents the appearance from beneath the ground of the huge stūpa of the buddha Prabhūtaratna, who invites the Buddha Śākyamuni to share his seat within the stūpa. Long ago Prabhūtaratna had himself preached the *Lotus Sūtra*, and vowed to appear again whenever it was taught. Along with the story of Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū, this argues for the eternality and omnipresence of the *Lotus Sūtra* on a truly cosmic scale. Most Sanskrit versions continue with the prophecy of buddhahood to Śākyamuni's archenemy and cousin, Devadatta, which forms a separate 12th chapter in Kumārajīva's translation, *Tipodatuo pin* (提婆達多品; Devadatta), and in the Kashgar recension of the Sanskrit. This chapter was evidently not present in the original version translated by Kumārajīva, but was supplemented in the text, in Chinese, when it was revised by Faxian (法獻) and Fayi (法意) less than a century after its translation (Yuyama, 1996). The *sūtra* performs a rhetorically powerful move in casting Devadatta, the archetypical foe of the Buddha in earlier normative tradition, as a preacher of the *Lotus Sūtra* in a previous age. It was none other than Devadatta, in fact, who preached the *Lotus Sūtra* to the Buddha himself in one of his past lives. After recounting this tale, the Buddha predicts Devadatta to future buddhahood. This chapter also contains, in some versions (see above), the oft-quoted episode of the transformation of a young *nāga* girl into a male, who then immediately achieves buddhahood. The text here responds to orthodox Buddhist cosmology, which sees female rebirth as inferior to male status, and to the otherwise virtually unanimously tradition that holds that in order to achieve buddhahood, a woman must be reborn as a male. While the *nāga* girl does, albeit instantly, become a male, and only thereafter become a buddha (Nattier, 2009, 96–97), the East Asian exegetical tradition, in particular in Japan, used this episode as textual evidence to promote the possibility for women to attain buddhahood (Yoshida, 2002; Groner, 1989). In the Tendai interpretation, it also became the scriptural source for the notion that enlightenment can be attained instantly in one's own body (*sokushin jōbutsu* [即身成佛]), without undergoing multiple rebirths, and this by all sentient beings, since the *nāga* girl is also considered to belong to the realm of animals, rather than humans (Groner, 1989, 1992).

More prophecies are given in chapter twelve, *Utsāha* (Encouragment; K: 13, *Quanchi pin* [勸持品]). Chapter thirteen, *Sukhavihāra* (Blissful Condition; K: 14, *Anle xing pin* [安樂行品]), explains the proper conduct, the proper sphere of relationships and blissful ways (*sukhavihāra*) of a bodhisattva in order to preach the *sūtra* in the age of decay of the dharma. This chapter would acquire liturgical importance in East Asia as the textual basis for the repentance rituals known as *fahua chanfa* (Jpn. *hokke senbō* [法華懺法]), drawing on the *Fahua jing anle xing yi* (法華經安樂行義; T. 1926) by Huisi (慧思; 515–577 CE), the teacher of the de facto Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597 CE). In the next chapter, 14, *Bodhisattvapṛthivīvivarasamudgama* (Emerging of Bodhisattvas from Gaps in the Earth; K: 15, *Congdi yongchu pin* [從地踴出品]), the Buddha causes multitudes of bodhisattvas of his own retinue to come forth from the earth to praise him. The future buddha, Maitreya, then asks him how, in his short period of life, he could have led so many bodhisattvas on the right path, the answer to which comes in the next chapter.

In the Tiantai interpretation, based on Kumārajīva's translation, which has been dominant in East Asian Buddhist philosophy, the text is divided between the trace teaching (*jimen* [迹門]) and the origin, or the essential teaching (*benmen* [本門]), with the latter beginning from this chapter, the halfway point in the text. According to this analysis, then, there is a fundamental transition in the *sūtra* at this point. A further subdivision sees the two halves correspondingly subdivided into three sections. For the "trace teaching," chapter 1 is the "preface" (*xufen* [序分]); chapters 2–9 are the "main preaching" (*zhengshuo* [正說]), on "skillful means,"

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and chapters 10–14 (following here Kumārajīva's divisions, upon which the Tiantai doctrine is based) constituted the "circulation" (*liutong fen* [流通分]), demonstrating how the teaching of skillful means was legitimated. The same was applied to the "essential teaching": the former part of chapter 15 is the preface; the latter half of chapter 15, chapter 16, and the former part of chapter 17 constitute the main preaching, and the latter half of chapter 17 through chapter 28 teach how the Buddha's merits were witnessed and the *sūtra* spread. (For a useful chart, see Tsukamoto, 2007, 428–429).

In the next chapter, 15, *Tathāgatāyuṣpramāṇa* (Duration of the Lifespan of the Tathāgata; K: 16, *Rulai shouliang pin* [如來壽量品]), the Buddha begins to reply to Maitreya's question, explaining the limitless lifespan of a buddha, and illustrating the function of the seeming extinction (nirvāṇa) of such a buddha by means of the parable of a physician. This man causes his sons, reluctant to take the medicine he procured for them, to finally partake of it by spreading the rumor of his own death. Doctrinally speaking, the *sūtra* here addresses the question why, if the Buddha is so powerful, and indeed eternal, or ever-abiding, as this chapter proclaims him to be, he seemed to die. It answers by appealing again to the notion of "skillful means," suggesting that the Buddha only pretended to die in order to spur beings toward serious pursuit of awakening. The psychology is quite clear: something always freely available is valued much less (if at all) than something rare. Buddhist traditions speak of the possibility of obtaining rebirth in the time of a buddha as the rarest of rare chances, and thus encourage the exploitation of this chance to practice the Buddha's salvific path. The *Lotus Sūtra* contextualizes this rarity within its frame of the Buddha's eternality, both retaining the traditional emphasis on rarity, and protecting the omnipresence of the Buddha as well. Śākyamuni attained awakening in the remote past, and has since been preaching the *Lotus Sūtra* in the world (Dolce, 2002a). This chapter was also fundamental for the esoteric interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra*, in which the "eternal" assembly of the Vulture Peak was called upon to substantiate the absolute dimension of Śākyamuni and his identity with the buddha Mahāvairocana (Dolce, 2002b; 2006; 2014).

One should note the internal contradiction implied here in the text: the *Lotus Sūtra* is preached by the Buddha, and so within the narrative frame of the text he is, of course, not yet dead. But the text was clearly composed centuries after his lifetime, and thus its authors had to explain how it was that the Buddha had seemed to die. This is difficult to understand, and may be the reason that the text next presents a series of chapters highlighting the tremendous benefits to be gained by accepting the *sūtra* itself, as inconceivable as its teachings may be: chapters 16–19, *Puṇyaparyāya* (Enumeration of Merits; K: 17, *Fenbie gongde pin* [分別功德品]); *Anumodanāpuṇyanirdeśa* (Instruction in the Merit of Sympathetic Joy; K: 18, *Suixi gongde pin* [隨喜功德品]); *Dharmabhāṇakānuśaṃsā* (The Blessings of the Dharma Preacher; K: 19, *Fashi gongde pin* [法師功德品]); *Sadāparibhūta* ([The Bodhisattva] Never Disparaging; K: 20, *Changbuqing pusa pin* [常不輕菩薩品]). These portions of the *sūtra* expound the merits to be gained by compassionate veneration and upholding of the *sūtra*, even against threats of violence and slander. Perhaps most notably, the Buddha relates how he himself had experienced persecution in a former existence as the bodhisattva Sadāparibhūta ("Never Disparaging"; Kanno, 2002). It is also important to remark that the *sūtra* itself, persisting in the world, comes to be seen as a relic of the Buddha and of his teaching, and thus as a sort of substitute for the Buddha. Chapter 20, *Tathāgatarddhyabhisaṃskāra* (Accomplishment of the Tathāgata's Magical Power; K: 21, *Rulai shenli pin* [如來神力品]), portrays the miracle of the buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna stretching out their tongues up to the heavenly Brahmā world, which serves as a conclusion to the central event, namely the depiction of the entrustment of the teaching to the Buddha's followers. Chapter 21, *Dhāraṇī* (K: 26, *Tuoluoni pin* [陀羅尼品]), contains spells (*dhāraṇī*) for the preachers of the *sūtra*. Chapter 22, *Bhaiṣajyarāja* (Medicine King; K: 23, *Yaowang pusa benshi pin* [藥王菩薩本事品]) is devoted to the deeds of the bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja, and chapter 23, *Gadgadasvara* (K: 24, *Miaoyin pusa pin* [妙音菩薩品]; on the Sanskrit version of the name see Toda, 2002, 75–77) to the deeds of the bodhisattva Gadgadasvara. Bhaiṣajyarāja out of devotion offered his own body in firey worship, an act which, in various forms, was emulated by later devotees, who would burn parts of their body as offerings (Benn, 2009). Chapter 24, *Samantamukha* ([On the Bodhisattva] Facing Every Direction [i.e. Avalokiteśvara]; K: 25, *Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin* [觀世音菩薩普門品]; The Universal Gate of the Bodhisattva Who Regards the Sounds of the World) describes the benefits gained from venerating and invoking the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Yü, 2001). This chapter gained wide circulation as an independent text, renowned especially for its promise of divine protection by the bodhisattva for any being who calls upon him in any circumstance of need; Avalokiteśvara promises to appear in a form appropriate to the needs of the being who entreats him. Thirty-three such forms are individually enumerated, the listing plainly meant to indicate the infinity of forms Avalokiteśvara might assume in order to aid beings in distress. (Note that Avalokiteśvara, or Guan[shi]yin, is depicted as a male bodhisattva in the *sūtra*, only later coming to be characterized as female.) The independence of a portion of this chapter as a separate text seems to have taken place in China.

Chapter 25, *Śubhavyūharājapūrvayoga* (Former Striving of King Śubhavyūha; K: 27, *Miaozhuangyan wang benshi pin* [妙莊嚴王本事品]), describes the deeds of several bodhisattvas and buddhas. In chapter 26, *Samantabhadrotsāhana* (Encouragement of Samantabhadra; K: 28, *Puxian pusa quanfa pin* [普賢菩薩勸發品]), the bodhisattva Samantabhadra vows to become the protector of those who venerate and uphold the *sūtra*. In chapter 27, *Anuparīndanā* (Entrustment [of the *Sūtra*]; K: 22, *Zhulei pin* [囑累品]), the Buddha exhorts the audience to preserve, preach, and transmit the *sūtra*.

Development

A comparison of the different versions of the Sanskrit and Chinese reflects a history of development in which certain chapters seem to have formed the nucleus of the *sūtra*, to which other chapters were later added. While the presentation in the different versions or translations is relatively uniform, there are differences in the number, length, and arrangement of the individual chapters, and the relation of prose and verse portions. For instance, as noted above in the sketch of chapter contents, the extant Sanskrit version in the Nepalese tradition comprises 27 chapters, while Kumārajīva's translation has 28 chapters; the 11th chapter of the Sanskrit version entitled *Stūpasaṃdarśana* (The Apparition of the Stūpa), is divided between chapter 11, *Jian baota pin* (見寶塔品; Seeing [or: Manifesting] the Stūpas), and chapter 12, *Tipodaduo pin* (提婆達多品; Chapter of Devadatta), in Kumārajīva's version, and later chapters are in a different order as well. Of Sanskrit sources, only the Kashgar manuscripts agree with the arrangement found in Kumārajīva, which represents a more developed form of the text. While there are, of course, also smaller scale differences in phrasing and the like, in terms of moderately sized variations, we should notice that the second half of chapter 5 (Herbs) is not found in Kumārajīva's translation, though it is found in the Kashgar manuscripts. The first portions of chapters 8 and 10 are found only in Dharmarakṣa's version. Sanskrit chapter 27, the final chapter, is chapter 22 in Kumārajīva. The verses in chapter 24 (K: 25), the famous chapter on Avalokiteśvara, are omitted by both Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva, though found in the Kashgar texts (Yuyama, 1996), later supplemented by Jñānagupta, while chapter 21 (K: 26) follows the Avalokiteśvara chapter, the latter sequential ordering of chapters here agreeing with Dharmarakṣa.

On the basis of doctrinal themes and textual form, it is assumed that chapters 2 through 9 belong to the earliest stage of the text's formation, concentrating on the concepts of the "one vehicle" and "skillful means." The second phase of development added the introductory and concluding chapters (1 and 27 [K: 22]), and probably also chapter 10, the first half of chapter 11 and chapters 13–21, which focus on the topics of the bodhisattva path, the veneration and the transmission of the *sūtra*, and the infinite life span of the Buddha. In the final phase of development, chapters 12 and 23–28, which are mostly dedicated to individual bodhisattvas, were included. The location of the preaching also changes from the Vulture Peak of the first portion to the "Assembly in Open Air" (虛空會) in the latter portion of chapter 11, with the apparition of Prabhūtaratna. This ends with what is the final chapter in Sanskrit, but chapter 22 in Kumārajīva's text. Although the proposed relative chronology is convincing, it is difficult, if not impossible, to connect these three phases of growth to an absolute chronology.

The *sūtra* is divided into chapters that consist of both prose and verse (*gāthā*). On the whole the verse recapitulates the sense of the prose, which it generally follows. There has been much scholarly discussion concerning the relative dates of composition of the prose and verse. It has been hypothesized that the core of the text was originally in verse, although increasingly this view is falling out of favor, and indeed now seems to be highly unlikely.

Impact

Perhaps the greatest historical importance of the *Lotus Sūtra* lies in the position that it gained in East Asia, particularly through the rise and establishment of the Tiantai school in China, whence it spread eastward. Most notable here is the work of Zhiyi, which includes direct commentaries on the

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sūtra, as well as other exegetical works (Hurvitz, 1962). In Zhiyi's system of "classification and ranking" of Buddhist *sūtras* (*panjiao* [判教]), in which scriptures are hierarchically arranged according to temporal-biographical and doctrinal criteria, the *Lotus Sūtra*, together with the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, was assigned the ultimate position, not only representing one of the last teachings taught by the Buddha in his lifetime, but also the most complete and integral teaching of the dharma. Zhiyi's two major commentaries, actually compiled by his disciple, Guanding (灌頂, 561–632 CE), are the *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* (妙法蓮華經文句; T. 1718), a commentary on specific words and sentences of the *sūtra*, and the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* (妙法蓮華經玄義; T. 1716), an interpretation of its meaning and purpose, focused on its title. The monumental treatise on meditation, *Mohe zhiguan* (摩訶止觀, T. 1911), is often considered a third *Lotus Sūtra* commentary.

Drawing on the *sūtra*, Zhiyi elaborated the important and very influential concepts of the threefold truth (*sandi* [三諦]) and the 3000 realms in a single thought-moment (*yinian sanqian* [一念三千]; Kanno, 1992). His scriptural source was Kumārajīva's Chinese rendering *zhufa shixiang* (諸法實相), the "true aspect of the dharmas," found in chapter 2, which is explained in the following passage as the "ten suchnesses" (*shirushi* [十如是]; Robert, 2011). Zhiyi read this passage in three different ways and understood the truth in three aspects, namely, emptiness (*kong* [空]), conventional existence (*jia* [假]) and the middle (*zhong* [中]; Swanson, 1989). The concept of the "3000 realms in a single thought moment" indicates that every element in the universe can be found in the single moment's vision of one's mind. Zhiyi formulated his meditative practice with this understanding (Teiser & Stone, 2009b, 36). In addition to Zhiyi, and before him, a number of other scholars offered very influential interpretations of the *sūtra* (Kanno, 2007), among whom at least Daosheng (道生, 355–434 CE; *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* [妙法蓮華經疏]; ZZ 577; Kim, 1990) should be mentioned.

With its narrative, doctrinal and cosmological themes, the *Lotus Sūtra* not only had a strong impact on literary production in East Asian Buddhism and beyond, for instance in poetry, but also informed the visual arts, probably more than did any other Buddhist source. The influence of the *sūtra* on visual arts is seen already in an inscribed Buddha image from North India (von Hinüber, 2012), and richly reflected in the art of Buddhist China (Davidson, 1954; Wang, 2005) and Japan (Tanabe, 1988, 1989). Among the most prominent examples are images found in the Dunhuang caves, in Yungang (雲崗, from the Northern Wei [北魏], 386–534 CE) and in the contemporaneous Longmen site (龍門). In Dunhuang are found unique paintings and images based on the *sūtra*'s 11th chapter, depicting Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna sitting side by side (for example in caves 23, 38, 133, 159, 303, 331). The dual clay images of the two buddhas in cave 259 are thought to date to the Northern Wei, making them among the oldest examples in Dunhuang. The two buddhas are worshipped together with an image of the future buddha Maitreya, in front of whom one could be reborn by keeping and reciting the *sūtra* in one's last moments. The devotion due to the text is evident in wall paintings representing subjects or themes from the *sūtra*, as well as in uncountable artistically embellished copies of the text. Copying of the text was especially popular in the Sui (589–618 CE) and Tang (618–907 CE) periods in China, and in the Heian period in Japan. This was done with calligraphic features, such as the use of gold or silver ink, or artistic ones, visible in the Japanese *Kinji hōtō mandara* (金字寶塔曼荼羅), in which text is written in gold in the shape of a pagoda, the *Ichiji butsu Hokekyō* (一字佛法華經), in which each character of the *Lotus Sūtra* is accompanied by a buddha, or the *Ichiji rendai Hokekyō* (一字蓮台法華經), in which each character perches on a lotus flower (O'Neal, 2012; Kuruta & Tamura, 1987). Activities of worship of the *sūtra* resulted from exhortations in the scripture itself about how it should be treated. In the Sanskrit text the description differs, but based on Kumārajīva's translation they are eventually formulated into five merit-making practices with regard to the text, namely, upholding, reading, reciting, explaining, and copying.

The *sūtra*'s stories and anecdotes also led to the production of popular narratives, demonstrating the miraculous salvific power of the text as well as of the Buddha and Guanyin, in particular (Dykstra, 1983; Stevenson, 1995; 2009). Scholastically speaking, it gave rise to broader doctrinal elaborations, not restricted to the Tiantai school but also produced in, or at least accepted by, other denominational groups. These include even, in Japan, Dōgen's (道元; 1200–1253) and Hakuin's (白隠; 1686–1768) Zen (Leighton, 2007). Although Dōgen is considered an archetypical Zen master, and it is true that he in some sense rejected the authority of *sūtras*, he did cite them as proof texts, and among such citations the *Lotus Sūtra* is found most often, this and other evidence testifying to the pride of place he gave the text (Kagamishima, 1985; on Hakuin, Horiuchi, 2001–2004).

In Japan, the *Lotus Sūtra* has been one of the most popular and influential scriptures not only in the religious world of temples but also in the daily lives of ordinary people. The earliest record of the text in Japan is, at least according to legend, the commentary *Hokke gisho* (法華義疏, T. 2187) attributed to Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子) in 615 CE. This is heavily based (estimates range at around 70% of shared materials) on the *Fahua yiji* (法華義記) of Fayun (法雲, 467–529 CE).

In the Nara period (710–794 CE), the *sūtra* was given an institutional function as one of the most powerful means of warding off and avoiding calamities. In 741 CE, due to disaster, famine, plague and social unrest, the emperor Shōmu (聖武) erected a series of temples through the country, two to each province, one monastery and one nunnery. It was in each of the latter, collectively the *kokubun niji* (国分尼寺; state nunneries), that ten copies of the *Lotus Sūtra* were enshrined. These nunneries were termed *hokke metsuzai no tera* (法華滅罪之寺), "temples for the eradication of sin through the *Lotus Sūtra*."

In the following Heian era (794–1185), Saichō (最澄; 767–822 CE) established the Japanese Tendai school and transmitted Tiantai hermeneutics and practices. Of the four types of Tiantai meditative practices (*sizhong sanmei* [四種三昧]) developed in China (Stevenson, 1986; 1987; 1999), the *Lotus samādhi* (Jpn. *hokke zanmai* [法華三昧]) took root in Japan as the most important *Lotus*-based ritual in the Tendai tradition. The repentance acts that were already integrated in the Chinese ritual were accentuated, following the introduction of new ritual manuals by Ennin (圓仁; 794–864 CE) and the *samādhi* was performed as a musical repentance liturgy (*hokke senbō* [法華懺法]; Ouchi, 2009; 2010a; 2010b).

New practices of the *Lotus* developed as well. A ritual, popular especially among aristocrats, was the *hokke hakkō* (法華八講), "eight lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*," based on the eight fascicules into which Kumārajīva's translation was physically divided. Rather than focusing on edification per se, the main purpose of these rituals was the generation of merit (De Visser, 1935, 677–691; Tanabe, 1984). Yet another practice, documented from the mid-Heian period, and performed by monks and ascetics (*hijiri* [聖]) as well as lay persons, was that of reciting the title of the text (*daimoku* [題目]), chanted as *Namu myōhō renge kyō* [南無妙法蓮華經], "Hail to the Wonderful *Lotus Sūtra*!" (Ienaga, 1947, 66–109; Takagi, 1973, 430–489; Stone, 1998; Dolce, 2002, 294–315).

In the Kamakura period, the monk Nichiren (日蓮; 1222–1282) started to promote his own interpretation of the text. This was a time commonly understood to be the "last period of teaching" (*mofa*; Jpn. *mappō* [末法]), following a traditional schematization of the declining health of the Buddha's dispensation, an age when there was felt to be little hope for the future. Japan saw a variety of strategies for coping with this situation, such as a particular devotion to the salvation offered by the Buddha Amida (阿彌陀佛) in his Pure Land. Nichiren, for his part, ascribed to the *Lotus Sūtra* an exclusive salvific and soteriological function, particularly in this time period, and regarded the *daimoku* as a powerful means of religious achievement. He identified with the *Lotus Sūtra*'s Jōgyō Bosatsu (上行菩薩; Bodhisattva Viśiṣṭacāritra), one of the bodhisattvas who emerged out of the earth and to whom Śākyamuni entrusted the future propagation of the text. (On Nichiren see Habito & Stone, 1999 [and the whole issue of the journal in which it appears]; Stone, 1999; Dolce, 2002b.)

The denomination that originated from Nichiren and his disciples is historically called the Hokke-shū (法華宗; Lotus Sect). It flourished in the Muromachi period (室町; 1337–1573) and was a predominant force by the 15th century in Kyoto, where some Hokke temples were given the status of *chokugansho* (勅願所), temples for offering prayers for the imperial family. Adherence to the *Lotus Sūtra* continued to grow, and the followers of Nichiren continued to develop their institutions. The Nichiren lineage split into several sublineages, and with the Meiji Restoration (1868), these were officially recognized as the Nichiren-shū (日蓮宗), Nichiren-shōshū (日蓮正宗), and a host of further subsects. In addition to these traditional denominations, since the early 20th century, lay movements based on Nichiren-inspired devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, such as the Reiyūkai (霊友会), the Risshō kōsei kai (立正佼成会) and, as the largest and most recent group, the Sōka gakkai (創価学会), have been very active. The religious orientation of these groups focuses exclusively on the *Lotus Sūtra*, to the virtual exclusion of all other Buddhist scriptures, and they continue to gain an increasingly large following outside Japan as well. In 20th-century Japan the universalistic ideals of the *Lotus Sūtra*, filtered through Nichiren's interpretation, inspired both socialist oriented activitists and ultranationalists (Tamura & Miyazaki, 1972; Maruyama, 1
2001), eloquently testifying
of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

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THE EDITORS

Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is one of the most influential Mahāyāna scriptures, in particular in East Asia but also of significant influence in some Indian and Tibetan traditions. It may be seen, from one point of view, as an exemplar of a genre of more than 40 extant texts that purport to report on events and teachings associated with the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in the village of Kuśinagarī. These scriptures thus claim authority as the last words of the Buddha and, as a group, can be referred to as *Nirvāṇa sūtras*.

These texts are of particular importance for their affirmation of either the legitimacy of the Buddhist teachings or the immutable nature of the Buddha. Both of these related themes gain special force from being set at the cessation of the Buddha's corporeal existence. Many of these *Nirvāṇa sūtras*, including one entitled *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (extant in several versions in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan; ed. Waldschmidt, 1950–1951), belong to non-Mahāyāna traditions. In contrast, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and associated texts are predominantly Mahāyāna in orientation. Texts in this latter subgroup clearly refer to the prior literature whose name they borrow, and they take the same setting, but they differ significantly in doctrinal thrust. Among the *sūtras* dealing with the topic of the Buddha's demise, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is doctrinally the most complex.

The principal doctrines expounded in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* are that the Buddha constantly exists in the world of transmigration, and that all sentient beings have inherent within them the essence of the Tathāgata or *tathāgatagarbha* and buddha nature (although unattested in the Sanskrit fragments of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, this is sometimes reconstructed as *buddhadhātu* on the basis of the *sūtra*'s Tibetan translation and the word's attestation in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*).

Extant Witnesses to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

There are four independent witnesses to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*:

1. *Dabanniehuan jing* (大般泥洹經; T. 376), translated circa 416–418 CE by Buddhabhadra (佛陀跋陀羅; *fl.* c. 406–421 CE) and Faxian (法顯; 320–420 CE[?]);
2. *Dabanniepan jing* (大般涅槃經; T. 374), translated circa 421–432 CE by Dharmakṣema (曇無讖; 385–433 CE);
3. *Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo* (D 120/P 788), translated in the 9th century by Jinamitra, Jñānagarbha, and Devacandra; and
4. 35 identified Central Asian Sanskrit fragments from 24 leaves most likely to have come from 3 different manuscripts from Khadalik (Habata, 2007).

The *Dabanniehuan jing* (6 fascicles), *Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo* (13 *bam po*), and the first quarter of the *Dabanniepan jing* (10 fascicles out of 40) contain approximately the same body of material, which is also coextensive with the range of the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments. All of these versions can be regarded as derivations from more or less the same origin, henceforth referred to as *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common.

The material found only in the *Dabanniepan jing* (T. 374) is three times as voluminous as *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common, and is henceforth referred to as T. 374-unique. According to the Chinese Biographies of Eminent Monks (*Gaoseng zhuan* [高僧傳]; T. 2059 [L] 336a11–b4; see Fuse, 1942, 73–74) and the *Chu sanzang jiji* (出三藏記集; T. 2145 [LV] 60a10–20), Dharmakṣema obtained the manuscript of this material in Khotan or Dunhuang. It is therefore possible that this additional material was compiled there. This portion discusses interesting topics such as the salvation of the *icchantika* (*'dod chen po*, *yichanti* [一闡提], the being considered to be inherently incapable of awakening), which had been regarded as clearly denied in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common by Chinese Buddhist scholar-monks (the only exception being Daosheng [道生; c. 360–434 CE; see Tokiwa, 1930, 175–182) until this portion of the *sūtra* was introduced into China. Another topic is the salvation of king Ajātaśatru, who was considered in earlier texts to be excluded from salvation

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due to his having committed
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s to be excluded from salvation

due to his having committed one of the five heinous sins (see Radich, 2011). Even though there is no guarantee that this material is Indian in origin, these ideas and passages had considerable influence on Buddhist monks in East Asia, such as those of the Nirvāṇa school (涅槃宗) in China, Wŏnhyo (元曉; 617–686 CE) in Korea, and Shinran (親鸞; 1173–1263) in Japan.

In addition to the above mentioned translations, which were rendered directly from Indic versions of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common, there exists another Tibetan version, translated from T. 374, which includes T. 374-unique. This texts bears a title identical to that of the other Tibetan translation (*Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo*; D 119/P 787). In terms of Tibetan hermeneutics, it is interesting that when Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364) wrote an influential thesis on *tathāgatagarbha* theory (*De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*; Seyfort Ruegg, 1973), he deliberately relied on this translation from T. 374, and not on the translation of Indian origin (Shimoda, 1986).

Two other texts should be mentioned. A revision of T. 374, also titled *Dabanniepan jing* (大般涅槃經; T. 375; 36 fascicles), was compiled with reference to the *Dabanniehuan jing* under the Liu Song (劉宋) dynasty by Huiyan (慧嚴; 363–443 CE), Huiguan (慧觀; c. 5th cent. CE), and Xie Lingyun (謝靈運; 385–433 CE). In China this is traditionally called the "Southern version" (*nanben* [南本]), to differentiate it from the original *Dabanniepan jing*, which is known as the "Northern version" (*beiben* [北本]). In addition, there also exists in Chinese a sort of appendix in two fascicles (*Dabanniepanjing houfen* [大般涅槃經後分]; T. 377), attached to the last chapter of T. 374, apparently designed to close off the voluminous *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* proper, which even in T. 374's version leaves key issues dangling. This text was also translated into Tibetan (*Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo*; D 122/P 789). No Sanskrit equivalent is known.

The Central Asian Sanskrit fragments, although limited in quantity compared to the vast extent of the *sūtra* as a whole, provide invaluable information that would otherwise be inaccessible, such as the Sanskrit equivalents of doctrinally significant terms, and they manifest linguistic or grammatical characteristics and stylistic features which provide hints to their history (Habata, 2007).

It is worth noting the situation in which the manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* was obtained in India, as reported in detail in the *Chu sanzang jiji*. The Chinese monk Faxian was presented with a manuscript of the text that had been installed in a stūpa in the house of a layman, not in a monastery (Shimoda, 1993, xxv–xxvi). This report agrees with the scenario of a sort of home-based book cult attested in early medieval India (Schopen, 2010).

Key resources for the scholarly study of the text are H. Habata's editions of the Sanskrit fragments (Habata, 2007; reviewed by Baums, 2015) and the Tibetan translation (Habata, 2013). H. Habata is currently preparing a second volume of Sanskrit fragments. The most detailed monographic treatments to date of aspects of the text are by Shimoda Masahiro (1997) and M. Radich (2015); the text is also treated in considerable detail by Takasaki Jikidō (see esp. 1974). Also worthy of note is Mochizuki Ryōkō (1988). The text was rendered into English by K. Yamamoto (1973–1975), but this version is hardly serviceable, being a very rough translation of a Japanese *kakikudashi* rendering (in which the Chinese text is rearranged in Japanese grammatical order supplied with the information of part of speech, case, tense, mood, etc. in a classical Japanese). A Japanese translation of the Northern version in this style, accompanied by a detailed compendium of this huge text, has been available since 1929 (Tokiwa, 1929; 1935). An attempt to revise this translation (on the basis of the Southern version) provided with richly informative notes has produced an invaluable result, now accessible in the series Shin Kokuyaku Daizōkyō (Tsukamoto & Isoda, 2008–2009). Recently M. Blum (2014) has published the first volume of a projected four-volume complete English translation of the Northern version. Shimoda Masahiro (1993) produced an annotated Japanese translation of one-third of the Tibetan text. A complete modern Japanese translation of the Northern version in a rather free manner is Tagami Taishū (1996–1997).

Structure and Setting

The body of T. 374 comprises 40 fascicles, including T. 374-unique (chapter 6 onward). In T. 374, this material is divided into the following 13 chapters:

1. **Āyus* (Lifespan; 壽命品);
2. **Vajrābhedakāya* (The Adamantine Body; 金剛身品);
3. **Sūtranāmadheya* (The Name of the *Sūtra*; 名字功德品);

4. **Tathāgatagarbha* (The Essence of the Tathāgata; 如來性品);
5. **Sarvapariṣatparipṛcchā* (Questions Posed by the Assembly; 一切大衆所問品);
6. The Manifestation of Illness (現病品);
7. Holy Practice (聖行品);
8. Pure Practice (梵行品);
9. The Virtues of the Fool (嬰兒功德品);
10. The Bodhisattva [Named] "King Noble Virtue of All-Illuminating Light" (光明遍照高貴德王菩薩品);
11. The Bodhisattva [Named] "Lion's Roar" (獅子吼菩薩品);
12. Kāśyapa Bodhisattva (迦葉菩薩品); and
13. Kauṇḍinya Bodhisattva (憍陳如品).

Correspondences between these chapter divisions in T. 374 and other complete and independent witnesses of the text are summarized in table 1. (This table covers *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common only, since there are by definition no correspondences for T. 374-unique. Equivalence is in some cases inevitably approximate, due to detailed differences between versions too fine to enter into here. Sections marked § for the *Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo* refer to the numbering of Habata, 2013.)

As can be seen from table 1, the first chapters in T. 374, which can be confirmed as Indic in origin, generally correspond to the Tibetan version, the only differences lying in the title of chapter 4 and the division and respective extent of chapters 4 and 5.

In the Tibetan version, chapter 4 is entitled *Byang chub sems dpa' sna grangs bzhi chos ston pa* (Bodhisattva Teaching in Four Categories of Dharmas). This title is appropriate to the first discourse given by the Buddha in this portion of the text, as is also

Table 1

T. 374	*Yongs su mya ngan las ’das pa chen po’i mdo*	*Dabanniehuan jing*
1. 壽命品 (365c5)	1. *’Tshe ba med pa’i phung po* (§§ 1–143)	1. 序品 (853a6)
	(§§ 37–48)	2. 大身菩薩品 (856c7)
	(§§ 49–81)	3. 長者純陀品 (857c27)
	(§§ 82–112)	4. 哀歎品 (861a9)
(379b23)	(§§ 113–143)	5. 長壽品 (863b21)
2. 金剛身品 (382c26)	2. *Rdo rje ltar mi shigs pa’i sku’i phung po* (§§ 144–160)	6. 金剛身品 (866a15)
3. 名字功德品 (384c26)	3. *Mdo’i ming gi gtan tshigs dang yon tan gyi tshul* (§§ 161–168)	7. 受持品 (867c12)
4. 如來性品 (385b12)	4. *Byang chub sems dpa’ sna grangs bzhis chos ston pa* (§§ 169–293)	8. 四法品 (868a24)
(396c18)	5. *Lha dan mi la sogs pa ’dus pas zhus pa* (§§ 294–588)	9. 四依品 (875c28)
	(§§ 337–353)	10. 分別邪正品 (880a19)
	(§§ 354–370)	11. 四諦品 (882c15)
	(§§ 371–375)	12. 四倒品 (883a23)
	(§§ 376–418)	13. 如來性品 (883b13)
	(§§ 419–436)	14. 文字品 (887c18)
	(§§ 437–453)	15. 鳥喻品 (889a15)
	(§§ 454–465)	16. 大般泥洹經月喻品 (890a28)
	(§§ 466–532)	17. 問菩薩品 (891b22)
5. 大般涅槃經一切大眾所問品 (423c24[–428b12])	(§§ 533–587)	18. 隨喜品 (896a5[–899c23])
(6–13; i.e. T. 374-unique)	–	–

arinirvāṇamahāsūtra-common re by definition no correspon-nique. Equivalence is in some roximate, due to detailed differ-ions too fine to enter into here. or the *Yongs su mya ngan las 'das* fer to the numbering of Habata,

om table 1, the first chapters in T. onfirmed as Indic in origin, gen-o the Tibetan version, the only the title of chapter 4 and the tive extent of chapters 4 and 5. rsion, chapter 4 is entitled *Byang grangs bzhi chos ston pa* (Bod-n Four Categories of Dharmas). riate to the first discourse given his portion of the text, as is also

abanniehuan jing

序品 (853a6)

. 大身菩薩品 (856c7)
. 長者純陀品 (857c27)
. 哀歎品 (861a9)
. 長壽品 (863b21)
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. 受持品 (867c12)

. 四法品 (868a24)

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7. 問菩薩品 (891b22)
8. 隨喜品 (896a5[–899c23])

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indicated by the parallel title in the *Dabanniehuan jing* – we will see below that this title in fact refers to the exposition of a set of categories for scriptural hermeneutics shared with Buddhaghosa. However, the title for the same chapter attested in T. 374, **Tathāgatagarbha*, reflects the central theme of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common as a whole, but does not properly fit the content of the first portion of this chapter in particular, in which this theme is not at stake, with, however, relevant terms sporadically mentioned.

Turning to the division of the text, as can also be seen from the table, T. 374 and the Tibetan also divide chapters 4 and 5 differently. In T. 374, the **Tathāgatagarbha* chapter covers almost all of the last two-thirds of the text. In the Tibetan, in contrast, this title is used only for material matching the "four-discourses" section in the *Dabanniehuan jing*. For the remainder of the text, the Tibetan uses the title "Questions Posed by the Assembly," which in T. 374 serves only for a relatively short portion at the very end of the text.

This difference in title and extent of chapter 4 in T. 374 and the Tibetan, each with its own plausible basis in the content of the text, is likely to have arisen during the development of the enormously voluminous discourses contained in the chapter (which amounts to two-thirds of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common as a whole, in T. 374's division). The chapter title given in T. 374 corresponds to a formulation found in the colophon of the *sūtra* summarizing the content of the text as a whole. This title thereby reflects a more advanced stage of textual development than does the Tibetan, which in contrast retains a title reflecting only the specific content of the chapter itself.

In contrast to these two versions, the *Dabanniehuan jing* divides *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common far more minutely, into 18 chapters (and as can be seen from the line numbers given in the table, some of these chapters cover only a few lines). These peculiar divisions were probably later additions by the Chinese translators, aimed at promoting understanding of the content of the text.

It is of signal importance in understanding the content of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* that the text was most likely composed in stages. The most detailed theory of the stratification of the text is still that presented by Shimoda Masahiro (1997). According to this theory, *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common is comprised of three strata (designated below I, II, and III). This theory is summarized in table 2 (chapter numbering is as in table 1; the table is presented following the sequential order of the texts themselves, according to which the sequence of the hypothesized strata is slightly jumbled).

(Stratum I is also referred to as *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk; Strata II and III together are *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b [for explanations of these terms, see below]).

As can be seen from table 2, Shimoda's first stratum (I) contains chapters 1, 2, and 3 of T. 374 and the Tibetan, with the exception of a portion roughly corresponding to chapter 5 (**Dīrghāyus*) in the *Dabanniehuan jing* (in fact incorporating a small part of the same translation's ch. 4 also), which Shimoda argues was most likely interpolated at the end of chapter 1 upon completion of the last part

Table 2

	T. 374	*Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo*	*Dabanniehuan jing*
I *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk	chapter 1 except end	chapter 1 except end (§§ 1–107)	chapters 1–4
III (interpolation)	(379a13–382c25)	(§§ 108–143)	≈ chapter 5 (863b22–866a14)
I (continuation) *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk	chapters 2–3	chapters 2–3	chapters 6–7
II *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b	chapter 4 (first part only)	chapter 4	chapter 8
III *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b	chapter 4 (remainder) chapter 5	chapter 5	chapters 9–18
	(T. 374 unique; i.e. chs. 6–13)	—	—

of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common (ch. 5 of T. 374 and the Tibetan). The second stratum (II) comprises the first part of chapter 4 of T. 374, chapter 8 of the *Dabanniehuan jing*, and chapter 4 of the Tibetan. The third stratum (III) comprises the latter half of chapters 4 and 5 of T. 374, chapters 9–18 of the *Dabanniehuan jing*, and chapter 5 of the Tibetan, and also includes the earlier interpolation approximately corresponding to the *Dabanniehuan jing*'s chapter 5.

Shimoda argues that among the three main translations, the *Dabanniehuan jing* represents features from the earliest phase in the history of the text. The first stratum of the *Dabanniehuan jing* (chs. 1–4 and 6–7) can thus be regarded as approximately representing the proto-*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.

In the analysis of the history of the text, it is also significant that some details earlier in the text can be interpreted as meticulously setting the scene of the discourse, and manipulating the casting, in ways that may accommodate a variety of discourses elaborated later in the text, including even part of T. 374-unique.

At the outset of the text, three significant figures, who are usually ubiquitous in the traditional *Nirvāṇa sūtras*, are missing from the assembly: Ānanda, Mahākāśyapa, and Ajātaśatru. This by no means signifies that the compilers of this *sūtra* were ignorant of the roles usually played by these characters in *Nirvāṇa sūtras*. Indeed, at the very end of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common, the Buddha reveals that the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is in fact to be transmitted to Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda once they have eventually arrived in the assembly, and is only consigned to Mañjuśrī for the time being, as long as those rightful recipients and guardians of the text are absent (P. 154b4–6; T. 376 [XII] 899c20–22; T. 374 [XII] 428b8–10).

In excluding these key figures from the action in the meantime, the authors of the text betray a deliberate plotting technique. The authors aim to explain away the apparent anomaly arising from the fact that their new *sūtra* was unknown in earlier canonical collections by inventing a temporal interval in which neither Ānanda nor Mahākāśyapa, the two great disciples traditionally reported to have recited the Buddhist scriptures at Rājagṛha, was present, and specifically designate that time as the moment at which this *sūtra* was promulgated.

Further, in place of the usual figure of Mahākāśyapa, namely, as a non-Mahāyāna monastic follower of the Buddha, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* introduces an eponymous Mahākāśyapa Bodhisattva. The appearance of this figure is made all the more remarkable by the fact that Mahākāśyapa never appears as a bodhisattva outside the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*. This move occurs in the portion of the text approximately corresponding to the **Dīrghāyus* (長壽; Lifespan) chapter of the *Dabanniehuan jing* (ch. 5) which, as we see in table 2, Shimoda holds to be a late interpolation into the earliest stratum of the text. According to Shimoda's theory, this interpolation functions as a necessary joint to link the first stratum of the text to the second and third strata.

The absence of Ajātaśatru is manipulated in a somewhat different manner. Ajātaśatru is mentioned at the outset of the non-Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* as a belligerent king. Although he does not otherwise appear in the non-Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, he is explicitly mentioned in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* as another of those notable by their absence. However, he is allowed to appear as an important character much later, in a part of T. 374-unique (T. 374 [XII] 474a27–485b11), so that he may serve as a joining device between T. 374 and other portions of the text.

Basic Characteristics of the Teaching of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

In apparent contrast to the basic Buddhist doctrine confirmed in the statement that "all things lack inherent identity," which is unanimously shared among Buddhist texts of both the non-Mahāyāna and the Mahāyāna, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* expounds, as the ultimate truth manifest to the Buddha's perspective, not simply that the Buddha exists in the dimension of transmigration, but that the Buddha/buddhahood inheres in all sentient beings in the form of the buddha nature and the essence of Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*).

These two claims are substantially identical, although the point of emphasis differs: in the former, the focus is laid on the aspect of the Buddha in which he transcends worldly beings, whereas the latter stresses the aspect of the Buddha in which he exists in association with worldly beings. In the presentation of this latter aspect, the new terms *tathāgatagarbha* and **buddhadhātu* are applied for the first time to the Buddha internalized within sentient beings. Both of these terms indicate the manner in which the Buddha abides in the dimension of transmigration, as was already more generally held with the first of the two claims. The compilers who

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formulated these ideas held that the Buddha within sentient beings is precisely the same as the Buddha in the sphere of transmigration.

The emergence of this doctrine may be regarded as an understandable development of the theory attested in a variety of *Nirvāṇa sūtras*, both in the Sūtrapiṭaka and Vinayapiṭaka, that affirms either the viability of Buddhist teachings even in the absence of the Buddha, or the indestructible nature of the Buddha transcending the cessation of his corporeal existence. The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* expresses this latter point by applying the terms **dharmakāya* (dharma body) and **vajrābhedakāya* (adamantine indivisible body) to the Buddha as he abides in the state of *parinirvāṇa*. This new theory of the ongoing existence of the Buddha in the sphere of transmigration after his *parinirvāṇa* is most appropriate to the basic characteristic of the Sūtrapiṭaka, in which, as the opening formula of each *sūtra* suggests, to communicate the living aspect of the words of the Buddha to the hearer was of great concern (Brough, 1950).

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* also contains a doctrine, distinctive within Buddhist contexts, that the self (*ātman*) exists and is identical with the Buddha and the essence of Tathāgata (**tathāgatagarbha*). This doctrine has often been taken by modern scholars as directly conflicting with one of the most fundamental doctrines in Buddhism, that all beings lack "self." However, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* formulates this doctrine by means of a highly elaborated hermeneutical logic which, we might argue, worked to protect the *sūtra* from any potential criticisms in traditional doctrinal contexts.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* had significant influence on the development of Mahāyāna *sūtras* promoting *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha-nature theory, giving rise to the creation of *sūtras* such as the *Aṅgulimālīya*, *Mahābherīhāraka*, *Mahāmegha*, and *Śrīmālādevī*. In Tibet, the *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha-nature theory was introduced fairly late. The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is treated by Tibetan scholars as merely one among several *tathāgatagarbha sūtras* (with the notable exception of Bu ston, who formulated his theory primarily on the basis of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*). In contrast, texts propounding this strain of Buddhist thought arrived in East Asia almost as soon as they had been composed, and the East Asian Buddhist world is pervaded by the influence of the particular version of *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha-nature theory that has its origins in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.

Historical Development of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and Its Characteristic Doctrines

Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra-common was apparently formulated by savants well versed in the genre of *Nirvāṇa sūtras*. These texts developed different nuances, depending upon whether they were treated as part of the Sūtrapiṭaka or the Vinayapiṭaka. Texts incorporated into the Vinayapiṭaka tended to stress the centrality of the teaching or of regulations as the key to the continuity and authority of Buddhism. Those in the Sūtrapiṭaka, by contrast, emphasized the continued presence of the Buddha, either in an invisible form such as the *dharmakāya*, or in an embodied form such as the Buddha's relics enshrined in a stūpa, or both. *Nirvāṇa sūtras* in the Sūtrapiṭaka usually hold that as the Buddha abides in *parinirvāṇa*, he is in a supreme stage of meditation (Shimoda, 1997, 71–72). The intimate knowledge of this literature on the part of the authors of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common may be seen in the fact that a variety of topics in the text are predicated upon meticulous analyses of elements of both genres of *Nirvāṇa sūtras*.

One feature that differentiates the internal strata of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is the terms in which proponents of the *sūtra* refer to themselves. Proponents of the first stratum (*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk) call themselves "preachers" (**dharmakathika*, or something similar). The main claim of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk is that the Buddha is continually present. The Buddha, in this sense, is called "self" (*ātman*), meaning that the Buddha is indestructible and autonomous, and unaffected by any effects brought about within the confines of transmigration.

In contrast to the first impression conveyed by this startling application of the label *ātman* to the Buddha, the basic claim of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* at this stage of its development (*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk) in fact does not go beyond the claims of those non-Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa sūtras* contained in the Sūtrapiṭaka, which also confirm the continued existence of the Buddha in the sphere of *parinirvāṇa*, and the transition of his worldly presence into the relics enshrined in the stūpa. At this stage of its development, *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk also endeavors to stand on its head the traditional Buddhist doctrine of four types of inverted thought, namely the fundamental errors of mistakenly ascribing to things permanence (*nitya*), bliss (*sukha*), self (*ātman*), and purity (*śuddha*), when all things are not in fact permanent, blissful, possessed of a self, or pure. *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk achieves this second-order (counter) inversion of the standard "inversions" (*viparyāsa*) by redefining the Tathāgata as permanent, nirvāṇa as blissful, the dharma as pure, and the Buddha as self (T. 374 377b4–c12; P 32b4–34a2; T. 376 862a12–24).

Protagonists of the second and third strata of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b) are monks who refer to themselves as bodhisattvas, in contrast to the preachers mentioned above.

Building further upon the above mentioned understanding that the Buddha continues to exist, and so on, the second stratum develops a variety of revisions to the monastic rules concerning the ban of eating meat, introduces new interpretations of the activities of the Buddha by a sort of docetism gathered under the rubric of "conformity with the ways of the world" (*lokānuvartanā*), and uses a host of similes to reinterpret the traditional concept of liberation (*mokṣa*) as having innumerable virtues.

The third stratum of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (also included in the portion here called *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b) further unpacks the doctrine of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk, which holds that the Buddha continues to be present in the world. Where *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk (like other Sūtrapiṭaka *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* texts) takes the Buddha to be present in the world in the form of the relic enshrined in the stūpa, the third stratum of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* internalizes the Buddha's continued presence, that is, locates it within every sentient being, under the terms "essence of Tathāgata" and "buddha nature." At this stage of its development, the text contends that one should place faith in the buddha nature inherent in one's own mind, instead of paying homage to an external stūpa (P. 111a1–7; T. 374 884c21-a7; T. 376 409c21–410a7). This "internalization" of the relic of the Buddha is likely to have been achieved with much less difficulty than one might expect from a surface inspection of these terms in various languages other than Sanskrit, since the new doctrinal term at play here, usually translated "nature of the Buddha" (*foxing* [佛性]), although unattested in Sanskrit, most likely corresponds to an Indic term **buddhadhātu* (Tib. *sangs rgyas gyi khams*), and that self-same term was also used to refer to the relic of the Buddha. In other words, in making this move, the authors of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* were probably playing on the ambiguity of an old term for relics.

In this third stratum, further, the four inverted notions of permanence, bliss, self, and purity, which in the first stratum were assigned to the elements of the Tathāgata, nirvāṇa, the Buddha, and the dharma, respectively, are consolidated to denote either the Tathāgata or the essence of the Tathāgata (P 105a6–8; T. 374 407a20–26; T. 376 883b3–5).

A variety of additional teachings are developed in this stratum, including various similes that aim to explain the secret meanings of Buddha's teaching about the comprehension of *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature and the docetic *parinirvāṇa*. Among these is a series of passages propounding a hard line with regard to *icchantika*s (see Karashima, 2007), a class of beings who are claimed to be fundamentally incapable of attaining supreme enlightenment. This teaching, which apparently contradicts the principle doctrine of this *sūtra* that all sentient beings possess buddha nature within themselves, subsequently produced serious controversy in China.

As noted above, Shimoda (1997) argues that careful analysis of passages intervening between *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b indicates that they were interpolated between materials that previously must have concluded chapter 1 in T. 374 and the Tibetan (Lifespan) and the following chapter on the "adamantine body" (once more, this interpolation approximately corresponds to the *Dabanniehuan jing*'s ch. 5). This interpolation was made during the very last moments of the compilation of the whole plan of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common since, as discussed above, details contained in the interpolation concerning the Bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa bear an intimate logical connection with material at the close of the third stratum.

The Transformation of the Social Setting from *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b

We saw above that proponents of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk are referred to as "dharma preachers" (**dharmakathika*). Evidence in the text has been interpreted to indicate that these preachers were peripatetic monks traveling in the wilderness (Shimoda, 1997, 324–330). The authors of the

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text set out a disciplinary rule unique to this *sūtra* that allows lay followers to bear arms in order to protect the preacher as he travels on foot through dangerous areas. These passages attracted the attention of the influential Japanese monk Nichiren (日蓮; 1222–1282), influencing the formation of a belligerent attitude in his teaching (*Risshō ankokuron* [立正安国論]; T. 2688 [LXXXIV] 206c14–25; etc.).

The preachers of this layer are strict in morality, criticizing monks who possess "illegal" property such as cows, horses, servants, and so forth, which are labelled as belonging to the "eight types of impure goods." At the same time, they evince a flexible attitude toward the idea of associating harmoniously with communities that they visit, apparently with the intention of creating a close relationship with the original monastic and lay inhabitants of those communities without recourse to institutional authority as regulated by Vinaya texts.

As we also saw, in *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b, the proponents of the text are renamed "bodhisattva." Close reading suggests that at this stage of the text's growth, proponents took up fixed residence in single monasteries. It appears that this move may have enhanced their awareness of the need to give their community its own organizational structure and coherence, within the context of established monasticism at large. In response, they practiced (or portrayed themselves as practicing) a more rigorous modus vivendi with both monks and laypeople than the proponents of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk. This is exemplified by the introduction of new rules completely banning meat eating. This rule may have been unique to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* at the time of its composition, and the *sūtra* has continued to be celebrated as the representative of this teaching.

The bodhisattvas of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b are also represented as trying to rectify the wrong practices of unrighteous monks, and the text goes so far as to permit practitioners to bring not only daily necessities but also *sūtras* from the monastery of unrighteous monks back to their own community (P. 89b5–90a2; T. 374 400b1–c8; T. 376 878c16–29). In contrast to the attitude of the preachers of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk, the bodhisattvas of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b draw strict hierarchical distinctions between monks and the laity. They also pay more attention to the ethics of mainstream "Hindu" society, resulting in the criticism of *caṇḍāla* (outcaste) kings, an apparent adoption of social hierarchies otherwise at least rhetorically rejected in most Buddhist traditions (P 88b6–90a2; T. 374 400a5–c8; T. 376 878b11–c29). In this stratum of the text, a sort of sectarianism, which had been alien to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk, is also evident in various respects.

One interesting feature of the social environment, not shared with other *sūtras*, deserves mention. Not only nuns but also female bodhisattvas are clearly mentioned at the outset of this *sūtra* as one portion of the assembled congregation. To date, no instance has been found in Buddhist scriptures of the feminine form of the term *bodhisattva* (Nattier, 2003, 99), but the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* does have this equivalent in all its renderings (P 3b1–3; T. 376 853b16–17; T. 374 366a26–28). This striking feature, associated with the fact that another representative *sūtra* propounding this theory, the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda*, makes the princess Śrīmālādevī the sole advocate of this teaching, has been taken by some to perhaps indicate that both this *sūtra* and *tathāgatagarbha* theory had their genesis in a female-friendly environment.

Another clue to the social milieu in which the compilers of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* were active is provided by the Sanskrit fragments, which show us the peculiar prose style adopted by *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b. This text supplies numerous similes in *kāvya* style, and features artful and ornate prose resembling that found in such works as the *Harṣacarita* or *Daśakumāracarita*. This feature is absent from *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk, which resembles the older style of non-Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The text also features a passage distinguishing the words of the Buddha from worldly **kāvyas* (T. 376 876a13: 離佛契經世間歌頌; P 81b6/D 80a1: *sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa ma yin pa rang bzo'i tshig*; comp. T. 374 397a10–11: 外道典籍文書), an expression found in a number of Mahāyāna *sūtras*. These features suggest that the compilers of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b very likely were active in environments within easy reach of these sorts of literary knowledge. At the same time, it is important to note that the primary concern of the compilers of Mahāyāna *sūtras* lay in their involvement with "scripture," independent of the style they adopted. Significant in this respect is the observation of C. Smith (1993, 228) that this sort of protestation against the criticism of scriptures by outside skeptics in the manner of disparagingly assessing them as mere poetry is a very common phenomenon among religions that have their own scriptures, including Buddhism. Depending on the dating of the core of the *sūtra*, this transition in style from *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b would be in complete agreement with a possible transition of the form of the *sūtra* from oral to written, or the emergence of the awareness of the significance of scripture, and the same conclusion may also be suggested by the fact that worship of *pustakas* (physical books) is alien to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk, but essential to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b (Shimoda, 1997, 340–347).

Hermeneutical Methods in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is extremely valuable for the light it sheds on an interesting process in the development of Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The extension of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* from *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk (the first stratum) to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b (the second and third strata) is carried out using a hermeneutical method shared with the attempt of Buddhaghosa to classify the *suttas* in the four *Nikāyas* (Sv 50,18 = Ps I 15,18 = Spk II 3,13 = Mp I 19).

Buddhaghosa classifies *suttas* in the four *Nikāyas* into four categories, explaining that there are four reasons for the Buddha's laying down (*nikkhepa*) of *suttas*, namely:

1. his own wish (*attajjhāsaya*);
2. the wish of another person (*parajjhāsaya*);
3. a question (*pucchāvāsika*); and
4. an occasion (*atthuppattika*).

In the first category, according to Buddhaghosa, the Buddha "lays down" the teaching in question solely "on the basis of his own wish," without being requested to teach by others. This category includes such *suttas* as the *Ākaṅkheyyasutta*. In the second category, teachings were elicited when the idea occurred to the Buddha that the time to deliver a specific teaching had ripened. Such *suttas* were taught by the Buddha after he had observed the recipient's wishes, ability, concept, intention, and situation for awakening. This category includes such *suttas* as the *Cūḷarāhulovādasutta*, which was occasioned by the realization that the teachings it contained could lead Rāhula to liberation. In the third category, a question was posed to the Buddha, and in response he "laid down" such *suttas* as the *Bojjhaṅgasaṃyutta* and the like "due to a question." In the fourth category, *suttas* were laid down when an occasion presented itself. This category includes *suttas* such as the *Puttamaṃsupama*, and the category is called "due to an occasion."

These terms correspond precisely to those appearing in the explanation of **dharmaparyāya* (preaching) in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (the teaching indicated by the title of ch. 4 in the Tibetan and ch. 8 in the *Dabanniehuan jing*, Four [Types of] Dharma). At the outset of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* states that bodhisattvas will give the teaching in accordance with the fourfold dharma gate of (1) **ātmādhyāśaya* ("[the Buddha's] own intention"; Tib.: *rang gyi lhags pa'i bsam pa*; T. 376: 自正; T. 374: 能自專正), (2) **parādhyāśaya* ("the intention of others"; Tib.: *gzhan gyi lhags pa'i bsam pa*; T. 376: 正他; T. 374: 能正他人), (3) **pṛcchāvāśika* ("due to questions"; Tib.: *'dri ba'i don*; T. 376, T. 374: 能隨問答), and (4) **arthotpattika* ("utilizing events as an opportunity [for teaching]"; Tib.: *don gyi dmigs byung ba*; T. 376: 善解因緣義; T. 374: 善解因緣).

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, **ātmādhyāśaya* is defined as teaching given on the basis of the Buddha's own intention, whereas **parādhyāśaya* is delivered in accordance with the degree of maturation of disciples and their attendant capacity to understand. **Pṛcchāvāśika* refers to teachings elicited by questions posed by Kāśyapa Bodhisattva, and **arthotpattika* is a teaching presented by the Buddha on an occasion when a specific incident occurs.

From *Skandha* to *Parivarta* in Chapter Titles, and Bodhisattvas as Commentators

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* shares with Buddhaghosa a fourfold set of hermeneutical categories for scriptural interpretation (called, by Buddhaghosa, *suttanikkhepa*). The fourth of these categories, **arthotpattika*, is applied in two different ways in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*: in introducing new Vinaya rules, and as a rubric explaining episodes in the Buddha's life interpreted as "conformity with the ways of the world" (*lokānuvartanā*) and similes for *mokṣa* ("liberation"). This twofold application of the category of **arthotpattika* leads us in the direction of another special feature of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common, which in turn reveals a key characteristic of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b.

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Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra-common, taken as a whole, is bivalent in nature, since it bears relations to both the Vinayapiṭaka and the Sūtrapiṭaka. A related feature of the text is found in a transformation of the term denoting "chapter" in chapter titles. In the Tibetan and the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments, the first chapters (T. 374/Tib. chs. 1–2; T. 376 chs. 1–6) consistently use the term *skandha*, whereas from the "Names" chapter (*Nāmadheyaparivarta*; T. 374/Tib. ch. 3; T. 376 ch. 7) onward, we find the term *parivarta* (*le'u*). This shift in terminology maps roughly onto the stratification of the text between *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b. The term *skandha* is very commonly used in Vinaya literature, whereas the term *parivarta* is common in Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

Nirvāṇa sūtras in general developed in relation to both the Vinayapiṭaka and the Sūtrapiṭaka. In fact, E. Frauwallner (1956) proposed that *Nirvāṇa sūtras* were originally attached to the Vinayapiṭaka, and only gradually thereafter became independent, a theory opposed by É. Lamotte (1958, 193–198). Although it is not possible to confirm Frauwallner's theory, it cannot be denied that *Nirvāṇa sūtras* were closely associated not only with didactic discourses but also with literature related to monastic discipline.

This shift in the term denoting chapter from *skandha* to *parivarta* (roughly corresponding to the shift from *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk to *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b) suggests an alteration of the character of the *sūtra* from a *Nirvāṇa sūtra* of the Vinaya literature to that of the Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature. The "bodhisattva" proponents of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b, who develop new teachings on the basis of the teachings advocated earlier in *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk by preachers, can thus be regarded as acting as commentators (like Buddhaghosa). The second and third strata of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (i.e. *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b) are thus in a sense commentaries on the preceding first part, and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common is to be considered as a complex whole comprised of both a *sūtra* and its commentary.

In this connection, a further peculiar feature of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b must be mentioned, namely, that *sūtras* other than the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* are frequently quoted, whether or not they are identified by name, in developing the discourse. This never happens in *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk. While it is true that other *sūtras* do sometimes cite *sūtras* (see e.g. von Hinüber, 1996, § 72, and index *s.v.* "quotations"), the citation of *sūtras* is in general more characteristic of commentary. This feature, also, therefore points to the commentarial nature of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b.

However, if *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b and Buddhaghosa thus share the task of *sūtra* commentary, and even the fourfold categorization of motives for teaching, their hermeneutical projects also differ significantly. *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b uses the category of fourfold teaching with the aim of evolving new teachings, whereas Buddhaghosa deploys it to classify teachings already given, that is, he uses this rubric only to indicate the origin of particular *suttas*. In addition, the authors of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-b amalgamate the original text with the commentary, thereby expanding the *sūtra* into a newer and larger whole, whereas Buddhaghosa clearly distinguishes his own commentarial discourse from that of the *sūtra*. Perhaps this contrast between the two approaches betrays a more general difference in the basic understanding of the notion of *sūtra* between the Mahāyāna and the Theravāda.

Historical Records Suggesting the Existence of a Proto-*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

Several of the *Nirvāṇa sūtras* found in Chinese Buddhist catalogues indicate that there may have once existed two concise *sūtras* comprised of two fascicles almost identical in content and volume with the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-dk: a "*Nirvāṇa sūtra*" translated by An Faxian (安法賢) and another translated by Zhi Qian (支謙). According to the *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶記), a catalogue of the Buddhist canon written by Fei Changfang (費長房), An Faxian's text (*Dabanniepan jing* [大般涅槃經]) is a succinct version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* translated in the Wu (吴) dynasty (222–280 CE), with the first few chapters "abridged" (略) into two fascicles (T. 2034 [XLIX] 56c26–57a2). As to Zhi Qian's version of the text (*Dabanniehuan jing* [大般泥洹經]), there is a discrepancy between the account in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* and that in the *Lidai sanbao ji*: the *Chu sanzang ji ji* identifies this *sūtra* with the **Vaitulyamahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Fangdeng niehuan jing* [方等泥洹經]) translated by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護; T. 2145 [LV] 14a8–9), whereas the *Lidai sanbao ji* identifies the *sūtra* with a concise *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, and describes the text in detail as follows:

> This is an abbreviated version of the extended *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*, with the introduction and lamentation chapters [of the *Dabanniehuan jing*] summarized into two fascicles. [Although] the last three sheets are slightly different [from the extended version] this is the second translation [of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*]. (T. 2034 [XLIX] 57a24–25; on the interpretation followed here, see Fuse, 1935, 32–33)

The attributions and dates given in the *Lidai sanbao ji* are often of problematic reliability, and we should not accept its testimony unquestioningly. However, Fei Changfang's description of the extent and content of these texts coincides with that of the proto-*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* reconstructed using modern philological methods (Shimoda, 1997, 563–567). It is not really possible to imagine that Fei Changfang could have forged descriptions of texts that coincidently agree with the picture of the proto-*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* so derived, and this testimony from the *Lidai sanbao ji* may consequently reasonably be regarded as an independent proof of the historical existence of the proto-*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*.

Dating of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

In order to reliably date a *sūtra*, we first need to have two kinds of evidence, internal and external; we then require agreement between the two. Most Mahāyāna *sūtras*, however, are strongly colored with ahistorical characteristics and embedded in ahistorical settings, making it difficult to treat them as historical documents. The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* seems, however, to be something of an exception, and satisfies both criteria for dating very well.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and a group of related *sūtras* (the *Mahābherīhāraka*, *Mahāmegha*, and Mahāyāna *Aṅgulimālīya*) share a prophesy that the teachings and transmission of the *sūtra* will decline and disappear, until a time comes 700 years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in which its "true teaching" will be destined to linger for less than 80 years. Some scholars take this account as reflecting historical reality, in distinction to other, more commonly encountered and stereotypical prophesies featuring in many Mahāyāna *sūtras* (Radich, 2015; Hodge, 2006). They conclude that these prophecies provide unusually strong reasons to believe that the text was closely associated with a particular point in time, falling around the era of the florescence of the Satavahana kings and Emperor Kaniṣka, denoting a period of composition somewhere in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. This period seems to be in accord with the date suggested by records of earlier lost Chinese translations of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, as mentioned above. If some version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* was translated by Zhi Qian, the text should have already been transmitted to China by the 3rd century CE.

School Affiliation and Historical Background

In many respects, *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common displays a close relationship with the Mahāsāṃghika:

1. an exceptional rule allowing laypersons to be armed in order to protect wandering monks (P 49a6–b5; T. 376 867a16–26; T. 374 384a22–b9);
2. the number of types of prohibited meat (P 55a4; T. 376 868c29; T. 374 386a18–19);
3. the kinds of food categorized as "foul-smelling substance" (**āmagandha*; P 55a7–8; T. 376 869a13–14; T. 374 386b7–9);
4. textual commonalities with the *Lokānuvartanāsūtra* (or a related text; for instance P 61b2–62b1; T. 376 870c23–871a16; T. 374 388b24–c21); and
5. a specific pattern of "gradual discourse" (**ānupūrvīkathā*; P 47b5–7; T. 376 866c7–10; T. 374 383b27–c1).

The unique rule permitting laypersons to be armed to protect preachers as they wander, which seemingly should be illegal in the context of the Vinaya, accords with an account appearing in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika. Only this school allows monks to give teachings to the laity armed for the purpose of protecting monks as they wander (T. 1425 [XXII] 410a8–18).

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* mentions ten kinds of meat already prohibited in the existing Vinayapiṭaka, without naming them individually. The number ten agrees with that in the Mahāsāṃghika (T. 1425 [XXII] 486a24–487a13) and the Pali (Vin. i. 216,27–218,32) Vinayas. This

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prohibition in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya is discussed contextually in close association with the prohibition from taking foul-smelling food that is mentioned immediately below, and should be considered as a whole.

When the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* mentions foul-smelling food (*āmagandha*), it classifies not only meat but also garlic and onions in this category. This classification is otherwise known only in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas (T. 1425 [XXII] 487a25–28).

The *Lokānuvartanāsūtra* (or a closely related text) may be quoted in a slightly modified manner in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*. This text, as P. Harrison (1982) has shown, is a characteristic element of the *Mahāvastu*, which belongs to the Mahāsāṃghika.

Among the types of gradual discourse (次第説法; **ānupūrvīkathā*), the *Dabanniehuan jing* version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* lists, in addition to the common threefold rubric of donation (*dāna*), keeping precepts (*śīla*), and being born in a heaven (*svarga*) as a result, two further elements: discourses on merit (**puṇyakathā*) and discourses on the ripening of merit (**puṇyavipākakathā*). Outside the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, *puṇyakathā* and *puṇyavipākakathā* are attested only in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu iii. 257.12–13; 408.15; 413.2) and in the *Nettippakaraṇa* (140,14–15). The latter, however, yields the authenticity of the relevant passage to another precedent *sūtra* unattested in extant materials.

On the other hand, we should also note that the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and Mahāsāṃghika sources disagree on the number of *pātayantikā* (offences entailing atonement of a monk). The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, without enumerating each item, counts them as 91 (P 57a2; T. 376 869c1; T. 374 386c27), while they are 92 consistently in the extant Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T. 1425 [XXII] 281c15, etc.). Despite this exception, it is reasonable, on the whole, to conclude that in such matters, the compilers of *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*-common stay within the bounds of Mahāsāṃghika learning. More important, however, is the fact that in other respects, they were not satisfied with the environments constituted by the traditions of this school, and tried to transform them to fit the new settings they confronted.

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MASAHIRO SHIMODA

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Masahiro Shimoda

Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras

The Sanskrit compound *prajñāpāramitā*, which may be rendered "perfection of insight" or "perfection of wisdom," refers to a fundamental teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism and to a family of texts devoted to its exposition. The Prajñāpāramitā literature consists of a vast number of texts of varying size, mostly in dialogic form, presented as teachings imparted by the Buddha. They were composed, for the most part in prose, in different ages and in various Indic languages, and subsequently translated in several other idioms, especially Chinese and Tibetan.

The history of the Prajñāpāramitā literature spans many centuries and is particularly rich and complex. Perhaps no other variety of Mahāyāna texts can boast a similar historical trajectory: while they are among the earliest attested specimens of Great Vehicle scriptures, the Prajñāpāramitā texts, constantly transmitted, edited, expanded and reinterpreted, remained very much at the heart of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. While the influence they exerted on the Madhyamaka school is generally acknowledged (Robinson, 1967, 61–65; 177–180; Ruegg, 1981, 6–7), it also played an important role in the other great school of Mahāyāna thought, the Yogācāra, and a number of important commentaries devoted to Prajñāpāramitā texts belong to that tradition. The assimilation of Tantric elements which characterizes the late developments of the Prajñāpāramitā literature constitutes yet another proof of the vitality of this protean tradition.

Key Prajñāpāramitā ideas proved influential on other Great Vehicle strands and scriptures right from the earliest documented phase of Mahāyāna history. One example is the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* (Harrison, 1978, 48–51): this text's idea that one should cultivate certain meditative practices while, at the same time, carefully avoiding hypostatization of and attachment to the experienced states is central to Prajñāpāramitā itself (see Deleanu, 2000, 69–70).

The influence of Prajñāpāramitā was by no means confined to the realm of Buddhist doctrine, but extended to religious ideas and practices as well. This is not a later development (let alone degeneration) incurred in an originally more "philosophical" tradition: as shown by G. Schopen's seminal study (2005, 25–62), the idea that scriptures such as those of the Prajñāpāramitā should be worshipped is attested since the formative phase of the Mahāyāna.

The idea that the Prajñāpāramitā (a feminine noun in Sanskrit) is to be regarded as the mother of the buddhas – in consequence of its role as the high road to awakening – is already attested in the *Perfection of Insight in 8000 Lines* (see e.g. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; ed. Mitra, 1887–1888, 253–255; Vaidya, 1960, 125–126; Conze, 1973a, 172–173). It appears in fact more prominently in this scripture than in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts, a fact that may have influenced the centrality of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in later cultic developments.

This conception proved productive both from a doctrinal (Radich, 2015, 150–151) and a religious point of view. The personification of the Perfection of insight as a female deity represents a further step in the establishment of a Prajñāpāramitā cult centred on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* which, developed during the Pala period, especially from the 11th–12th centuries (Schopen, 2005, 5–6; Kim, 2013, 29–32), is still alive in Nepal (Gellner, 1992, 117).

One of the most remarkable aspects of this cult is the role played by manuscripts as tangible embodiments of the deity (Kim, 2013, 23–41). This cultic centrality of the books is also reflected in the illuminated manuscripts (chiefly of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) produced during the Pala period, with their complex iconography (Kim, 2013; Weissenborn, 2012). Ritual practices centred on the worship of Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts play an important role in the religious life of Newar Buddhism in Nepal (Gellner, 2001, 179–193; Emmrich, 2009).

Translations of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts into Chinese sparked a strong interest in this tradition. This resulted in a flourishing early exegetical production (only fragments of which survive) which peaked during the 4th–5th centuries and saw the formation of indigenous exegetical traditions devoted to the study and expositions of the Prajñāpāramitā (Zürcher, 2007, 100–102 and *passim*; Tsukamoto, 1985, 361–385). In Tibet, the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā* was largely filtered through a fundamental Indian commentary, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, whose interpretation gave

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rise to a significant indigenous commentarial literature (Conze, 1978, 24–27; Komine *et al.* 2015, 180–188; Brunnhölzl, 2010; 2012).

The Term *Prajñāpāramitā*

The form corresponding to Sanskrit *prajñāpāramitā* with the earliest manuscript attestation is the Gandhari *prañaparamida* (Falk & Karashima, 2012, 28 and *passim*), occurring in a manuscript which, as will be detailed below, is also the earliest text belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā genre discovered to date. The interpretation of the compound *prajñāpāramitā* has been the object of some debate. Its first member, *prajñā* (Gandh.i *prañа*; Pal. *paññā*), refers to a cognitive faculty, and may be translated "insight, wisdom, understanding". *Pāramitā* ("perfection") is an abstract noun from the adjective *parama*, "supreme, highest" (Dayal, 1932, 166; Hikata, 1958, xi; Watanabe, 2009, 105–121). There are various lists of perfections constituting specific ranges of practice for a bodhisattva (Dayal, 1932, 165–269; Nattier, 2003, 153–154); the most important in the literature of the Great Vehicle is the six-fold series, the perfections of: giving, good conduct, endurance, energy, meditation and insight, which includes *prajñāpāramitā* as its last item.

Not only is the use of the term *prajñāpāramitā* not confined to Prajñāpāramitā (or, for that matter, Mahāyāna) literature, it does not always even refer to the particular methods expounded by Prajñāpāramitā texts.

The compound *paññāpāramī*/*paññāpāramitā* is rare but attested in Pali canonical texts, but more common in the commentarial literature (for example in the *jātaka* commentary: see Fausbøll, 1877–1896, ii, 76, 173 and *passim*). A particularly interesting canonical occurrence is in the *Elders' Verses* (*Theragāthā*), in the section related to Sariputta (Oldenberg & Pischel, 1883, 91, no. 1015; Norman 2007, 103). Here we find the expression "having attained the perfection of wisdom" (*paññāpāramitaṃ patto*), which is glossed in the commentary as "having attained the perfection … of a disciple's knowledge" (Woodward, 1959, 105).

As this passage, probably one of the earliest occurrences of this compound (see Norman 2007, xxxiv), demonstrates, *paññāpāramitā* was probably used at first with a rather generic meaning, and in contexts unrelated to the bodhisattva path. This is in line with the use of *pāramī* (and *pāramiṃ patta*) in the Pali canon (especially in the *Majjhimanikāya*), where it refers to the attainment of a high degree of mastery in a certain practice or virtue (see for example MN ii.11–22; and especially MN iii.28–29, where *pāramippatto* is preceded by *vasippatto*, "having attained mastery").

Thus, the Pali canonical evidence suggests that this term evolved at first as a generic "empty category" open to different interpretations, which only later, and within certain groups, was used with reference to a specific method for attaining supreme awakening, expounded by a particular scriptural tradition (i.e. our Prajñāpāramitā literature). Indeed, not even in a Mahāyāna context is Prajñāpāramitā referentially univocal. An example of a detailed exposition of a "perfection of insight" system belonging to the Mahāyāna but outside the Prajñāpāramitā literature (and apparently not directly related its specific teaching) is constituted by chapter 11 of the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (Pagel, 1995, 240–316, 332–413).

The standard Tibetan translation of the compound *prajñāpāramitā*, *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*, is based on the interpretation of the second member as deriving from *pāram* + *ita* (*pha rol tu phyin pa*, lit. gone over/arrived to the other side). While philologically unlikely, this paretymology reflects a widely attested and hermeneutically productive interpretation of the compound, which partially underlies also some of its Chinese translations. One early example is *zhihui duwuji* (智慧度無極; "insight crossing over/limitless"), a rather creative rendition first attested in the *Fa jing jing* (法鏡經; *Ugrapariprcchā*) translated during the second half of the 2nd century (T. 322 [XII] 21b2; note also the variant *hui duwuji* [慧度無極] in T. 322 [XII] 18a23–24). *Duwuji* is probably a double translation of *pāramitā* attempting to cover both etymologies (Zürcher, 2007, 336n140). Variants are *zhi duwuji* (智度無極; T. 225 [VIII] 482b12) and the more common *zhidu* (智度; T. 225 [VIII] 482b13–14), "insight crossing over", both attested for the first time in the *Da mingdu jing* (大明度經; T. 225; on which see below).

However, the most common equivalent in Chinese is probably the phonetic transcription *banruoboluomi* (般若波羅蜜), first attested in the 2nd century *Dao xing jing* (道行經; T. 224, see below) translated by Lokakṣema, which is based on the Gandhari form (Karashima, 2010, 23; 2013, 176–177). The alternative pronunciation *boreboluomi*, recorded in Chinese lexicographical works since the Tang period (*Yiqiejing yinyi* [一切經音義]; T. 2128

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Doctrinal Aspects of
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[LIV] 313c8) and generally sanctioned by modern dictionaries, is probably inaccurate from a historical point of view (Pelliot, 1926, 274–275). Lokakṣema's archaic transcription remained in use also in subsequent periods. Later, presumably starting from the Tang period, we find the variant *banruoboluomiduo* (般若波羅蜜多; for example *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經; T. 220 [V] 2b6–7 and *passim*).

Doctrinal Aspects of the *Prajñāpāramitā*

A complete treatment of a topic as vast and complex as Prajñāpāramitā thought transcends the scope of this article. In this section I will summarize some of the most important ideas expressed in this immense literature, mainly on the basis of the *Perfection of insight in 8000 lines*, which may be considered the foundational text of this tradition. Important general discussions of Prajñāpāramitā thought include E. Conze (1962, 198–237; 1967, 123–147), T. Vetter (1984; 2001), F. Deleanu (2000), P. Williams (2009, 45–62), A. Warder (2000, 345–354), Komine *et al.* (2015, 117–151).

Already in the earliest texts (Falk & Karashima, 2013, 162–165; Karashima, 2011, 41; see also Mitra, 1887–1888, 34; Vaidya, 1960, 17), *prajñāpāramitā* is described as a method that can be used by bodhisattvas as a shortcut for quickly attaining the supreme awakening characteristic of a Buddha (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*). This goal, shared by Mahāyāna literature at large, remains the main focus of the entire teaching, in ways that shaped in a very profound way both its form and content. Supreme awakening is not proposed as a universal goal by Prajñāpāramitā texts, and in fact the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is very explicit in depicting the bodhisattva path as a difficult career for a few exceptional individuals (for example Mitra, 1887–1888, 429–430; Vaidya, 1960, 212–213; Conze, 1973a, 251).

In general, in Buddhism insight (*prajñā*) is conceived as a faculty ultimately conducive to undermining attachment through profound analytic understanding of reality/experience and its fundamental constituent categories (*dharmas*). The perfection of insight brings this approach to its extreme consequences. So Prajñāpāramitā may be characterised, in general terms, as a particular way of practicing carried out with absolute detachment and aimed at attaining supreme awakening (i.e. buddhahood) or omniscience (*sarvajñatā*), another term often employed with reference to the bodhisattvas' goal (on the relationship between a buddha's omniscience and awakening, see Anālayo 2014, 117–127).

A programmatic passage at the beginning of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* may be taken as a good exemplification of the Prajñāpāramitā method (Mitra, 1887–1888, 4–5; Vaidya, 1960, 3; Conze, 1973a, 83–84; Falk & Karashima, 2012, 32–34; Karashima, 2011, 3–4). Here Subhūti, one of the main characters in Prajñāpāramitā literature as the perfect embodiment of its teaching, is asked by the Buddha to explain the perfection of insight to bodhisattvas. Subhūti replies first by negating, through a typical negative epistemological approach, all the categories brought into the discourse ("I do not observe that entity, namely 'bodhisattva', I do not observe that entity, namely 'Perfection of insight'"), and then goes on declaring that if a bodhisattva who is instructed in this way does not become discouraged, depressed and terrified, "then this is precisely a bodhisattva … to be instructed in the Perfection of insight; it is precisely this that should be known as the Perfection of insight".

It is important to pay attention – here and elsewhere, especially in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* – to the dialectical structure of this passage, which steers a middle course between absolute affirmation and absolute negation: a certain teaching is *asserted* and recommended to certain persons, while, at the same time the text negates the (ultimate) reality of all the agents, elements and attainments involved in the practice itself.

These formulations should not be taken as the reflection of a theoretical exercise. On the contrary, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* the systematic rejection of any object (or "sign", *nimitta*) and notion is said to result in a particular state of meditative absorption (*samādhi*) called "the *samādhi* of the nonappropriation of all *dharmas*" (*sarvadharmānupādāna*), through which a bodhisattva can quickly attain supreme awakening (Mitra, 1887–1888, 12–13; Vaidya, 1960, 6–7; Conze, 1973a, 86–87; see also Vetter, 1984, 502–503; 2001, 80).

As there is literally nothing – no category, no practice, no attainment – which is not dissolved by this method of "perfect insight" (including the method itself), this sustained engagement in absolute detachment results in a powerfully dynamic vision of the practice and of reality at large. Any entity or category (even negative) on which one could "dwell", thus becoming the object of reification (and hence of attachment), should be abandoned.

Therefore, the idea that one should practice without fixation on any category or attainment is particularly important in this tradition. According to a programmatic definition found in a rhetorically conspicuous position in the initial portion of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, all the six perfections should be "fulfilled... by a bodhisattva who has stood on the perfection of insight through nonstanding (*asthānayogena*)" (Kimura, 2007, 28). Similar statements on "nonstanding" ([*asthāna*] also found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; e.g. Mitra, 1887–1888, 8; Vaidya, 1960, 4) are not to be seen as mere paradoxical verbal flourishes. Rather, they are carefully worded representations of a crucial practical concern for the authors of Prajñāpāramitā texts: that of achieving a dynamic balance between engagement and detachment.

Perfection of insight is, first of all, a certain *way* of acting and practicing. As F. Deleanu (2000, 69) very aptly puts it, "[t]he most important point here is not what a *bodhisattva* practises, and usually he works with traditional methods and categories, but how he practises". Indeed, practices and notions to be cultivated in this way comprise much traditional stock material and for this reason Prajñāpāramitā texts (especially those of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* group) are inclusive of many categories and practices also attested in Āgama and Abhidharma literature, adopted and adapted in view of the different and higher goal of supreme awakening.

As these raw materials, so to speak, were originally designed for other purposes, the ability to keep buddhahood as the exclusive focus and goal of a bodhisattva's activities plays a strategic role in Prajñāpāramitā literature. This happens in various forms and at different levels, for example, at the level of karmic merit (*puṇya*), a very prominent theme in these scriptures. Merit provides the fundamental building blocks for the career of a bodhisattva, hence producing and correctly handling it was, not surprisingly, a central concern to the authors of these texts. According to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Mitra, 1887–1888, 172–173; Vaidya, 1960, 86–87; Conze, 1973a, 136), all the various spheres of a bodhisattva's activity – the sources of his merit – really become "perfections" (*pāramitā*) only when cultivated in the light of the Perfection of insight (i.e. without any form of attachment), and – from the point of view of their karmic fruits – if wholly aimed at the attainment of awakening.

An important development in this area was the idea (attested also in several other Mahāyāna scriptures: Harrison, 1990, 173–174; Nattier, 2003, 114–115) that merit acquired by a bodhisattva could be derailed from its expected karmic trajectory (i.e. the attainment of a specific retribution) and, guided by perfection of insight, redirected instead to assisting towards the attainment of supreme awakening (Kajiyama, 1989, 10–13; Seyfort Ruegg, 2004, 52–54). This is a distinctive application of the notion of "transfer" (*pariṇāmanā*) of merit, which, in itself, is also shared by other forms of Buddhism.

The idea of acting or practicing, while at the same time re-orienting the expected effects, also underlies the employment of the three old forms of meditative absorption (*samādhi*) known as "gateways to liberation" (*vimokṣamukha*) as a fundamental tool in the Prajñāpāramitā workshop.

These three *samādhi*s – of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*animitta* or *ānimitta*) and absence of aim (*apraṇihīta*) – were traditionally considered key methods for attaining *nirvāṇa* through progressive abandonment of specific mental states (Conze, 1962b, 59–69). Thus their adoption by Prajñāpāramitā texts represents a remarkable instance of appropriation and radical reinterpretation which exemplifies very well the fundamental attitude of this tradition. The locus classicus for this operation is chapter 20 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Here we are told that these practices should indeed be cultivated, but – with a characteristic twist of focus – skilfully handled and employed as methods not for achieving *nirvāṇa* (which is in fact to be carefully avoided), but for practicing in view of awakening. In other words, the set of three *samādhi*s should be adopted for its side-effects (advanced forms of detachment), which are considered beneficial for the bodhisattva practice, but definitely not for its originally intended main purpose. In practical terms, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* carries out this functional shift by introducing a clear-cut distinction between *parijaya* ("intensive/thorough cultivation") of the three *samādhi*s – which is recommended – and *sākṣātkriyā* ("realization") of the *bhūtakoṭi* ("the true end", an elusive term used here as a coded reference to *nirvāṇa* [see Lancaster 1975, 38–39]), which is to be avoided (Mitra, 1887–1888, 370–371; Vaidya, 1960, 183; Conze, 1973a, 222).

An important concept introduced by the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in this context is that of *upāyakauśalya* ("skilfulness in the use of means"), which plays an important role in Mahāyāna Buddhism at large. Here (and, more generally, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) *upāyakauśalya* is not used in the sense, typical of other Mahāyāna strands, of ability in the use of salvific expedients, but rather refers to mastery in the use of practices and control over their outcomes, including karmic retribution (de Breet

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1992; Nattier 2003, 155). In this particular acceptation, *upāyakauśalya* is closely related to the perfection of insight (Mitra, 1887–1888, 312, Vaidya, 1960, 156; Conze, 1973a, 196).

The impression of a certain structural similarity between the treatment of the three *samādhis* in chapter 20 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the notion of re-orientation of merit (*pariṇāmanā*) is strengthened by the fact that in both contexts the notion of *upāyakauśalya* is brought into the picture. In chapter 6 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* "skilfulness in the use of means" refers to the correct cognitive approach, free from reification, which makes the re-orientation of merit possible (Mitra, 1887–1888, 150–151; Vaidya, 1960, 76; Conze, 1973a, 129; de Breet, 1992, 213–214).

Concern and compassion for other living beings (which are considered to be as ultimately unreal as anything else) constitutes a powerful balancing force which helps keep bodhisattvas on track, and to avoid undesired lesser attainments caused by unchecked detachment. Supreme awakening is intimately connected to compassion, which is the main motivation for a person's decision to become a bodhisattva and embark in the long journey towards buddhahood: becoming a buddha being the best way to assist other beings (but comp. Nattier, 2003, 132–135). Hence compassion, as a form of motivational drive, is a key factor also in Prajñāpāramitā discourse, but with a decidedly functional nuance. This aspect of compassion is very clear in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: the vow taken by the bodhisattva to lead other beings to *nirvāṇa* is described in several passages as an armor (*saṃnāha*) protecting the bodhisattva (e.g. Mitra, 1887–1888, 20–21, 300–301; Vaidya, 1960, 10–11, 149–150; Conze, 1973a, 90, 190). Chapter 20 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* links the theme of concern for existence as a powerful motivational drive preventing bodhisattvas from attaining lesser goals to the notion of *upāyakauśalya* (Mitra, 1887–1888, 372–379; Vaidya, 1960, 184–187; Conze, 1973a, 223–226).

The first two "gateways to liberation" mentioned above, emptiness and signlessness, are among the most important categories in the Prajñāpāramitā teaching, though perhaps less so the third of the triad, aimlessness, as absence of striving may have been deemed problematic in the context of progressing on the bodhisattva path (seeVetter 1984, 500). Emptiness has a particularly important status in Prajñāpāramitā texts (as in several other strands of the Mahāyāna), where it is singled out as a central practice. Its role, already prominent in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, is further enhanced in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts.

The use of emptiness in Prajñāpāramitā texts is complex and multifaceted. The form of cultivation free from attachment denoted by this category (especially as *śūnyatāsamādhi*, "meditative absorption of emptiness") is reflected by (and, at the same time, is a reflection of) the nature of the correctly interpreted reality. Hence emptiness, at the same time, refers also to the fundamentally true, non-dual character underlying and unifying reality as a whole (and in this sense is a synonym of "reality" [*tathatā*, lit. "thusness"]). The notion always encompasses both aspects, with occasional tension between them (see for example *Da zhidu lun* [大智度論]; T. 1509 [XXV] 328c16–22; = Zacchetti, 2005, 346n119; see Deleanu, 2000, 99n59).

From another angle, emptiness can be seen as the universalization of the traditional Buddhist idea of absence of self (*anātman*; Vetter, 1984, 501; Williams, 2009, 51–55), extended to all categories (*dharmas*). In this connection, an important aspect of Prajñāpāramitā discourse on emptiness is the adoption of the scholastic category of *svabhāva* ("intrinsic nature", particularly important in Abhidharma thought for defining the notion of *dharma*: Williams, 1981; Cox, 2004), already attested in the Gandhari manuscript (Falk & Karashima, 2012, 52). The resulting conceptualization of emptiness as lack of intrinsic nature probably implies a polemical stance towards the descriptive model of reality/experience advocated by the Abhidharma. At any rate, it proved a momentous move for the development of Buddhist thought, particularly influential on the Madhyamaka school. Its use is already fully fledged in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, in which all *dharmas* (the fundamental descriptive categories of reality/experience in the Buddhist discourse) and forms of mental application are said to have been taught by the Buddha as being without intrinsic nature and empty (Mitra, 1887–1888, 405; Vaidya, 1960, 201; *svabhāva* seems already present in the earliest Chinese translation of this passage: see Karashima 2010, 390, 390n450).

Prajñāpāramitā texts are very keen on avoiding the hypostatization of emptiness and its adialectical interpretation as a form of nihilism. Neither this concern nor indeed the prominent role played by the notion of emptiness are exclusive to the Prajñāpāramitā. One of the most important discussions of emptiness is found in another fundamental early Mahāyāna scripture known as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, which (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002, 26–27, §§ 64–68) lays out with great clarity a functional, nonreified conception of emptiness that proved extremely influential on the scholastic literature of the Great Vehicle.

From a certain point of view, Prajñāpāramitā texts can be regarded as performing a complex hermeneutical operation with respect to early teachings and practices, entailing both their inclusion and profound reinterpretation (Deleanu, 2000, 69). So in a sense, the Prajñāpāramitā might be interpreted also as the "translation" of significant parts of traditional Buddhist thought and practice into a new system of thought and language. From this point of view, form matters as much as (if not more than) content, and the adoption of particular linguistic formulations constitutes an important aspect of the Prajñāpāramitā project. The central motif of not dwelling or becoming stuck in a fixed position or definition (*asthāna*) is reflected, at the level of language, by the systematic adoption of dialectical formulations (negation followed by assertion) that can be seen as vivid linguistic representations of the dynamic principle of non-dwelling. This feature, already widespread in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, becomes more systematic and formalized in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (the so-called *Diamond Sūtra*). A clear example of parallelism between the two texts at this level is provided by the discussion of merit in Chapter 18 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Mitra, 1887–1888, 346; Vaidya, 1960, 172; Conze, 1973a, 211) and in the *Vajracchedikā* (chapter 8, Conze 1974b, 33; Harrison 2006, 145).

In Prajñāpāramitā texts, the key message is conveyed not only by means of specific notions (such as emptiness), but also, and perhaps mainly, through the very structure of the exposition. In interpreting Prajñāpāramitā thought, we must pay attention not just to its conceptual "lexicon" but also, so to speak, to its "grammar", one of the most fascinating and productive aspects of this tradition.

The Development of Prajñāpāramitā Literature: A Historical Overview

Approaching the Prajñāpāramitā literature as a whole, we are confronted by a substantial number of scriptures of very different sizes, ranging from the immense *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (T. 220 [V–VII]) translated into Chinese by Xuanzang in the 7th century (in effect a summa of almost the entire literature edited as a single *sūtra*), to compressed versions such as the famous *Heart Sūtra*, whose Chinese version by the same Xuanzang consists of a little more than 300 characters, or – to mention the extreme embodiment of this principle – the *Perfection of Insight in One Syllable*. These universal natural movements of Buddhist texts (especially *sūtra*) in general, expansion and contraction (Salomon, 2011, 181–182), have deeply shaped the Prajñāpāramitā literature and informed its historical development.

Two factors have dominated the study of the Prajñāpāramitā family from traditional exegesis and bibliographical science to modern scholarship: the assumption of its overall unity at the level of doctrinal content on the one hand, and the variety (and variable size) of its textual instantiations on the other. As a result, much energy has been devoted, from an early time, to classifying the various Prajñāpāramitā texts and to working out their reciprocal relationship (see Hikata, 1958, xix–xxvii, particularly detailed on Chinese sources).

A common classification is that according to the size of the texts expressed (as was customary in India) in the number of units of 32 syllables (*śloka*, "line", a metrical unit here applied to prose). While the earliest available bibliographical records are characterized by a certain fluidity, from a certain point on the classification of Prajñāpāramitā texts tended to be based on fixed quantitative categories (Watanabe, 2009, 26–27): the main versions acknowledged in this way were those in 100,000 (*Śatasāhasrikā*), 25,000 (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*), 18,000 (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*), and 8,000 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) lines. In Sanskrit these figures (which are, to a certain extent, conventional: see Mitra, 1887–1888, xiv) take the form of feminine adjectives agreeing with the noun Prajñāpāramitā and forming the titles of the various scriptures. In this connection, it should be observed that the word *sūtra* is not used in the original titles of Prajñāpāramitā scriptures (Karashima, 2015, 116).

This eventually became the predominant taxonomical system applied to this literature. The earliest attestation of these standard categories, however, is relatively late. It is found in a list of Prajñāpāramitā scriptures at the beginning of the *Jin'gang xian lun* (金剛仙論; T. 1512 [XXV] 798a2–14; see Hikata 1958, xxiv-xxv), which is the record of a lecture by the early 6th century translator Bodhiruci (Funayama, 2009, 48–50).

The use of these categories in all likelihood represents an *ex post facto* attempt to impose some order on a far more fluid reality, which had been developing for centuries within blurred and flexible

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typological boundaries. Thus, categories such as *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* are, to a certain extent, more functional bibliographical devices (or constructs) than rigidly defined referents of historical realities, something which is particularly true of the first centuries of the Prajñāpāramitā history.

The broad picture of the historical development of the Prajñāpāramitā literature outlined by the main previous scholarship on this subject (Hikata, 1958; Conze, 1978; Kajiyoshi, 1980) remains still largely valid, although recent studies and manuscript discoveries (above all the early manuscript in Gandharī) have no doubt modified it in several important details.

The origins of Prajñāpāramitā literature have been the object of some debate in the past (Lamotte, 1954, 385–391; Conze, 1978, 1–4), especially because the information provided by traditional doxographical and exegetical sources, and by Prajñāpāramitā texts themselves, is open to various interpretations. Some modern scholars have suggested a southern Indian origin of this scriptural tradition and of Mahāyāna in general (Bareau, 1955, 297–298), also in view of a possible connection with some schools affiliated to the Mahāsāṃghika group (such as the Pūrvaśaila and the Aparaśaila) and active in that area, which according to some sources possessed a Prajñāpāramitā in Prakrit (see below). However other evidence suggests a northern or northwestern origin (Lamotte, 1954, 389–394). The new information now available (particularly the Gandhari manuscript and linguistic data from early Chinese translations) suports the hypothesis that Gandhara was a crucial area for the early development of this tradition. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that ideas embodied in Prajñāpāramitā scriptures may have originated in the south (Karashima, 2013a, 180–181).

Different theories concerning the development of this literature, and especially the relationship between the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the longer versions, had already been proposed by traditional Buddhist exegetes, and this issue was addressed from the earliest phase of Prajñāpāramitā study by modern western scholars. In his seminal study of Indian Buddhism, E. Burnouf (1844, 464–465; 2010, 433) mentioned two alternative hypotheses: one regarding the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* as an excerpt of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, the other taking the latter as an expansion of the former, respectively advocated, according to E. Burnouf, by the Tibetan and Nepalese traditions. In fact the idea that texts belonging to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* group were the outcome of a process of excerpting from an originally longer scripture was predominant also in China (Zürcher, 2007, 339–340n182; Hikata, 1958, xix–xxi). The alternative view, considering the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* the original scripture, that generally supported in modern scholarship, was probably influenced by the high status of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in Nepalese Buddhist religious practice.

As is often the case in the study of Buddhist literature at large, Chinese translations, which are generally dated or datable with considerable accuracy, provide crucial information for establishing at least a hypothetical chronology of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. The fact that the earliest translations of this genre (T. 224 and T. 225, produced respectively during the 2nd and 3rd centuries; see below) correspond to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and were produced quite some time before any version of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* constitutes an important clue in this respect.

In modern scholarship, the theory that the original Prajñāpāramitā text is to be found in the group (or subfamily) of texts related to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was advocated with a very detailed analysis by Kajiyoshi (1980 [1st ed. 1943], 515–567), and his conclusions, at least in this respect, have been generally accepted. In particular, Kajiyoshi (1980, 568–633) identified part of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (corresponding to T. 224 [VIII] 425c6–427a4 in the earliest Chinese translation; Kajiyoshi, 1980, 576–581) as the original, very short Prajñāpāramitā scripture (Hikata, 1958, xxxix–xxxxiv; Schmithausen, 1977; for a convenient overview of various theories on the original *Prajñāpāramitā*, see Orsborn, 2012, 87–102).

The historical primacy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily received a spectacular confirmation in recent years with the discovery of an early manuscript in the north-western form of Middle Indic known as Gandhari. Possibly dating to the 1st century CE, it bears an unmistakable family likeness to other witnesses of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* group, even if it is certainly much shorter and more archaic than any of them (see below). This finding should be interpreted against the backdrop of the traditions concerning a Prajñāpāramitā in Prakrit noted above (Skilling, 2013, 199–201; Tournier, 2012, 253–280, and esp. 263–266; Harrison, 1982, 227–228; see also Vetter, 2001, who considered Prajñāpāramitā to be a strand originally distinct from the Great Vehicle).

At some point, probably between 2nd and 3rd century, the early Prajñāpāramitā text related to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (which, as is typical of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature in general, was transmitted in a variety of recensions already at an early stage: see Falk & Karashima 2013, 98–100; Karashima 2013, 181) was further expanded in ways that, as will be detailed below, resulted in an entirely different, and substantially longer text. In fact, we should say, more precisely, a set of texts or a textual subfamily, given that historically this expanded version is again represented by multiple witnesses which, while mutually related with very complex patterns of agreement and variation, are not reducible to a single ur-text. They form the other main subfamily of the Prajñāpāramitā literature: that of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts, so defined in contrast to the shorter *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.

These two related subfamilies – that of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* – represent what could be called the main stream of Prajñāpāramitā literature. Some time after the formation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, a new phase began which saw the production of much shorter individual scriptures, with specific features of form and content. Here, too, it is impossible to propose a definite chronology of this development. On the basis of the available evidence (again, mainly provided by Chinese sources), we can provisionally date the beginning of this new phase to sometime during the 4th century CE: the first traces of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which seems to be the earliest Prajñāpāramitā scripture outside the two main textual families on which we possess any evidence, date to the beginning of the 5th century (for a hypothetical earlier date, see Hikata, 1958, lxxxiii; see also Schopen, 2005, 29, 55n16–17), and other texts of comparable sizes and typologies were probably composed in the following centuries.

Another important parallel development which must have taken place during this phase (before the mid 7th cent.) is the gathering and assemblage of the various Prajñāpāramitā scriptures produced up to that time into one single textual container. However, rather than resulting in an *āgama*-like collection, this process led to the formation of a single, immense *sūtra* in which the various individual scriptures are presented as sections (*fen* [分]), or as "assemblies" or "gatherings" (*hui* [會]) at which the Buddha preached that particular scripture. Partly similar collections are found also in other classes of Mahāyāna texts (see Demiéville, 1953, 432–435), such as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Ōtake, 2007) or the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (Pagel, 1995, 53–78), and may have reflected a general trend in the typological development of the literature of the Great Vehicle.

This huge *summa* of almost the entire Prajñāpāramitā literature is only attested by a single Chinese translation, the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (大般若波羅蜜多經; T. 220 [V–VII]) in 600 scrolls (for a detailed study, Watanabe, 1995), probably the largest Buddhist text ever produced in any language, and the only scripture in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon extending over several volumes.

This translation (Watanabe, 1995, 31–35), completed in 663, represented the last work of the great Tang master Xuanzang (玄奘; c. 596–664). It consists of 16 sections representing as many historically independent texts (for an overview, Watanabe, 1995, 13–16). Sections 1–10 are in descending order of length, from the immense initial section, whose original is said to have consisted of 132,600 lines, to the short version in 300 lines, corresponding to the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (on this figure, see below).

The final six sections of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (11–16) are not arranged according to size. Sections 11–15 are expositions of the first five perfections, and correspond to a single text preserved in Tibetan (**Pañcapāramitānirdeśa*), while the 16th (corresponding to the scripture known as *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā*, discussed below) can be taken to represent, at least in the context of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*, the section on the perfection of insight (which is indeed its title in T. 220: *Di shiliu banruoboluomiduo fen* [第十六般若波羅蜜多分]) complementing the preceding five (see Hikata, 1958, lxxvii).

The *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* does not seem to have been the outcome of a process of selection and editing by Xuanzang (see also Bongard-Levin & Watanabe, 1997, 98). The evidence we possess on this translation (which is essentially first-hand) clearly suggests a non-Chinese origin. According to Xuanzang's biography, the *Da Tang Da ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* (大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳), first drafted by his collaborator Huili (慧立) in 664 CE and completed by Yancong (彥悰) in 668, the original Sanskrit text consisted of 200,000 lines in total (T. 2053 [L] 275c24–25; Li, 1995, 327). The same source further specifies that Xuanzang had obtained "in the Western Regions" (*xiyu* [西域]) three copies of this scripture, which he collated in order to establish the text he then used for his translation (T. 2053 [L] 276a12–13; Li, 1995, 328).

More detailed information on the Indic original of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* is provided by the very interesting and typologically unique catalogue

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found at the end (scroll 100) of the *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林, T. 2122), a massive Buddhist encyclopaedia compiled by the Tang monk Daoshi (道世, c. 596–683?). The fourth part of this catalogue, called "Section on *Prajñā* [*pāramitā*]" (*Banruo bu* [般若部], T. 2122 [LIII] 1024b18–1025a16) is in fact just a table of contents of Xuanzang's translation, providing, for each of its sections, the size in lines of the corresponding original Sanskrit. This record is also found in some editions of Zhisheng's (智昇) fundamental catalogue of the Chinese canon, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄) compiled in 730 (T. 2154 [LV] 594a15–595a1).

All in all, Daoshi's description of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*'s original seems to reflect first-hand knowledge of the facts: the *Fayuan zhulin* was completed in 668, only a few years after Xuanzang had finished his translation, and Daoshi belonged to the Ximing Monastery (西明寺) in Chang'an, in which Xuanzang himself also resided for a period, after the monastery had been built (see T. 2053 [L] 275b22–23; Li, 1995, 325).

While the great *summa* may have been assembled somewhere in India, it did not become the predominant way of editing and transmitting the Prajñāpāramitā literature: on the contrary, the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* remained an isolated experiment. It is true that, as observed by Watanabe (2009, 31), the arrangement of Prajñāpāramitā texts in the Tibetan canon parallels in part the structure of Xuanzang's translation. However, they do not formally constitute a single scripture, as is the case with the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*. From a textual point of view, the scriptures constituting the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* represent, in some cases, a fairly distinctive recension. This seems to be the case for the two sections (4–5) related to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, for the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* sections (Zacchetti 2005, 43, 47–49), and for its 9th section, corresponding to the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (see below).

The last important development in the history of the Prajñāpāramitā was the gradual synthesis, particularly from the 7th century on, of this tradition with Buddhist Tantra, which was becoming one of the most important and dominant strands in Indian Buddhism and elsewhere (Conze, 1978 13–16; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 49–61). This process, which resulted in a number of short scriptures bearing the name *Prajñāpāramitā* in their titles, but incorporating to varying degrees elements which are essentially tantric in character, was probably favoured by – and indeed partly overlaps with – the creation of shorter Prajñāpāramitā texts mentioned above. And this not just for merely formal reasons: the condensation undergone by the Prajñāpāramitā seems also to reflect important ideas about texts and their efficacy, enhanced by the process of textual distillation and compression (Conze, 1978, 13).

Apart from Chinese and Tibetan translations, on which see below, Prajñāpāramitā scriptures were also translated, in the pre-modern period, into other Asian languages such as Khotanese (Emmerick 1992, 18–34; Maggi 2009, 370–375), Sogdian (Yoshida, 2009, 317) and Mongolian (Komine *et al.*, 2015, 190–194; Poppe, 1971).

Main surveys of the Prajñāpāramitā literature include Matsumoto (1932), Hikata (1958, ix–li), E. Conze (1978), Yinshun (1980, 591–712), M. Lehnert (1999, 35–92), and Komine *et al.* (2015). Useful, though outdated, bibliographical surveys of this subject are provided by Hanayama (1966) and P. Beautrix (1971). In this connection, mention should also be made of E.Conze's lexicographical work (1973c) specifically devoted to Prajñāpāramitā texts in Sanskrit, but systematically referencing also their Tibetan translations.

Main Prajñāpāramitā Texts and Textual Subfamilies

The following paragraphs discuss the most important scriptures (and scriptural subfamilies) belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā group, listing the most significant texts transmitted in the main Buddhist classical languages (Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan), as well as the relevant modern editions, translations, and studies. Chinese and Tibetan translations are fundamental sources for studying Buddhist scriptures. In a number of cases, when no Sanskrit text survives, they constitute our only way of accessing a given scripture. But even when we do have Sanskrit parallels, translations retain their value. These early translations were often based on Indic originals which were more or less different from the Sanskrit texts we possess nowadays. To correctly understand this fact, one has to take into account the fluid nature of these scriptures, open to constant change and updating over long periods of their history. Hence, for the philological and historical study of this literature, translations are to be regarded as witnesses which are in principle on an equal standing with the Sanskrit versions (Karashima, 2011, xii, on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily; Zacchetti, 2005, 9). From this point of view, the value of Chinese translations is, generally speaking, particularly high: as a rule, in China earlier translations were neither discarded nor updated, but preserved as a constituent part of the canon. Thanks to this historical attitude, in many cases we possess multiple translations of the "same" scriptures which are often datable and generally predate the available Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels.

The *Prajnāpāramitā* literature will be discussed in the following sections:

1. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily: the Gandhari Prajñāpāramitā manuscript; the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; the *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*; main commentaries on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.
2. The *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* subfamily: the Gilgit manuscript of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and other related texts (Sanskrit *Śatasāhasrikā*; Tibetan *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*); the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and related texts; other Chinese and Tibetan translations of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts; the *Daśasāharikā Prajñāpāramitā*; main commentaries on *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts.
3. Shorter Prajñāpāramitā texts: the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*; the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*; the **Devarājapravaraprajñāpāramitā*; the **Nāgaśrīparipṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa*; the *Pañcaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Prajñāpāramitā scripture for Humane Kings*.
4. The *Adhyardhaśatikā* and other tantric Prajñāpāramitā texts: the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Svalpākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā*; the *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā*; the *Perfection of insight in one syllable*.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* Subfamily

The earliest Prajñāpāramitā texts belong to a subfamily which evolved for many centuries and is represented by several witnesses surviving in various languages. From a certain point on, witnesses of this group were classified as representing a *Perfection of Insight in 8000 Lines* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*). This comparatively late categorization, however, has to be taken with all the caveats outlined in the preceding section. So the definition of early texts such as the Gandhari manuscript or Lokakṣema's *Dao xing jing* as *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is almost certainly not accurate from a historical point of view. Here the category "*Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily" is used merely as a convenient shorthand definition.

The fortunes of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* had a curious trajectory. It seems to have temporarily lost importance after the formation of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts (at least in Central Asia), as suggested by the very small number of early manuscript fragments belonging to this family which have surfaced so far—a scenario in stark contrast to that presented by the *Larger* Prajñāpāramitā. However, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* made a spectacular return to the forefront at a later stage, especially during the Pāla period (Schopen, 2005, 5–6; Seyfort Ruegg, 2004, 24n29), also thanks to the religious developments outlined above.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* represents the most seminal Prajñāpāramitā scripture also from the point of view of content, and as such many of its main themes have been touched upon above. Here only the main features of this scripture are outlined; useful summaries include Hikata (1958, xxxix–xxxxii), E. Conze (1978, 48–50), and Komine *et al.* (2015, 66–68). For the sake of convenience, the following thematic outline is mainly based on the complete Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in 32 chapters, which, however, reflects a relatively late and expanded text.

This scripture consists for the most part in a series of dialogues between the Buddha and various characters, in a fashion typical of the whole literature. The main role is played by Subhūti, a disciple of the Buddha renowned for being the "first of those who dwell without strife" (*araṇavihārin*; Vetter, 2001, 72–73) who figures as an important character in a large part of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. The narrative element is generally minimal, with the exception of chapters 30–31.

The first chapter, in the Sanskrit version entitled *Sarvākārajñatācaryā* (Practice of the Knowledge of All Aspects; i.e. the highest form of omniscience exclusive of a buddha), has been often considered one of the most important parts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and the epitome of early Prajñāpāramitā thought. It provides definitions, in the dialectical form characteristic of the Prajñāpāramitā discourse, of several key categories, such as perfection of insight, bodhisattva, "great being" (*mahāsattva*), Great Vehicle, and so forth. For a detailed philological and thematic study of this chapter, see A. Verboom (1998).

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of chapters 3–6. Chapter 6, in particular, expounds a particular modality of merit-production by means of rejoicing (*anumodanā*) at others' positive deeds and then diverting (*pariṇāmanā* and related forms; see above) the resulting karmic retribution to the attainment of supreme awakening.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pays much attention to negative factors or attitudes which can hinder the bodhisattva's progresses towards awakening: these include panic and dejection caused by the disconcerting aspects of the teaching (Mitra, 1887–1888, 5; Vaidya, 1960, 3; Conze, 1973a, 84); pride in one's attainments (chapter 21, 24), practice of seclusion (*viveka*) as an exterior form of asceticism (Mitra, 1887–1888, 391–395; Vaidya, 1960, 194–195; Conze, 1973a, 233–235; see also Seyfort Ruegg, 2004, 55). These shortcomings are often depicted as the result of the influence of Māra, a traditional Buddhist personification of evil who plays a considerable role in the text, especially in trying to divert bodhisattvas from their final goal (see especially chapters 11, 17, 21, 24, 27). The counterpoint to these pitfalls is the attainment of the stage on which a bodhisattva is no longer liable to retrogression from the final goal (*avinivartanīya*). This notion figures prominently throughout the text (e.g. Mitra, 1887–1888, 6 and *passim*; Vaidya, 1960, 3–4 and *passim*) as a crucial juncture in the career of a bodhisattva as portrayed in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Nattier, 2003, 151–152, 151–152n32).

Another, closely related *leitmotiv* in this scripture is the importance of avoiding, while practicing, lesser attainments. This was obviously a major concern for the authors of the text. Chapter 20, another peak of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and of Prajñāpāramitā literature at large, contains a technical discussion of this issue, providing detailed guidelines for cultivation in the spirit of Prajñāpāramitā, through "skillfulness in the use of means" (*upāyakauśalya*) which, *pace* Hikata (1958, xxxi), is clearly a key concept in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (de Breet, 1992).

Chapter 16, "On reality" (*Tathatāparivarta*), occupying a central position in the scripture and carefully staged as a climatic episode, can be regarded as the thematic barycenter of the entire scripture (Conze, 1978, 48; Orsborn, 2012, 284–299). The key term in this chapter, *tathatā* ("reality"), is a denomination of the true aspect of things, undifferentiated, unaltered and non-dual (Mitra, 1887–1888, 307–308; Vaidya, 1960, 153–154; Conze, 1973a, 193–194), and as such can be considered a synonym of emptiness. Elsewhere in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (chapter 18), *tathatā* is proposed as a definition of supreme awakening (Mitra, 1887–1888, 351; Vaidya, 1960, 175; Conze, 1973a, 212).

Chapters 30–31, forming the main bulk of the final portion of the text, are typologically and stylistically distinct from the rest. They are narrative in character, and describe the spiritual quest of the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita ("Always weeping") in his search for the Prajñāpāramitā. This narration ends at the beginning of the short last chapter (32), which is laid out as the formal conclusion of the entire scripture, with the entrusting (*parīndanā*) of the Prajñāpāramitā to Ānanda.

Modern scholarship has tended to regard the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* as the outcome of a process of gradual growth and stratification (Conze, 1952; 1978, 8–9; Hikata, 1958, xxxix–xxxxv). A very different and promising approach has been prosed more recently by M. Orsborn (2012), who proposed an interpretation of the structure of the entire text as a meaningful whole, shaped by chiasmus as an underlying formative principle.

The Early Gandhari Manuscript of the *Perfection Of Insight*

The manuscript in Gandhari discovered in recent years (ed. Falk & Karashima, 2012; 2013), the earliest Prajñāpāramitā text available to date, is remarkably close to other texts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily, and especially to the earliest Chinese translation. It is the remnant of what was probably an originally very long birchbark scroll, covering, in the recto and verso portions of the text corresponding, respectively, to parts of the first and fifth chapters in the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Part of a collection of manuscripts presumably coming from the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area (Falk, 2011, 13), it has been carbon dated to between 47 and 147 CE; the script would not be incompatible with a 1st century date (Falk, 2011, 20). The scroll includes a colophon containing the words "in this first book of the *Perfection of insight*" (*paḍhamage postage prañaparamidae*), which suggest that originally there were other books (Falk, 2011, 23). This manuscript represents an earlier, shorter version of the text: it is even less developed than the second earliest representative of this subfamily, the Chinese translation entitled *Dao xing jing* (T. 224; second half of the 2nd cent. CE [see below]). Yet we have to stress that it cannot be taken as representing the "original" Prajñāpāramitā:

though no doubt earlier in terms of both form and content than any other previously known Prajñāpāramitā scripture, this text already bears signs of being the re-elaboration of an earlier version (Falk & Karashima, 2013a, 100).

Sanskrit Texts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*

The complete Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, in 32 chapters, has been preserved in comparatively late manuscripts (11th and 12th century; see Sander, 2000, 1). The first modern edition was published at the end of the 19th century (Mitra, 1887–1888). Subsequent editions were produced by Wogihara (1932–1935) and P.L. Vaidya (1960). In Wogihara's work the base text is edited together with Haribhadra's commentary (the *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*), whereas in P.L. Vaidya the latter is edited separately. However, the accuracy of these editions (and particularly of Vaidya) and their direct reliance upon manuscripts are not beyond question. For example, a gap in Mitra's edition caused by the accidental omission of one manuscript folio was reproduced in both subsequent editions by Wogihara and P.L. Vaidya (for the missing folio see Conze 1952, 261–262; 1978, 46; see also Karashima, 2013b for a more recent and detailed discussion). A very useful index to both the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and Haribhadra's commentary was compiled by Keira and Ueda (1998).

The Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* represents the most developed text within this subfamily: when compared with earlier witnesses (especially the early Chinese translations), it gives signs of having undergone considerable modifications in terms of both form and content, in some cases reflecting developments in Mahāyāna thought (Lancaster, 1968; 1975).

Several important manuscript fragments of a much earlier Sanskrit manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, probably coming from near Bamiyan, were discovered at the end of the 20th century and subsequently edited (Sander, 2000; 2002). They are estimated on paleographical grounds to date to the second half of the 3rd century CE, and are of considerable interest for the textual history of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily, as its earliest Sanskrit witnesses. Although from a linguistic point of view these fragments display some features typical of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, they seem remarkably close from a textual point of view to the later complete Sanskrit version (Sander, 2002, 3–5).

There are two complete modern translations of the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: into English, by E. Conze (1973), and into Japanese, by Kajiyama and Tanji (1974–1975), while substantial excerpts were rendered into German by M. Walleser (1914, 32–139). An unpublished manuscript containing a French draft translation of the first 28 chapters by E. Burnouf, the great pioneer of modern Buddhist studies, is preserved in the Bibliothéque nationale de France of Paris (Feer, 1899, 63 no. 64; Conze, 1978, 29 and 48). A sizable excerpt from the first chapter (= Mitra, 1887–1888, 3–27; Vaidya, 1960, 2–14) was included by E. Burnouf in his *Introduction a l'histoire du buddhisme indien* (1844, 465–483; 2010, 434–447).

Chinese and Tibetan Translations Related to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*

There are seven Chinese translations (one of which is partial) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* or related texts produced from the 2nd to the 10th centuries, spanning the entire history of Chinese Buddhist translations. For this reason they constitute an important source for studying the development of translation techniques, as alreay pointed out long ago by Liang Qichao in his pioneering work (1936, 170–176).

The earliest of these translations, the *Dao xing jing* (道行經), or *Dao xing banruo jing* (道行般若經; T. 224), is probably the most important witness from a historical point of view, and as such deserves special attention. Thanks to an early anonymous colophon it be can be dated to 179 CE (more precisely to November 24, 179; see Sengyou's [僧祐], 445–518; *Chu sanzang ji ji* [出三藏記集]; T. 2145 [LV] 47c4–9). It was accomplished by a team which included Lokakṣema, the first propagator of Mahāyāna literature in China (Harrison, 1993, 141–145; Nattier, 2008, 73–89). This translation was probably based on an original text in Gandhari (Karashima, 2013a). The *Dao xing jing*, unlike virtually any other such text, has been critically edited, with systematic references to all available parallels, by Seishi Karashima (2011), who earlier published a glossary (2010).

The second translation, the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 (T. 225), is included in the canon under the name of Zhi Qian (支謙), an important lay translator active in south-central China during the first half of the 3rd century. However, recent research has unveiled a more complex scenario: while chapters 2–30 are indeed to be ascribed to Zhi Qian, the first chapter (which includes an early Chinese

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anonymous interlinear commentary, on which see Lai, 1983) is very different from the rest in terms of style and terminology and is to be regarded as the work of another translator (Nattier, 2010).

Subsequent translations were produced by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the 5th century (known as *Mohebanruoboluomi jing* [摩訶般若波羅蜜經] or *Xiaopin banruoboluomi jing* [小品般若波羅蜜經]; T. 227), by Xuanzang during the second half of the 7th century, and by the Indian monk Shihu (施護, *Dānapāla), active between the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th (*Fo shuo fomu chusheng san fazang banruoboluomi jing* [佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經]; T. 228).

Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* includes two sections related to this subfamily. The first is the 4th (T. 220 [VII] 763b2–865a26), in 29 chapters, which is to be regarded as a real *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, as its original consisted of 8,000 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c3). The other is the 5th (T. 220 [VII] 865c2–920b16), in 24 chapters, related to the preceding text in terms of content (Hikata, 1958, xxxxv; Karashima, 2011, xii), though approximately half its size and, indeed, said to have been based on a Sanskrit original in 4,000 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c7). It is noteworthy that both texts lack the final narration of Sadāprarudita's quest, and are thus quite different at least in this respect from all other witnesses of this subfamily.

The *Mohebanruo chaojing* (摩訶般若鈔經; T. 226), or *Excerpt from the Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, stands apart from all the other translations, being essentially a revision of part (13 chapters out of 30) of Lokakṣema's *Dao xing jing* (Karashima, 2010, ix). Its authorship has been debated by modern scholars. Kajiyoshi (1980, 68–76), on the basis of bibliographical catalogues, ascribed it to Dharmarakṣa, dating it to 265. In the canon it is ascribed to *Dharmapriya (曇摩蜱) and Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) who, according to the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T. 2145 [LV] p. 10b1–4), translated this text in 382 CE. The problem is compounded by the fact that we also possess a preface by the great 4th century bibliographer and exegete Dao'an (道安) to a text with a very similar title, and said to have been translated by *Dharmapriya and others, but which is clearly described as a *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (see Zacchetti, 2005, 38–39). The whole question needs reconsideration, especially in light of a systematic comparison of T. 226 with other translations ascribed to Zhu Fonian.

The Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa* [D 12/P 734]) has been transmitted in three different recensions (Shōji, 2014).

A very useful table cross-referencing all these various sources is provided in Komine *et al.*, 2015, 200–203. For a synopsis of the various recensions of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily, see Karashima (2011, xii–xiii).

Main Commentaries on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*

The most important Indian commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is no doubt the *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā* by Haribhadra (late 8th cent.; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 101–102), edited by G. Tucci (1932), Wogihara (1932–1935) and P.L. Vaidya (1960), and translated into English by G. Sparham (2006–2012). Haribhadra's commentary reflects the application to the text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* of a hermeneutical scheme (expounded by the exegetical treatise known as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*) which was originally devised for describing the structure of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (see below).

Another *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* commentary surviving, albeit partially, in Sanskrit is the *Sāratamā*, whose author, Ratnākaraśānti, was active in the first half of the 11th century (Jaini, 2001, 399); it was edited by P.S. Jaini (1979). Typologically very different from Haribhadra's earlier (and philosophically more sophisticated) work, it is a kind of exegetical text particularly devoted to the explanation of difficult words (*pañjikā*). For a comparative analysis of these two commentaries, see P.S. Jaini (2001, 397–415).

Mention should be also made of Dignāga's authoritative verse summary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*, whose Sanskrit text has been edited by G. Tucci (1947, with translation) and E. Frauwallner (1959, 140–144).

The *Prajnāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*

Another text that can be considered affiliated to this subfamily, at least from the point of view of its content, is the *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* (*Stanzas summarizing the precious qualities of the perfection of insight*; see Yuyama, 1976, xiii § 4). This verse summary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* holds a unique position among Prajñāpāramitā texts, not only because it is in verse whereas the other texts are predominantly in prose, but also for its language, as this is the only known Prajñāpāramitā in Buddhist

Hybrid Sanskrit. In this connection, mention should be also made of Ji Xianlin's important study on this scripture, with a particular focus on its language and history (Ji, 1995–1998, vol. 7 [1998], 216–269).

The Sanskrit text has been transmitted in two recensions: Recension A was edited by Yuyama (1976), who also compiled an important grammatical study (Yuyama, 1973); and Recension B, edited by E. Obermiller (1937; Sanskrit text edited synoptically with its Tibetan translation), by Vaidya (1961, 353–404) and, partially, by Yuyama (1977). Recension B has been translated into English by E. Conze (1973, 9–73). Note that Vaidya's edition of Recension B is incorrectly listed by E. Conze (1978, 53) as representing a third Recension C; see however Yuyama, 1976, xxix.

The *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* were translated into Chinese in 991 CE (Yuyama, 1976, xlii) by the Kaśmīri monk Faxian (法賢, originally named Tianxizai [天息災]) as *Foshuo fomu baode zang banruoboluomi jing* (佛說佛母寶德藏般若波羅蜜經; T. 229), and into Tibetan. There are also two recensions – in fact, two different translations – of the Tibetan text (Yuyama, 1976, xxx–xxxviii): the first (A) preserved in several manuscripts from Dunhuang and critically edited by Yuyama (1976, 153–191), and the second (B), translated by Vidyākarasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs probably during the early 9th century (Yuyama, 1976, xxxii) and preserved in the Kanjur (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa* [D 13/P 735]).

A Ming woodblock print dated 1447 containing two previously unknown translations of the stanzas, in Tibetan and Chinese, dating to the 12th century, was discovered by Luo Zhao (1983; pp. 17–36 have an edition of the Chinese version).

The date of the *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* is unclear. E. Conze, especially in view of its language, considered it to be a very early source, although he pointed out that the present text no longer directly reflects the original form, as it was "reviewed" at a later stage by the great Prajñāpāramitā commentator Haribhadra (1978, 54). He once expressed the view that the first two chapters represented the original Prajñāpāramitā and could be dated to 100 BC (Conze, 1960 = 1967, 124–130; see also 1973, x; 1978, 9–10; Skilling, 2013, 202–203). However, external evidence clearly points to a much later period for the composition of this text, as all its witnesses, including the Chinese translation, are comparatively late. Moreover, as remarked by Luo (1983, 14), not even Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* includes its translation. From a typological point of view, it seems to better fit a later dating: as pointed out by Conze himself (1978, 12–13), versified summaries are characteristic of a mature stage of development of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. It is also questionable that the linguistic features of this or any text should be taken, alone, as strong evidence of an early date (Silk, 2013).

Apart from issues of absolute chronology, it also seems unlikely that the stanzas predate the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (see also Ji, 1995–1998 [vol. 7, 256–257]). If anything, the Gandhari manuscript suggests that the direct antecedent of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was a shorter but closely related prose text, rather than a versified work.

The *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Subfamily

The earliest reliable traces of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* date to the second half of the 3rd century: it was probably sometime after 260 CE (see Zürcher, 2007, 62,340n183) that the Chinese monk Zhu Shixing (朱士行), having heard of the existence of a version of the Prajñāpāramitā more complete than the *Dao xing jing* then available in China, set off for a long and dangerous journey to Central Asia in search of its manuscript (see below).

The *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* is based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Expansion from the latter to the former happened through large scale inclusion of new materials into the framework of the earlier version (Hikata, 1958, xxxxvi–xxxxviii; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 32–33). This has been effectively compared by J. Nattier to a process of slicing and layering: the result – the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* – "consists of the *Aṣṭa* 'sliced' like a loaf of bread and then layered with 'fillings' introduced from other sources. Very little of the text of the *Aṣṭa* has been altered in the process" (Nattier, 2003, 62n19). In the process, entire new parts were added, such as the long and elaborate introductory section (*nidāna*; see Kimura, 2007 [vol. I.1], 1–28; Conze, 1975, 37–44).

A significant portion of the expanded text is made up by stock lists of terms and seemingly endless repetitions. The adoption of lists as a key expository strategy is a prominent feature of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. This form of exposition, which is found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* only in an embryonic form (see for example Mitra, 1887–1888, 35–36; Vaidya, 1960, 18; Conze, 1973a, 97), is used systematically in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Its main function at a doctrinal level is to actualize the universality of Prajñāpāramitā teaching: the inclusivistic

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approach towards the *contents* of traditional Buddhist teaching which, as we have seen above, is a typical feature of Prajñāpāramitā as a whole, is particularly noticeable in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, where the characteristic dialectical formulation are applied time and again to literally each and every category of the Buddhist teaching.

The differences between the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* from a doctrinal point of view represent a complex topic, and only some of the most significant aspects can be mentioned (see also Hikata, 1958, xxxi–xxxv). In general, *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts lay greater emphasis than does the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* on bodhisattvas' activities for assisting and instructing beings. References to the fact that the bodhisattvas bring beings to spiritual maturation (using the verb *paripācayati* and related forms) are widespread in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, but relatively rare in the older version. In parallel with this development, the notion of "skilfulness in the use of means" appears to have broadened its semantic range: alongside the meanings already attested in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, we start to see the term used in contexts which seem to imply the sense of "skillfulness in the use of teaching methods" (see for example Kimura, 2007 [vol. I.1], 52–53; Conze, 1975, 55).

The stages undergone by a bodhisattva during his progress towards awakening receive a detailed treatment in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, where we find different ten-stage systems probably influenced by another textual tradition of the Great Vehicle, that of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Hikata, 1958, xxxiii–xxxiv; Lamotte, 1980 [vol. V], 2373–2445). This contrasts with the much simpler system found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.

In comparison to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, we find in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts a more systematic and structured use of the notion of emptiness, especially through lists of its forms (Lamotte, 1976 [vol. IV], 2027–2151). In particular, the list of 18 types of emptiness is a constant refrain in the texts (see for example Kimura, 2007 [vol. I.1], 33, 63, 71 and *passim*; Zacchetti, 2005, 180–181, 296–299 [§ 1.135]).

We can assume that the process of textual expansion outlined above resulted in a basic *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. This is a purely theoretical construct: here too we are confronted, on the ground, by a plurality of witnesses from as long back as we have evidence – exactly as in the case of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, but with a scenario of possibly even greater complexity.

The tendency to textual variation, a universal feature of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature, proved particularly strong in the case of this subfamily: as a result, several different *versions* (that is, textual instantiations of varying lengths) came to be produced. As we have seen above, from a certain period three *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* versions were recognized as strandard: those in 100,000 (*Śatasāhasrikā*), 25,000 (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*), and 18,000 (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*), which are also found in Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*.

However, early sources on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (for the most part in Chinese) suggest a different scenario. On the basis of the available evidence, it seems that during the earliest phase (3rd–5th cents.) in the history of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, texts belonging to this subfamily were of varying size, ranging from about 17,000 to 22,000 lines and simply called *Prajñāpāramitā* or *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (Zacchetti, 2005, 38–40). In early Chinese historical, exegetical and bibliographical sources, texts belonging to this subfamily are usually defined as "Larger version [of the *Prajñāpāramitā*]" (*da pin* [大品]), as opposed to the "Smaller version" (*xiao pin* [小品]), i.e. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (see for example Zürcher, 2007, 340), although in some cases the category *da pin* is used to refer specifically to the *Śatasāhasrikā*. This simpler classification seems to be a historically more accurate representation of this textual family during its early and most important formative phase (Zacchetti, 2005, 41), and it is essentially adopted in this section.

Disregarding this situation has effectively hindered a correct understanding of the historical development of this literature and of the relationship between the various texts. Modern scholarship is marked by a tendency to emphasize quantitative (size) over qualitative (recensional) affinities, often surreptitiously superimposing later standard categories such as *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* on the earlier texts. In this way it becomes easy to miss the dynamic nature of these texts, which are to be regarded as breathing living entities, hardly befitting rigid, ahistorical textual categories.

Such a fluidity was due to several factors, but primarily to the nature of the scriptures themselves: their "modular" structure (Zacchetti, 2005, 45–46) made it possible to infinitely vary the texts. Lists of terms, whose systematic use in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts has been discussed above, played an important role also from this point of view. Lists – a traditional and ubiquous feature of Buddhist literature in general (Gethin, 1992) – are not static textual elements or inert repositories of content: on the contrary, they can be expanded and compressed at will, and then further combined with other interlocking lists. In other words, they are another factor allowing (and often inviting) constant variation: a certain basic text can be easily expanded or condensed simply by manipulating the lists found in this scripture.

Another aspect that ought to be taken into account for a correct understanding of the particular notion of text in this context is the performative nature of these scriptures, as written transmission does not, of course, rule out oral fruition. These are texts meant to be instantiated mainly through recitation, as is suggested by the occurrence in the manuscipts of formulas prescribing the expansion of abbreviated passages (such as the formula *yāvad vistareṇa kartavyam*, "and so on – [text] to be given in full", in manuscripts of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*: see Zacchetti, 2005, 373–374 and Suzuki & Nagashima, 2015, 595–596; see also Falk & Karashima, 2012, 22 for a similar feature in the Gandhari Prajñāpāramitā manuscript).

The *Śatasāhasrikā* (*Prajñāpāramitā in 100000 lines*), which represents the extreme expansion of the whole Prajñāpāramitā literature, can be regarded as the product of these techniques of textual expansion: it is essentially the result of the full "activation" of all lists, with all the passages to be repeated given in full in the manuscripts. This is also the main reason for including the category *Śatasāhasrikā* in this subfamily, rather than in an independent group: apart from these quantitative and easily identifiable expansions, in terms of content texts belonging to this class do not differ from other *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts. In a sense, *Śatasāhasrikā* (and other such categories) should be regarded more as a textual generative principle than a rigidly defined, closed text: it would be very easy to produce (or perform) a *Śatasāhasrikā* starting from any shorter text (Zacchetti, 2005, 47–49).

Apart from predominantly quantitative variations in size, as *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts were being transmitted (and, at the same time, interpreted and "lived") in different areas at different times, they were gradually differentiating also from a textual point of view, at the level of content or wording (see. Seyfort Ruegg, 2004, 20–24). In this way, over the course of the transmission, different lineages of related texts came into existence. These lineages can be defined as recensions: that is, groups of witnesses (be they Sanskrit manuscripts or Chinese and Tibetan translations) defined by *qualitative* textual affinities (i.e. significant agreement in the wording of specific passages, significant shared expansions etc.).

It is extremely important, when studying *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts, to remain aware of the distinction between these two typologies of classification: quantitative (versions) / qualitative (recensions). Historically, they reflect two different processes of textual variation which have been equally productive, albeit in different ways, in the development of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* literature. So, for example, two witnesses can be very close from the point of their text, at a recensional level, while belonging to two different quantitative categories. As will be shown below, this is exactly the case with the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Gilgit and the Sanskrit *Śatasāhasrikā*.

Lack of clarity with respect to these categories has caused considerable confusion in the study of this subfamily. And it is fair to say that the quantitative aspect has largely dominated the discussion of these sources, to the detriment of recensions (see for example Hanayama, 1966, 38 [C]). So, for example, when E. Conze (1978, 10) describes the three main versions of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (in 100,000, 25,000 and 18,000 lines) as being "really one and the same book", he is saying something which is correct only in part. He was, obviously, aware of the existence of multiple recensions in this subfamily (Conze, 1978, 35), but decided not to give them enough attention.

However, it seems clear that patterns of qualitative (i.e., recensional) rather than quantitative affiliation should be given priority in the historical and philological study of these texts. For this reason, the following paragraphs group the various *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* witnesses, as much as possible, according to their recensional affiliations. At this stage this remains just a provisional classification. Even the boundaries between these recensions are, at best, fluid: an example of a major structural discrepancy in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* shared by witnesses across recensional boundaries is the concluding portion (see Zacchetti, 2005, 46n184).

This highly fluid scenario was mainly characteristic of the early phase of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* history: the general tendency in the development of this subfamily was to move towards textual stabilization, which resulted, in the long run, in the

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production and transmission of essentially defined and frozen texts. The Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* represents with great clarity this historical trend.

The great diffusion of texts belonging to this subfamily, especially during the first centuries of its existence, is witnessed by the huge number of existing manuscript fragments in Sanskrit from Central Asia. It is impossible to provide here a full list of all the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* fragments found in manuscripts collections. One can consult, for further though still partial references, S. Zacchetti, 2005, 17–18 (n53–54), K. Wille, 2014a, 206; 2014b, 227; Hori, 2014, 261. Examples of editions of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript fragments include S. Konow (1942), G. Bongard-Levin (1994), G. Bongard-Levin and Hori (1996), Karashima (2005). Mention should be also made of some Central Asian woodblock prints of Sanskrit *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts (*Śatasāhasrikā* and *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*; see Formigatti [forthcoming]).

The Gilgit Manuscript of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and Other Related Texts (Skt. *Śatasāhasrikā*; Tib. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*)

The most important Sanskrit witness of this subfamily is, without a doubt, the large birch bark manuscript of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (von Hinüber, 2014, 102; Zacchetti, 2005, 19–26) discovered in 1931, together with many other texts, in the remnants of a building near Gilgit, in present-day Pakistan (von Hinüber, 2014, 79–80). This manuscript (Serial No. 24, 25, 28 in the Gilgit corpus), which originally consisted of 308 folios, can be dated on paleographical grounds to the 6th–7th centuries CE. While the Gilgit corpus contains also other folios belonging to *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts (Serial No. 26, 27, 50; see von Hinüber, 2014, 102–103), attention here will be limited to the main manuscript.

The Gilgit manuscript had been classified by Conze (1974, xv; 1978, 34–35, 40) as representing two different versions: the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* for the first part (folios 1–187v), and the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* for the remaining portion (187v–308r). However, recent research has shown that E. Conze's classification was based on a wrong interpretation of the manuscript, which is to be regarded as reflecting a single text (Zacchetti, 2005, 19–22). For the reasons discussed above, *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* seems the historically most accurate definition for this or any other text of this family for purposes of bibliographical classification, unless another more specific title is explicitly supported by the given manuscript. The title given in some chapter-colophons of this Gilgit manuscript is simply *Prajñāpāramitā* (e.g. folio 8r, 6 = Zacchetti, 2005, 375; or at the very end of the manuscript, on folio 308, 9 [Conze, 1974a, 136]).

The Gilgit *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript is currently accessible in two low-quality facsimile editions (Ragu Vira & Lokesh Chandra, 1966–1970, and 1995, which is generally more readable). A new edition of all the Prajñāpāramitā texts from Gilgit, with high-quality color photographs, is planned for the near future by the National Archives of India and the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology (Soka University), as part of a wider editorial project on the Gilgit corpus (see von Hinüber's General Introduction in Clarke, 2014, xiii). At present, only some portions of this manuscript have been critically edited (von Hinüber, 2014, 102): the initial part, folios 1–27 (Zacchetti, 2005, 366–400); folios 202–205 (Choong, 2006, 109–133); and the entire final portion, folios 218–308 (Conze, 1962a and 1974; including both edition and translation).

An incomplete but fairly large (69 nonconsecutive folios) *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Sanskrit manuscript from Dunhuang, which is close to the Gilgit manuscript from a textual point of view, has been recently published by Suzuki and Nagashima (2015). This edition includes also some hitherto unedited parallel passages from the main Gilgit manuscript.

The Sanskrit *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Prajñāpāramitā in 100000 lines*) has been transmitted in comparatively late Nepalese manuscripts. The first twelve chapters of this huge scripture have been edited by Ghoṣa (1902–1914), and the remaining portion is being edited by Kimura (2009–2010). In spite of its late manuscript attestation, the *Śatasāhasrikā* is surprisingly close, from a textual point of view, to the much earlier Gilgit manuscript. If we leave aside the difference in size (which is in fact largely the result of merely mechanical repetitions and expansions of lists), and the many trivial errors which mar Ghoṣa's edition, the Sanskrit *Śatasāhasrikā* is often identical to the Gilgit text. Both belong to the same recension of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*.

To the same recension belongs also the Tibetan translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Prajñāpāramitā in 25000 Lines*) included in the *Kanjur: Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa* (D 9/P 731), which E. Conze (1978, 35) tentatively ascribes to the celebrated translator Ye shes sde (active between

8th and 9th century). On the relationship between these three texts see Zacchetti (2005, 42–43, 42–43n174.)

The Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and Related Texts

When compared to the Gilgit manuscript and the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Prajñāpāramitā in 25000 Lines*) clearly represents a different recension, with many differences in matters of wording and sequence of passages; for a detailed collation of the initial portion of these Sanskrit texts, see the right-hand column of the synoptic edition in S. Zacchetti, 2005, 144–239, with the relevant apparatus. In view of the fact that this text has been preserved in (fairly late) Nepalese manuscripts, it is possible to call it the "Nepalese recension" of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, but it should be remarked that this is just a convenient definition, which, moreover, is probably inaccurate from the viewpoint of the origins of this text.

The most obvious feature of this Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* is that its entire text has been cast into the framework of an exegetical text, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (see below): the base text has been subdivided into eight main sections (called *abhisamaya*s, "stages of realization"), in turn subdivided into shorter sections whose end is marked by headings relevant to topics dealt with in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. It is hard to say when this editorial arrangement was put in place: E. Conze (1978, 37) tentatively dates it to the 5th century; Hikata (1958, L), probably correctly, inclines towards a later dating (later than the 5th cent., maybe during the 8th cent.).

This recension has been often described, not without some ambiguity, as "the revised" or "recast" *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and the alterations supposedly introduced into the text by this revision have been discussed by several authors: see, for example, E. Conze (1978, 37–39), N. Lethcoe (1976), and Watanabe (1994). The main objection to the notion of a "revised" *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* opposed to a supposed earlier "unrevised" version is that it presupposes a far too homogenous and static picture of the early history of the subfamily (whereas, as we have seen, variety and coexistence of multiple recensions is the norm), as well as a clear-cut separation between transmission and exegesis which is clearly not supported by a close analysis of all these texts. In fact, each of the early witnesses of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* shows traces of expansion and inclusion of explanatory glosses which can only have happened in a context of constant and systematic osmosis between transmission and exegesis. While there is little doubt that the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* was indeed "revised" or edited in some ways (even apart from the insertion of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* headings), it is less clear that this fact can really set it apart from other texts of the subfamily. The real problem here is the nature of its alleged correlate, the "unrevised" *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, which is something of a red herring.

While the nature of the specific editorial process which produced the current Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* may remain open to question, its influence on the subsequent transmission seems fairly clear: once the text was caged into the structure of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, it became frozen and was effectively prevented from further developing.

A complete critical edition of this *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (with very useful concordances to the various Sanskrit manuscripts and to Chinese and Tibetan related translations) has been published by Kimura (1986–2007), while its first section (*Abhisamaya*) had already been edited by N. Dutt (1934). This particular recension was translated into Tibetan, but is included – no doubt due to its commentarial component – in the Tanjur (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa* [D 3790/P 5188]). According to E. Conze (1978, 36) this translation is somewhat different from its Sanskrit counterpart.

A number of small fragments of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* inscribed on copper plaques and identified as a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* were discovered in the remains of a stūpa in Sri Lanka in 1923 and edited by S. Paranavitana, according to whom they can be dated to the 8th or 9th century on the basis of the script (Paranavitana, 1933, 200). In more recent years (1982), other fragments of greater size and significance were discovered at Anuradhapura, also in Sri Lanka. The find consists of seven gold leafs of considerable size inscribed with passages which have parallels in the first *Abhisamaya* of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*. The script has been dated by their editor to the 9th century (von Hinüber, 1983, 189). In addition to the edition (von Hinüber, 1983), see Yamaguchi's detailed study (1984) and, on the general religious and historical context underlying the presence of these texts in Sri Lanka, Mori's monograph (1999, esp. 57). From a textual point of

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view, the Sri Lanka fragments, though lacking the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* subdivisions, are comparatively close to the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, together with which they seem to form another clearly identifiable recension (von Hinüber, 1983, 191; Zacchetti, 2005, 43–44, 43–44n178; for a different view, see Yamaguchi, 1984, 69). This relationship is of considerable significance for the history of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*: it shows that, as late as the 9th century, there was in circulation a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* significantly close from a textual viewpoint to what is now the "Nepalese" recension, and yet completely independent from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

E. Conze's *Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom* (1975) – the only modern translation from Sanskrit covering the entire *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* – is mainly based on the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, although it also conflates other texts. In spite of some philological shortcomings (Schopen, 1977), Conze's work represents a considerable achievement and provides a convenient introduction to this immense literature. Mention should be made also of Soejima's Japanese translation (1980, 174–269) of the beginning of the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (i.e. Dutt, 1934, 4–59), which includes a Sanskrit-Chinese synoptic edition (with Kumārajīva and Xuanzang's translations).

Other Chinese and Tibetan Translations of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Texts

There are six Chinese translations of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts, dating from the 3rd to the 7th centuries, which have a considerable importance for the philological study of this subfamily. This is particularly true of the first two translations, which constitute the earliest *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts available in any language. They were produced a few years apart at the end of the 3rd century, and both were based on originals from Khotan.

The first is the so-called *Guang zan jing* (光讚經; T. 222), translated in 286 CE by a team led by Zhu Fahu (竺法護, *Dharmarakṣa), the most important Buddhist translator active during the 3rd century (Zürcher, 2007, 6–70; on the translation and early history of the *Guang zan jing*, see Zacchetti, 2005, 51–60). The text is incomplete, with only 27 chapters remaining, presumably representing approximately one third of the original (Zacchetti, 2005, 61–62). We know from a preface by Dao'an that the original manuscript used by Dharmarakṣa for his translation had been brought to China from Khotan (T. 2145 [LV] 48a2–3; Zacchetti, 2005, 52). For a study of the *Guang zan jing*, including an edition and translation of the first three chapters, see S. Zacchetti (2005).

The second Chinese version of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* is the *Fang guang banruo jing* (放光般若經) or simply *Fang guang jing* (放光經; T. 221; Zürcher, 2007, 61–65; Zacchetti, 2005, 30–31). We are quite well informed on this translation and on its Indic original, thanks to a detailed early note on this scripture preserved in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T. 2145 [LV] 47c10–28; translation by Hurvitz in Tsukamoto, 1985, 555–556n4). The original Indic manuscript on which the translation was based had been found by Zhu Shixing in Khotan, as a result of his hazardous journey in search of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. Written in *brāhmī* script (*fan shu* [梵書]; see Boucher, 2000, 16–17, 16–17n25), it was subdivided into ninety chapters (*zhang* [章]) and consisted of over 600,000 syllabic units (*yan* [言], **akṣara*, see Demiéville, 1950, 388, 388n1). This approximate figure suggests an original *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* consisting of between 18,000 and 20,000 lines (Zürcher, 2007, 63; Hikata, 1958, xxv).

The manuscript was sent to China in 282, and was eventually translated in 291 by a team led by the Khotanese *śramaṇa* Wuchaluo ([無叉羅] *Mokṣala?). This translation was then revised in the years 303–304. The *Fang guang jing* (a rather free and far more readable translation than Dharmarakṣa's *Guang zan jing*) remained, together with Lokakṣema's *Dao xing jing*, the most influential Prajñāpāramitā available in early medieval China.

While the *Guang zan jing* and the *Fang guang jing* were translated at approximately the same time on the basis of manuscripts coming from the same area (Khotan), they appear already differentiated from a textual point of view, even if we discount the influence of the very different translation techniques adopted in the two texts. This is yet another proof of the highly fluid state of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* text during the earliest documented phase of its history.

The predominant status of the *Fang guang jing* was successfully challenged by the next translation, the *Mohebanruoboluomi jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經; T. 223) rendered into Chinese by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the 5th century, in the years 403–404 (Zacchetti, 2005, 32). The base text was translated in close conjunction with that of its great commentary known as *Da zhidu lun* (大智度論; T. 1509), which was to exert a profound and lasting influence on the interpretation of the Prajñāpāramitā in East Asia (see below). Some information on the original Indic manuscript used by Kumārajīva is provided by an interesting passage which occurs at the end of the *Da zhidu lun* (T. 1509 [XXV] 756a27–b1) and describes various versions of the Prajñāpāramitā. Here the text translated by Kumārajīva (here referred to as "this medium version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*" [*ci zhong banruoboluomi pin* (此中般若波羅蜜品)]) is contrasted to the large version in 100,000 lines (i.e, the *Śatasāhasrikā*), and to an even larger mythical "archetypal" version found in the palaces of the Nāga and Asura kings (Zacchetti, 2005, 40; Hikata, 1958, xxi and lviii–lx).

These three early Chinese translations are relatively close from a textual point of view (Zacchetti 2005, 44).

The next and last Chinese translations of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts are all part of Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* T. 220, and make up the first three sections of this great collection. The initial section or "assembly" (*chu fen* [初分]/*chu hui* [初會]) is generally described as a *Śatasāhasrikā* (Hikata, 1958, xiv; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 69). While this is acceptable as a practical definition, it should be remembered that this part of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* was in fact based on an even larger original in 132,600 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024b21–22). This text alone makes up the whole of volumes V-VI in the Taishō edition.

According to the *Fayuan zhulin* (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024b24–c1), the second (T. 220 [VII] 1b2–426a14) and the third (T. 220 [VII] 427b2–761b27) sections represent, respectively, the versions in 25,000 and 18,000 lines.

Although the sheer size of these texts makes a systematic comparison extremely difficult, the first two sections of Xuanzang's translation seem generally close from a recensional point of view. That is, this *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and this *Śatasāhasrikā* often share particular readings and expansions that set them apart from other *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts as representing a distinct recension (Hikata, 1968, xxxxviii; Zacchetti, 2005, 43, 43n176, 47–49). The position of the third section of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*) seems somewhat different: according to Hikata (1958, xxxxix–l), from the point of view of content it reflects a more elaborated and possibly later text.

Apart from the two versions of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* already mentioned in the preceding section, the Tibetan canon includes other two translations of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures: the version in 100,000 lines (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa* [D 8/P 730]), and that in 18,000 lines, the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri brgyad stong pa* [D 10/P 732]).

On this translation, see E. Conze (1978, 40–45), who also provides, in addition to other useful information, reconstructed Sanskrit forms of its chapter titles. Very useful concordances of some of the main *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan are provided in Komine *et al.* (2015, 204–211.)

The *Daśasāharikā Prajñāpāramitā*

In addition to the various *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts discussed in the preceding paragraphs, there is also a *Prajñāpāramitā in 10000 Lines* (*Daśasāharikā Prajñāpāramitā*) only attested by a single Tibetan translation (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri ba* [D 11/P 733]). A detailed study of this scripture is offered by S. Konow; it includes a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text of the first two chapters (Konow, 1941, 93–113) which, with their list of 57 factors (*dharma*) or groups of factors to which the bodhisattva should not cling, constitute the distinctive feature of the *Daśasāharikā*.

The position of this scripture in the entire Prajñāpāramitā literature is rather isolated. While the *Daśasāharikā* is not directly related to any other text, it seems to be an elaboration ultimately based on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (Conze, 1978, 45–46; Hikata, 1958, xxxxviii–xxxxix; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 71–72). It is thus provisionally assigned to the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* group, although it is a very different text from all others listed in this section. According to E. Conze (1978, 46; perhaps following Dutt, as quoted by Konow, 1941, 5–6) the *Daśasāharikā* might have been composed in Tibet, but this opinion is not supported by a detailed discussion. According to Konow (1941, 6), the Tibetan text is clearly a translation from Sanskrit.

Main Commentaries on *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Texts

One can observe a remarkable split between Indo-Tibetan and East Asian traditions with respect to commentarial literature on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*: whereas in China, and subsequently in Korea and Japan, the main commentary relevant to this subfamily is the *Da zhidu lun*, which is

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unknown to Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, in the latter traditions the interpretation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (but also of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) is dominated by the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and related commentaries, which, in turn, did not play any role in East Asia.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (or *Abhisamayālaṃkāra nāma prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra*) is ascribed to a Maitreya (or Maitreyanātha), whose identity has been the object of some debate (see Conze, 1978, 101, who dates the composition of the treatise to the 4th cent.). Its first edition (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation) was published by T. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (1929); E. Obermiller produced a detailed analysis of the text (1933–1943), and E. Conze a translation with Sanskrit-Tibetan Glossary (1954).

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is a short verse treatise summarizing the general structure of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, conceived as a path consisting of successive stages of realization (*abhisamaya*). It serves "as a table of contents for the entire *Large Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, as a condensed summary of all the practices, paths and stages of realization to Buddhahood understood to be implicit in that sūtra" (Makransky, 1997, 110; see also Conze 1978, 102–107).

This terse summary, which shows traces of Yogācāra influence (Conze, 1978, 102–103; Makransky, 1997, 110–111), has been the basis of a considerable number of commentaries, for the most part surviving in Tibetan translation (Conze, 1978, 112–120). Some of them refer also, to varying degrees, to the *Prajñāpāramitā* text on which the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* itself is based, and to that extent they perform also the role of commentaries to the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*.

Of particular interest from this point of view is the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* of Ārya Vimuktisena (6th cent.; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 101), which survives in Sanskrit, and makes constant reference to the text of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, linking it to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The first section (*abhisamaya*) was edited on the basis of a single Nepalese manuscript by C. Pensa (1967), and the whole commentary has been translated by G. Sparham (2006–2012).

Although primarily a commentary on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* reflects the structure rather than the specific content and wording of the base text. For this reason it has been adapted by Haribhadra to the *Prajñāpāramitā in 8000 Lines*.

The *Da zhidu lun* (大智度論; T. 1509; **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, Demiéville, 1950, 375n1), traditionally ascribed in East Asian Buddhism to the great Mādhyamika master Nāgārjuna, is an extended commentary to the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* only attested by Kumārajīva's Chinese translation, dating to the beginning of the 5th century. É. Lamotte (1970 [vol. III], viii–xliv), who rejected the traditional attribution to Nāgārjuna, provided a very detailed discussion of the geographical and doctrinal background of the author of the commentary; other important discussions of the authorship of the *Da zhidu lun* are those by Hikata (1958, lii–lxxv), and Yinshun (1990).

According to a first-hand source (T. 2145 [LV] 75a14–b1; Shih, 1980, 325–327; Lamotte, 1980 [vol. III], xlviii–xlix), the Sanskrit original of the *Da zhidu lun* consisted of 100,000 lines. However, only the commentary on the first chapter (*parivarta*) was translated into Chinese in its entirety (= scrolls 1–34 of the present text of the *Da zhidu lun*), while the remaining part (scrolls 35–100) was abridged by Kumārajīva. So, in a sense, the *Da zhidu lun* includes two typologically very different commentaries: the first part provides extremely detailed and extensive explanations on short passages or even single words of the base text, whereas the second deals with longer passages and, in general terms, focuses more on the structure of the text than on terminology.

The *Da zhidu lun* is a veritable mine of information on almost all aspects of Buddhist literature and thought and, due to its encyclopaedic nature, it has always played an important role in East Asian Buddhist thought and exegesis. The portion translated in full by Kumārajīva was in turn rendered into French (with copious, invaluable annotations) by Étienne Lamotte (1944–1980), thus becoming one of the most important sources for Buddhist studies in the West.

Shorter Prajñāpāramitā Texts

While the two main Prajñāpāramitā scriptural subfamilies continued to play an important role in the development of Buddhist thought, from a certain period we begin to see attempts to condense the main teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā, casting it into innovative and handier formats.

This important development happened in different ways. For example, the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Heart Sūtra*, perhaps the two most famous specimens of shorter Prajñāpāramitā text, represent two very different typologies of "reduction": while the latter is, in its main portion, a fairly straightforward excerpt from the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, the production of the former entailed a more creative attempt of rewriting Prajñāpāramitā ideas in a very innovative and indeed unique form.

The *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*

The *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Vajra-cutting Perfection of insight*; on the title, Watanabe, 2009, 163–165, 184–186), better known as *Diamond Sūtra*, has always been one of the most popular scriptures belonging to this tradition. The *Vajracchedikā* develops as a short dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti, and is characterized by the systematic adoption of a distinctive formula, in which a certain category is first negated and then asserted (for a detailed discussion and innovative interpretation of this "signature formula", Harrison, 2006, 136–140).

An important leitmotif in the *Vajracchedikā* is the rejection of *saṃjñās* ("notion", "idea", but also "apperception" in other contexts). This may reflect an old scriptural tradition prescribing the abandonment of these mental constructs (Gómez, 1976, 144–145). In particular, four *saṃjñās* related to ideas of selfhood are singled out as key hindrances: the notions of self, of being, of soul and of person (*ātmasaṃjñā*, *sattvasaṃjñā*, *jīvasaṃjñā*, and *pudgalasaṃjñā*). It is noteworthy that Xuanzang's translation alone has, instead of this fourfold series, a longer list of nine terms (see T. 220 [VII] 980c18–21 and *passim*), which has parallels in other Buddhist texts and especially in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (Zacchetti, 2005, 207, 327–329 [§ 3.2]).

A detailed critical overview of the editions of the *Vajracchedikā* in Sanskrit (either of partial or complete manuscripts) is provided by P. Harrison and Watanabe (2006, 89–92; see also 93–94 for a list of Central Asian fragments and Nepalese manuscripts of this scripture). Here only the main manuscripts and editions are mentioned.

The earliest available Sanskrit manuscript of the *Vajracchedikā* is the one (partial) discovered in 1900 by A. Stein in Dandān-Uiliq near Khotan, which was conjecturally dated by its first editor F.E. Pargiter (1916, 178; see also Harrison, 2015, 823, 823n3) to "about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D." For a new edition and study of this manuscript see P. Harrison (2015).

The next two important Sanskrit texts are the manuscript from Gilgit (editions by Chakravarti, in Tucci [1956, 175–192], Dutt [1959, 141–170] and Schopen [1989], with translation) and that belonging to the Schøyen Collection (MS 2385) and probably coming from the Bamiyan area in Afghanistan (ed. Harrison & Watanabe, 2006). Both are written in the same script and are datable on paleographical grounds to the 6th–7th centuries. Moreover, although partial, they complement each other in terms of content, thus allowing us to read the *Vajracchedikā* "in the form in which it was circulating in the area of Greater Gandhāra in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D." (Harrison, 2006, 133; see also 142–159 for a translation of the combined text). Some early Central Asian fragments of the *Vajracchedikā* (small but interesting both from a textual and a linguistic point of view) from various manuscripts have been edited by P. Harrison (2009).

The first modern edition of the entire *Vajracchedikā*, by Max Müller (1880), published long before these early witnesses had become available, was based on much later manuscripts (Harrison & Watanabe, 2006, 90–91; Harrison, 2010a, 206–213).

Another extremely influential edition of the Sanskrit text of this scripture is that by E. Conze (1974b [first ed. 1957]; with translation and glossary), which, while essentially based on Max Müller's edition, takes also into account – albeit in an inconsistent and often confusing way – the readings of earlier witnesses (notably the manuscript edited by Pargiter and the Gilgit text). More problematic is the rather cavalier editorial approach adopted by E. Conze in his handling of the original sources. A clear example is his expunction of a passage defining the Tathāgata, among other things, as a synonym of "annihilation of *dharmas*" (*dharmoccheda*; Conze, 1974a, 48n[a]) on the grounds that it represents "a later addition which has crept into the text after 800 A.D.", which is also "doctrinally suspect" (1974, 6). In fact, this passage is already found in the early 7th century translation by Dharmagupta (T. 238 [VIII] 770a10; Watanabe, 2009, 305). In spite of its considerable shortcomings, E. Conze's work remains useful for accessing the Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā* in its later form.

Apart from those by E. Conze, G. Schopen, and P. Harrison, other noteworthy modern translations of the Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā* were published by C. de Harlez (1892; with references in the notes also to Kumārajīva's Chinese version, and to the Tibetan and Manchu translations), F. Müller (1894), M. Walleser (1914, 140–158), Ui (1963, 17–80, with copious annotations), Nagao (1973, including Asaṅga's commentary).

The earliest of the six successive Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā* (as well as the earliest witness of this scripture) is the *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* (金剛般若波羅蜜經; T. 235), authored by

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Kumārajīva's at the beginning of the 5th century. According to Jizang's (吉藏, 549–623) *Vajracchedikā* commentary (*Jin'gang banruo jing yishu* [金剛般若經義疏]; T. 1699 [XXXIII] 90b25–26), this translation dates to 402 CE (Ui, 1963, 7). This came to be regarded as the *Diamond Sūtra* par excellence in East Asia, and has been translated many times into other languages, both ancient (e.g. in Sogdian and Uigur, see Conze, 1978, 62; Watanabe, 2009, 10), and modern (for example Beal, 1865a; Muller, 2013). A fragment of a Sogdian translation of Kumārajīva's version (corresponding to T. 235 [VIII] 749a5–21) has been edited and translated by D. MacKenzie (1976, 3–5; see also Part II pp. 3–6 for a detailed commentary). The existence of a transcription of this version in Brahmi script (Emmerick & Pulleyblank, 1993) further attests to the popularity Kumārajīva's *Diamond Sūtra* enjoyed even in Central Asia.

In extra-canonical editions and commentaries of Kumārajīva's translation the text is often divided into 32 sections with titles, traditionally ascribed to crown prince Zhaoming (昭明, 501–531) of the Liang (梁) dynasty (e.g. see Yong You, 2010, 12–13; Lehnert, 1999, 48–49). This seems, however, an apocryphal tradition, as had already been observed by some pre-modern commentaries (see for example the late 14th cent. *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing zhujie* [金剛般若波羅蜜經註解] by Zongle [宗泐] and Ruqi [如玘], T. 1703 [XXXIII] 228b2–4; tr. Lehnert, 1999, 196). An early source containing these sections is Dunhuang manuscript S. 1846 (printed in the Taishō edition, T. 2732). It contains the *Liang chao Fu Dashi song Jin'gang jing* (梁朝傅大士頌金剛經), a collection of stanzas on the *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* probably composed during the first half of the 9th century (Zhang, 1999, 282) and preserved in several manuscripts from Dunhuang. The title of the second section, "Subhūti asks [the Buddha] for instructions" (*Shanxian qiqing fen di'er* [善現起請分第二]; *Liang chao Fu Dashi song Jin'gang jing*; T. 2732 [LXXXV] 1c3), clearly suggests a Tang origin: this particular translation of Subhūti's name, Shanxian (善現), is in all likelihood Xuanzang's coinage (see for instance *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*; T. 220 [VII] 980a14 and *passim*). Be that as it may, this convenient traditional Chinese way of parsing Kumārajīva's translation eventually came to influence the Sanskrit text itself and its modern translations and studies: Max Müller, in a gesture of misplaced deference towards the Liang prince, introduced them (albeit with some hesitation) into his edition (see his remarks in Müller, 1881, 18), and his example was followed by E. Conze (1974).

The *Vajracchedikā* was rendered another five times into Chinese, by the following translators (dates after Harrison, 2006, 135, unless otherwise stated):

Bodhiruci (*Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* [金剛般若波羅蜜經]; T. 236a) in 509; Paramārtha (*Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* [金剛般若波羅蜜經]; T. 237) in 562; Dharmagupta (*Jin'gang nengduan banruoboluomi jing* [金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經]; T. 238) at the beginning of the 7th century (see Zacchetti, 1996, 144n29); Xuanzang, as the 9th section of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (*Da banruo jing di jiu hui neng duan jin'gang fen* [大般若經第九會能斷金剛分]; T. 220 [VII] 979c2–985c24); Yijing (義淨) (*Neng duan jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* [能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經]; T. 239) in 703.

Bodhiruci, Paramārtha and Yijing's versions are largely derivative from Kumārajīva's text (Harrison, 2010a, 243). As already remarked above, Xuanzang's text is particularly developed, being even more expanded than the later Sanskrit text edited by E. Conze. These expansions might reflect a recensional variation, as seems to be the case also for other parts of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (see above), or could be due, as suggested by Harrison (2010, 244), to the translator himself. The *Vajracchedikā* was translated by Xuanzang, at the emperor's request, in 648 (T. 2154 [LV] 555c1–2; on the circumstances of the translation, T. 2053 [L] 259a13–29; Li, 1995, 215–216), several years earlier than the rest of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*, into which it was eventually inserted (see Hikata, 1958, xvi).

Dharmagupta's translation is, in many ways, a unique text. It is an incomplete draft consisting in an extremely literal and technically sophisticated version, reflecting an intermediate stage in the translation process (Zacchetti, 1996). As such, it constitutes a first-rate source for the study of translation techniques. For a detailed study of the *Jin'gang nengduan banruoboluomi jing*, including an analysis of its relationship with the lemmata embedded in Dharmagupta's two versions of Asaṅga's commentary to the *Vajracchedikā* (*Jin'gang banruo lun* [金剛般若論]; T. 1510a, and *Jin'gang banruoboluomi lun* [金剛般若波羅蜜經論]; T. 1510b), see Watanabe (2009, 235–326).

Perhaps in no other area did the *Vajracchedikā* – particularly through Kumārajīva's translation – achieve as important a status as in China and, subsequently, Korea and Japan. This was also due to its association with certain lineages of the Chan (禪) school (McRae, 2003, 62; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 258–269).

A clear attestation of the immense fortune of this scripture is the huge number of copies produced, since an early time, in various forms and mediums. Apart from numerous early manuscripts and prints found in Dunhuang (Yong You, 2010, 33–92), including the famous printed scroll dated 868 CE and kept at the British Library (Or.8210/P.2; Wood & Bernard, 2010), Kumārajīva's *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing* is part of several corpora of scriptures engraved on stone (either on rocks or steles), following a practice well attested in medieval China (Yong You, 2010, 129–155). Notable examples are the ten copies of the *Diamond Sūtra* included in the famous corpus of steles of Fangshan (房山), near Beijing (Lancaster, 1989, 150), or the one found in Cave 46 at the Wofoyuan (臥佛院) in Sichuan province (Mayer, 2014). Perhaps the most stunning specimen of rock-cut *Diamond Sūtra* is that engraved, presumably during the 6th century, on a granite streambed on Mount Tai in Shandong province. The 1,069 characters of this majestic carving which survive nowadays are 50 centimetres high, and the text covers an area of over 2,000 square meters (Harrist, 2008, 174–175; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 425–428).

There is a rich literature of Chinese miracle tales related to this scripture (Ho, 2013; Yong You, 2010, 93- 127; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 244–258), which further attests to the popularity of the *Diamond Sūtra* in China.

The *Vajracchedikā* was translated into Tibetan around the beginning of the 9th century by Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa* [D 16/P 739]). For a partial critical edition (corresponding to sections 1–6 of Kumārajīva's version), see Watanabe (2004); an overview of Tibetan manuscripts is provided by Watanabe (2009, 329–344).

Mention should be made also of the Khotanese translation, edited and translated by Konow (1916 [with vocabulary, pp. 330–356]); see M. Maggi (2009, 371–372); R. Emmerick (1992, 34–35). R. Emmerick (1977) contains an edition and translation of the concluding verses of the Khotanese translation (which are quite divergent from their Sanskrit counterpart) based on a manuscript different from the one used by Konow.

There are three Mongolian translations of the *Diamond Sūtra*, based on the Tibetan version and dating from the 16th and 17th centuries (Poppe, 1971, 4–7), which have been edited and translated by N. Poppe (1971).

The most important Indian commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā* belong to the Yogācāra school (Conze, 1978, 96–97). The Sanskrit text of Asaṅga's verse commentary, the *Triśatikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Kārikāsaptatiḥ*, was edited (with Chinese and Tibetan translations) and translated by G. Tucci (1956, 53–128; see also his detailed introduction [5–50]). Vasubandhu's commentary to Asaṅga's stanzas survives in two Chinese translations, by Bodhiruci (*Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing lun* [金剛般若波羅蜜經論]; T. 1511) and Yijing (*Neng duan jin'gang banruoboluomiduo jing lun* [能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經論釋]; T. 1513).

Another commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu (see Tucci, 1956, 131–171), survives in Chinese and Tibetan (*Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa'i don bdun gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* [D 3816]) translations. The Chinese canon contains two different recensions of Dharmagupta's Chinese translation, respectively in two and three scrolls (*Jin'gang banruo lun* [金剛般若論]; T. 1510a [XXV] 757a3–766 a28; *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing lun* [金剛般若波羅蜜經論]; T. 1510b [XXV] 766b2–781 a23), whose relationship constitutes an intricate problem (see Tucci, 1956, 18–19, 41–50; Ui, 1963, 111–142; Watanabe, 2009, 254–264). Another Indian commentary to the *Vajracchedikā* that should be mentioned in this context is that by Kamalaśīla (8th cent. [Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 93–99]), which survives in Tibetan translation (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* [D 3817/P 5216]); while largely based on Vasubandhu's work, it includes Madhyamaka elements (Tucci, 1956, 24–28).

There is a substantial exegetical literature on the *Diamond Sūtra* composed in China. For references to the main pre-modern commentaries – for the most part based on Kumārajīva's translation – see Komine *et al.* (2015, 167–168), M. Lehnert (1999, 162–164) and Watanabe (2009, 15–16).

The *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*

The so-called *Heart Sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra* in Sanskrit) is probably the only other Prajñāpāramitā text which can rival the *Diamond Sūtra* in terms of popularity.

The gist of this scripture, one of the shortest texts of the entire family, is based on passages found in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts (e.g. Gilgit manuscript folio 21v1–11 [ed. Zacchetti, 2005, 393]; *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* ed. Kimura I.1 [2007, 64]), forming an elaboration of the notion of emptiness which is not found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Emptiness

Sanskrit text of Asaṅga's verse
Triśatikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ
as edited (with Chinese and
ns) and translated by G. Tucci
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is equated with matter (*rūpa*) and then with the other four aggregates (*skandha*; Conze, 1967, 150 § III [hereafter, all references are to paragraphs and pages of Conze's editon, 1967, 149–153]). A series of characteristics are then predicated of all *dharmas* (said to be "characterised by emptiness" etc.; 151 § IV), followed by a list of *dharmas* not to be found in emptiness (151 § V). This list reflects a traditional Buddhist way of organizing key categories which, as we have seen, is a typical feature of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. Then come two short paragraphs on the practical side of this vision for the bodhisattva's practice and on reliance on Prajñāpāramitā as the key factor in awakening (152 § V–VII). The Prajñāpāramitā is then described as a "great spell" (*mahāmantra*), which is then quoted (152–153 § VIII).

In comparison to other Prajñāpāramitā scriptures introduced thus far, the *Heart Sūtra* presents some notable differences: the main character, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, is essentially foreign to this literature; the presence of the final *mantra* is also an innovation with respect to the main Prajñāpāramitā texts, and testifies of an incipient phase of tantric influence. As will be detailed below, the *Heart Sūtra* is indeed also classified as *tantra* in Tibet. The notion of magical and apotropaic efficacy of this scripture, which is already clear in the earliest sources on this text (see Xuanzang's biography, *Da Tang Da ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*; T. 2053 [L] 224b7–13; Li, 1995, 26–27; see also Mair, 2002, 122–123; McRae, 1988, 89–90), has certainly been an important factor in shaping its fortunes down to the present time.

A fascinating and challenging theory on the origins of the *Heart Sūtra* has been proposed by J. Nattier (1992), who, on the basis of a detailed philological analysis of the relevant sources, has argued that this scripture originated in China: that is, the main passage which constitutes the *Heart Sūtra* was extracted from Kumārajīva's version of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (T. 223), and then back-translated into Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit text exists in two versions, a shorter and a longer one. The main difference between the two is that the longer version includes the canonical initial and closing formulas which are typical of *sūtras*. A very clear discussion of the textual history of the *Heart Sūtra* and of its various available witnesses is provided by Watanabe (2009b, 44–80). On the basis of the information offered by the textual history of this scripture, and taking into account the innovative elements mentioned above (presence of Avalokiteśvara and the final *mantra*), Watanabe (2009b, 80) maintains that the *Heart Sūtra* took shape in the 5th–6th century and was then expanded into the long version in the 7th century.

The earliest Sanskrit witnesses of the shorter version are a group of manuscripts kept at the Hōryū-ji (法隆寺) in Nara, Japan, which where copied around the 8th century (Watanabe, 2009b, 46). Another early witness of this version is the phonetic transcription with Chinese characters preserved in some manuscripts of Dunhuang and in other sources (Watanabe, 2009b, 48, 59), and which is included in the Taishō canon (*Tang fan fan dui zi yin banruoboluomiduo xin jing* [唐梵翻對字音般若波羅蜜多心經]; T. 256). This transliteration is to be ascribed to Amoghavajra (Bukong [不空], 705–774), as was first suggested by L. Hurvitz (1977); for a detailed study see Wan Jinchuan (2004).

The longer version is attested in a number of Japanese, Chinese, and Nepalese manuscripts (Watanabe, 2009b, 48–50). The earliest modern edition of the Sanskrit *Heart Sūtra* (long version) was published by L. Feer (1866). It includes a synoptic edition of the Tibetan and Mongolian translations. Another notable early edition is that by C. Müller and Nanjio (1884). Apart from the editions and translations of both the shorter and the longer versions (1884, 48–59), this publication also includes the plates and transcriptions of a number of other early witnesses of the Sanskrit *Heart Sūtra* (Ib., 3–22,27–30; Watanabe, 2009b, 51–54).

Perhaps the most widely used edition is that by E. Conze (1948, republished with several changes in 1967, 148–167), although it conflates, somewhat confusingly, the long and the short versions into a single text. For a translation of both versions, see E. Conze, 1973b, 140–143.

There are seven extant Chinese translations of the *Heart Sūtra* (Watanabe, 2009b, 56–62, who lists eight translations, including also Amoghavajra's transliteration). Nominally the earliest is the one ascribed in the canon to Kumārajīva (early 5th cent.), the *Mohebanruoboluomi damingzhou jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜大明咒經; T. 250), reflecting the short text. However, according to Watanabe (2009b, 71–80; McRae, 1988, 88–89), this attribution – which is not supported by early bibliographical catalogues – is to be rejected. This is probably a text composed in China on the basis of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, with materials taken from Xuanzang's translation of the *Heart Sūtra*.

Thus it is the latter, the *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 251), translated in 649

(T. 2154 [LV] 555c3–4) that is the earliest witness (and not just translation) of the *Heart Sūtra* (short version). According to biographical sources, Xuanzang had a particular devotion for the *Heart Sūtra*, and this is reflected by the legendary lore which gradually took shape around the great translator and his travels to India (Mair, 2002). His translation, which is the only Prajñāpāramitā text translated by Xuanzang not included in the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*, remained the most authoritative Chinese version of the *Heart Sūtra*, and as such it has been hugely influential in East Asia, and the object of many commentaries (McRae, 1988). It has also been translated many times (e.g. Beal, 1865b [with considerable – though historically understandable – errors], Buswell, 1992, 232–233).

A fascinating testimony of the lasting and widespread influence of Xuanzang's version of the *Heart Sūtra* (and, more generally, of popular cultic practices centred on this scripture) is provided by the so-called "pictorial *Heart Sūtra*" (*e Shingyō* [繪心經]), produced in some rural areas of North-eastern Japan (Nanbu region), which are of great cultural interest. These "pictorial Sūtras" (sometime also called "Tayama sutras" from the name of the village where the writing system was created) are phonetic transcriptions adopting a unique rebus-like writing system first devised in the late 17th century in order to allow even illiterate peasants to recite Buddhist scriptures. The system works "by substituting pictures of quotidian objects – farm implements, body parts, animals – in the place of the more acoustically opaque Chinese characters" (Eubanks, 2013, 17). While this and other similar systems were applied to several scriptures, their use to transcribe the *Heart Sūtra* is particularly prominent (Watanbe, 2012; Watanabe, 2009b, 224–329; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 328–340; Eubanks, 2013).

Apart from the two discussed above, and not counting Amoghavajra's phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit text, there are five other Chinese translations of the *Heart Sūtra*, all representing the long version (unless otherwise stated, the dates of these translations are quoted from Watanabe 2009b, 56–57):

Pubian zhizang banruoboluomiduo xin jing (普遍智藏般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 252), translated in the 26th year Kaiyuan (開元, January 738–February 739; T. 2156 [LV] 748c3–5) by Dharmacandra (Fayue 法月); this is the earliest translation of the long version of the *Heart Sūtra*; *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 253), translated by Prajña (Boruo 般若) in 790; *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 254), translated by Prajñācakra (Zhihuilun 智慧輪) in 861; *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 255), translated by Facheng (法成, aka Chos grub), a monk active as a translator of Chinese texts into Tibetan, and vice-versa, in Dunhuang in the 9th century (van Schaik, 2013, 124). This version has been transmitted in several manuscripts from Dunhuang; according to Watanabe (who dates it to 856) it may have been translated from Tibetan (Watanabe, 2009b, 59); *Fo shuo sheng fo mu banruoboluomiduojing* (佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經; T. 257), translated by *Dānapāla (10th–11th cent.).

The canonical Tibetan translation represents the long version of the *Heart Sūtra*. It is ascribed by a colophon (only found in one witness) to Vimalamitra and Dge slong Rin chen sde (for a detailed discussion of this document, Silk 1994, 47–56). The *Heart Sūtra* was classified by Tibetan bibliographers both as *sūtra* and as *tantra*, and as a result it is included, in certain editions, in two different sections of the canon (*Sher phyin*, *Prajñāpāramitā* [D 21] and *Rgyud*, *Tantra* [D 531 / P 160]). This twofold classification is also (at least in part) reflected at a textual level, as this translation exists in two recensions, bearing two slightly different titles: *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po* (corresponding to the Sanskrit *Bhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* [= Recension A]) and *'Phags pa bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po* (*Āryabhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* [= Recension B]; according to Watanabe [2009b, 63] *bhagavatī* is missing in certain editions). According to Silk (1994, 31), these two recensions basically overlap with the above mentioned classification, with Recension A representing the *Tantra* text, and Recension B its *Prajñāpāramitā* counterpart. These and other related issues are discussed in detail in Silk (1994), which contains also critical editions and English translations of both the recensions (see also Watanabe, 2009b, 61–65).

There are also several Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Heart Sūtra* in Tibetan. According to Watanabe (2009b, 65–66), most of them share the same title as the canonical Recension B, but reflect the short text of the Sanskrit *Heart Sūtra*. Some manuscripts, however, bear the title which characterizes Recension A and reflect the long text.

A manuscript discovered in Dunhuang (P 3510) contains part of a Khotanese translation of the *Heart Sūtra* (long text), published by P.O. Skjærvø (1988). An unrelated commentary in Khotanese on the *Heart Sūtra* (short text) entitled *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* is preserved in another

translated by Prajñācakra (Zhi-
861; *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing*
經; T. 255), translated by Facheng
rub), a monk active as a transla-
s into Tibetan, and vice-versa, in
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tāsūtra is preserved in another

Dunhuang manuscript (see Lancaster, 1977; Maggi, 2009, 373). There is also a Sogdian version (presumably based, according to its editor, on a Chinese original), equally found in a Dunhuang manuscript (Benveniste, 1940, 142–144). This is a bilingual manuscript, as the Sogdian is preceded by the short text of the *Heart Sūtra* in broken Sanskrit (perhaps, one is tempted to speculate, a maladroit back-translation based on a Chinese transliteration such as that by Amoghavajra).

Mention should be also made of some polyglot editions of the *Heart Sūtra* in which versions of the text in several languages (e.g. Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese) are edited synoptically (see Fuchs, 1970; Silk, 1994, 155–156; Conze, 1978, 69).

There is an extremely rich exegetical literature on the *Heart Sūtra*. Several Indian and Tibetan commentaries have been studied and translated by D. Lopez (1988, 1996); on some Chinese commentaries see J. McRae (1988).

The *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā*

This middle-length scripture unfolds mainly as a dialogue between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Suvikrāntavikrāmin, but includes also other regular characters of Prajñāpāramitā literature such as Śāriputra (here in the form Śāradvatīputra) and Subhūti, as well as Ānanda.

This scripture, which according to E. Conze (1978, 58) "is easily the most advanced Prajñāpāramitā text which we possess", represents a sustained and profound reflection, carried on from a variety of angles, on the very notion of "perfection of insight". Particularly significant are, from this point of view, the first chapter (*Nidānaparivarta*; Hikata, 1958, 3–21) – providing several "definitions", in the paradoxical style typical of Prajñāpāramitā texts, of key categories such as perfection of insight, awakening, bodhisattva etc. – and the fifth (*Subhūtiparivarta*; Hikata, 1958, 66–71), a short dialogue between Subhūti and Śāradvatīputra offering various perspectives on the fundamental unattainability and ineffability of the perfection of insight. Both these chapters are quite close – in spirit and occasionally also in letter – to the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (for example see Hikata, 1958, 66, and compare Mitra, 1887–1888, 4–5; Vaidya, 1960, 3).

The Sanskrit text survives in its entirety only in one single Nepalese manuscript datable to the 12th–13th century (Hikata, 1958, lxxvii–lxxviii), subdivided into seven chapters. The title contained in the colophon (Hikata, 1958, 128) gives the size of the text as "2500 [*ślokas*]" (*-sārdhadvisāhasrikā*). This agrees with the information provided by the *Fayuan zhulin* on the original of Xuanzang's translation (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c9–10), a fact which further confirms the accuracy of this source's testimony. In addition to the main manuscript, there are Central Asian Sanskrit fragments (see Wille, 2014b, 227 for a list of those in the British Library), such as those edited in Karashima and K. Wille (2009, 105–106, 244, 249, 305), or by Ye (2010, 104–105).

The Sanskrit text has been critically edited by Matsumoto (1956), and then by Hikata (1958). As shown by de Jong's text-critical remarks (1977), neither of these editions can be considered definitive. P.L. Vaidya (1961, 1–74) is essentially a reproduction of Hikata's edition and has no independent value.

The only Chinese translation of this scripture is that included in Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* as its 16th and last section (*Section on the Perfection of Insight*; T. 220 [VII] 1065c21–1110a21). Its position and title are due to the fact that within the framework of Xuanzang's *summa* this text is part of a set of sections devoted to the six perfections (see below the paragraph on the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa*). Xuanzang's translation, in 8 scrolls, lacks a chapter subdivision corresponding to the Sanskrit.

The Tibetan translation, *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rab kyi rtsal gyis rnam par gnon pas zhus pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bstan pa* (D 14 / P 736), by Śīlendrabodhi, Jinamitra and Ye shes sde, dates to the 9th century. In general, the Tibetan version is rather close to the Sanskrit, whereas Xuanzang's translation often reflects a different text (de Jong, 1977, 187–189; Hikata, 1958, lxxviii–lxxix). However, variants preserved in part of the textual tradition of the Tibetan text suggest conflation with an earlier version, which was closer to the Chinese translation (Hikata, 1958, lxxx). There are two modern translations of the Sanskrit text, into English by E. Conze (1973b, 1–78), and into Japanese by Tosaki (2001).

The *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*

The *Prajñāpāramitā in 700 Lines* (but the title of first two Chinese versions is [*Mahā-*]*Prajñāpāramitā preached by Mañjuśrī*) lays great emphasis, especially in the first part, on desubstantializing attainments and other key categories: taking the figure of the Tathāgata as its starting point, the text moves on to apply *Prajñāpāramitā*-style language to the set of qualities which characterize a buddha (*buddhadharma*) defined, with a characteristic pun, as “supreme (*agra*) on account of their ungraspability” (*agrāhyatvād . . . agrā buddhadharmāḥ* [Masuda 1930, 204]). The fundamental Prajñāpāramitā principle of the absence of discrimination and dualism receives particular emphasis in this scripture, where it is pushed to its extreme consequences. An example is the provocative (though perfectly logical) equation of buddha and self (*ātman*) – always a sensitive notion in a Buddhist context – based on the ultimate unreality of both (Masuda, 1930, 222).

The first and hitherto only complete edition of the Sanskrit was published by G. Tucci (1923); it is based on a single manuscript and contains many errors. A second and better edition, based on more manuscripts and taking into account Chinese and Tibetan translations, was published some years later by Masuda (1930). This, however, only covers the first half of the text, up to p. 128 of G. Tucci's edition. Masuda's edition has been subsequently reproduced by P.L. Vaidya (1961, 340–351), who apparently took it for a complete text, as shown by the addition of the usual closing formula at the end (1961, 351, 20: *Saptaśatikā prajñāpāramitā samāptā* [!]). For a recently discovered manuscript containing, among other texts, also the *Saptaśatikā* (with the title *Āryabhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā Saptaśatikā*), see Tomabechi 2009, xxxi.

The Sanskrit text has been translated into English by E. Conze (1973b, 79–107), on the basis of the editions by Masuda (for the initial portion of the scripture) and G. Tucci.

There are three Chinese translations of this text. The first, *Wenshushili suo shuo mohebanruoboluomi jing* (文殊師利所說摩訶般若波羅蜜經; T. 232), is ascribed to Mantuoluo (曼陀羅) or Mantuoluo xian (曼陀羅仙, variously reconstructed as *Mandra/ *Mandrarṣi [Hikata, 1958, xv] or Mandrasena [Conze, 1978, 58]), active at the beginning of the 6th century, during the Liang (梁) dynasty (T. 2154 [LV] 537b2–4 and b10–15). This translation is also included in the *Da baoji jing* (大寶積經 [*Mahāratnakūṭa*]; T. 310 [46] [XI] 650b17–657a4 [scrolls 115–116]).

According to Zhisheng, Mantuoluo had only a limited knowledge of Chinese, and as a result his versions are particularly obscure (T. 2154 [LV] 537b14–15). This might explain why the same manuscript of this scripture (according to T. 2154 [LV] 537c18) was retranslated soon afterwards by Sengjiapuoluo (僧伽婆羅; *Saṃghabhara or Saṃghapāla?), who had collaborated with Mandra (T. 2154 [LV] 537b16–17): this second version is the *Weshushili suo shuo banruoboluomi jing* (文殊師利所說般若波羅蜜經; T. 233).

The third translation, that by Xuanzang, is included in the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* as its 7th section (*Manshushili fen* [曼殊室利分; *Mañjuśrī Section*]; T. 220 [VII] 963c23–974b1), and has been edited synoptically with the Sanskrit by Masuda (1930). The *Fayuan zhulin* gives the size of the original Sanskrit text as 800 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c13–14).

According to E. Conze (1978, 59), the Tibetan translation, *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin bdun brgya pa* is the work of Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde. As in the case of the earliest Chinese translation, it is included both in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Sher phyin* [D 24 / P 737]) and *Ratnakūṭa* (*Dkon brtsegs* [D 90 / P 760 (46)]) sections of the canon.

The *_Devarājapravaraprajñāpāramitā_

This medium-sized scripture is only attested by two Chinese translations. The earliest is the *Sheng tianwang banruoboluomi jing* (勝天王般若波羅蜜經; T. 231) in 16 chapters, translated by Upaśūnya (月婆首那) in 565 after considerable vicissitudes (T. 2154 [LV] 547a1–24; see *Xu gaoseng zhuan* [續高僧傳]; T. 2060 [L] 430c24–431a3 and especially the preface attached to the text in the Taishō edition; T. 231 [VIII] 725c22–726a22). The manuscript of the original had been brought to the Liang capital Jianye (建業, present-day Nanjing) in 548 by a Khotanese monk named Guṇabhadra (T. 2154 [LV] 547a4–6).

The second translation is by Xuanzang (6th section of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*; T. 220 [VII] 921a21–963c19, in 17 chapters), based on a Sanskrit original in 2,500 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c9–10).

While this text largely deals with usual Prajñāpāramitā themes, recent research by Ikuma (2012) has shown that it incorporated contents which are closely related to an earlier Mahāyāna scripture, the *Tathāgataguhyaka* (especially as witnessed by its second [11th cent.] Chinese translation, the *Fo shuo rulai bu siyi mimi dasheng jing* [佛說如來不思議祕密大乘經]; T. 312), such as the idea that the Buddha did not teach a single word (T. 231 [VIII] 711c24–25; T. 312 [XI] 736c20–21).

The *_Nāgaśrīparipṛ_ _Prajñāpāramitā_

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736c20–21).

The **Nāgaśrīparipṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā*

This comparatively short scripture survivies only in two Chinese translations. The earliest, the *Rushou pusa wushang qingjing fenwei jing* (濡首菩薩無上清淨分衛經; T. 234), has the alternative title *Jueliao zhu fa ru huanhua sanmei jing* (決了諸法如幻化三昧經; see T 234 [VIII] 740a6). In the canon it is ascribed to a *śramaṇa* Xianggong (翔公) active during the Liu Song dynasty (劉宋, 420–479 CE); T. 2154 [LV] 532b4–9). This attribution seems to go back to Fei Zhangfang's (費長房) notoriously unreliable *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀; T. 2034 [XLIX] 93c25–94a1), compiled at the end of the 6th century. Sengyou listed this among anonymous translations (T. 2145 [LV] 21c19), and this is probably the reason why Hikata (1958, xvi) questioned the traditional attribution (see also Kajiyoshi, 1980, 138–139).

The second translation forms the 8th section in Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (T. 220 [VII] 974c2–979b23), bearing the title *Section of Nāgaśrī* (那伽室利分); the Sanskrit original is said to have been in 400 lines (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c17–18).

It is not entirely clear to what an extent these two should be really considered two translations of the same text (Kajiyoshi, 1980, 139): apart from other considerations, the earlier version is almost twice as long as Xuanzang's text. Perhaps it is for this reason that Daoshi recorded this section of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* as a "single translation" (*danyi* [單譯]; T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c19; cf. T. 2154 [LV] 594b23–24).

In this scripture, chiefly as represented by the early translation, typical Prajñāpāramitā teachings on the illusory nature of all *dharma*s are set in a dialogical form which is more lively than it is customary in this literature, and occasionally reminds the reader of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The main characters are Mañjuśrī (translated as Rushou [濡首] in T. 234), Nagāśrī, Subhūti, and Śāriputra.

Excerpts from the first translation centred on the main episode of Mañjuśrī's quest for alms-food (selectively covering T. 234 [VIII] 740c10–747c23) have been rendered into French by J. Rahder (1929–1930, 164–166; the article is anonymous, but Rahder is indicated as the author in the "Advertissement du deuxième fascicule"). An English version by L. Lancaster (see Conze, 1973b, v) of this selection is included in E. Conze's anthology of short Prajñāpāramitā texts (1973b, 160–164).

The *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa*

This scripture – or set of scriptures – devoted to the exposition of the first five "perfections" (*pāramitā*), from giving (*dānapāramitā*) to meditative practices (*dhyānapāramitā*) – is preserved in its entirety only in Chinese and Tibetan translations, but in two very different formats.

In Tibetan it is edited as a single scripture, entitled *'Phags pa pha rol tu phyin pa lnga bstan pa* (i.e., *Āryapañcapāramitānirdeśa* [D 181/P 848]) and included in the section of "Various *sūtras*" (*Mdo sde / Mdo sna tshogs*) and not in that of *Prajñāpāramitā*. The text was translated by Jinamitra and Ye shes sde (Conze, 1978, 77).

Corresponding to this Tibetan version, we find five different sections – i.e. ostensibly, originally independent scriptures, each with its own *nidāna* (introductory section) – of varying size in Xuanzang's *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (nos. 11–15), each devoted to a specific *pāramitā* (the numbers of lines of the originals are after *Fayuan zhulin*; T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c27–1025a12):

Section 11 on the perfection of giving (*Di shiyi bushi boluomiduo fen* [第十一布施波羅蜜多分]; T 220. [VII] 991c16–1019a15; original Sanskrit text in 2,000 lines); *Section 12 on the perfection of pure discipline* (*Di shi'er jingjie boluomiduo fen* [第十二淨戒波羅蜜多]; T. 220 [VII] 1019b22–1044a8; 2000 lines); *Section 13 on the perfection of calm acceptance* (*Di shisan anren boluomiduo fen* [第十三安忍波羅蜜多分]; T. 220 [VII] 1044b17–1049c17; 400 lines); *Section 14 on the perfection of energy* (*Di shisi jingjin boluomiduo fen* 第十四精進波羅蜜多分; T. 220 [VII], p. 1050a25–1055a28); note that the figure of 800 lines given by the *Fayuan zhulin* for the original of this section must be a scribal error, as this is in fact only slightly shorter than the preceding section. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* gives instead the original's size as 400 lines, which should be the correct figure (T. 2154 [LV] 594c21); *Section 15 on the perfection of meditation* (*Di shiwu jinglü boluomiduo fen* 第十五靜慮波羅蜜多; T. 220 [VII] 1055c6–1065b12; 800 lines).

The 16th and final section of the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (corresponding to the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā*) complements the preceding five so as to form a set of scriptures on all the six perfections. The presence of this set in Xuanzang's *summa* is probably the main reason for including the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa* in a survey of Prajñāpāramitā literature.

Only some Central Asian fragments of the Sanskrit text seem to have survived. One is a single intact folio from the *śīlapāramitā* section, edited by G. Bongard-Levin & Watanabe (1997). An interesting feature of this fragment is the high folio number (957), which suggests the possibility that this text might have been part of a larger scripture, perhaps typologically similar to the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (Bongard-Levin & Watanabe 1997, 98). Karashima edited a fairly damaged folio from the *dānapāramitā* section (2004, 109–117) and a tiny fragment from the *śīlapāramitā* section (in Karashima & Wille 2009, 437–439).

The *Pañcaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*

The *Perfection of Insight in 500 Lines* (*Pañcaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*) is probably the most important Prajñāpāramitā text not included in Xuanzang's *summa*. The Sanskrit text, long thought to have been lost, has resurfaced in recent years. It is included in a remarkable Pāla manuscript discovered in Lhasa which contains an anthology of ten short Prajñāpāramitā texts arranged in ascending order of size (see the list in Tomabechi, 2009, xxx–xxxi). On this manuscript, probably dating to the second half of the 11th century, see Tomabechi's detailed discussion (2009, xxiv–xxxii). The *Pañcaśatikā* (with the title *Āryabhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā Svabhāvapraveśikā Pañcaśatikā*) is the last but one text found in this manuscript, being followed by the *Prajñāpāramitā in 700 Lines* (*Saptaśatikā*).

For a discussion of the *Pañcaśatikā*, and in particular of its Sanskrit text, see Fujita's study (2011). The most salient feature of this scripture highlighted by Fujita is the presence of doctrinal formulations which seem to have been influenced by the Yogācāra school. For example, according to the *Pañcaśatikā* all *dharmas* are to be cognized in terms of three categories – "inexistence" (*abhāva*), "non-inexistence" (*nābhāva*), and "real existence" (*sadbhāva*) – which according to Fujita (2011, 78–81) are related to the three natures (constructed, dependent, and perfected) which are a key Yogācāra doctrine.

On the Tibetan translation of the *Pañcaśatikā*, entitled *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa lnga brgya pa* (D 15/P 738), see Fujita (2011, 75–76). The translator is unknown, but the fact that this text is mentioned in the *Lhan/Ldan dkar ma* catalogue compiled in 824 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the translation. This version has been translated into English by E. Conze (1973b, 108–121).

The Chinese translation, *Fo shuo kaijue zixing banruoboluomiduo jing* (佛說開覺自性般若波羅蜜多經; T. 260), by Weijing (惟淨) and others, dates to the first half of the 11th century. According to Fujita (2011, 76), some parts of this translation as edited in the Taishō are out of order.

The *Prajñāpāramitā Scripture for Humane Kings*

The *Prajñāpāramitā scripture for humane kings who wish to protect their states* (title after Orzech, 1988, 1), only attested by two Chinese versions, is in many ways unique among Prajñāpāramitā texts. The unclear historical background of this scripture, as well as some distinctively Chinese features it contains, caused doubts to be raised about its authenticity as a genuine Indian text already as early as the 6th century. There is a consensus in modern scholarship that this is a Chinese apocryphal text, probably produced during the 5th century (Orzech, 1988, 79–97,289–291).

The earliest version of this text is the *Ren wang banruoboluomi jing* (仁王般若波羅蜜經; *Prajñāpāramitā scripture for humane kings*; T. 245), ascribed in the canon to Kumārjīva but recorded in the earliest available catalogue (T. 2145 [LV] 29c19) among anonymous translations, with the slightly different title (also attested in some early editions of the canon collated in T. 245) *Ren wang hu guo* (護國) *banruoboluomi jing* (*Prajñāpāramitā scripture for humane kings who protect* [*their*] *states*).

As with other scriptures of similarly dubious pedigree, this text received canonical status in the late 6th century catalogue *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀; T. 2034 [XLIX] 110c15; Orzech, 1988, 78). During the Tang period this decision was endorsed by Zhisheng's authoritative *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T. 2154 [LV] 680c16–17), and as a consequence this scripture came to be included in the various pre-modern editions of the canon.

The second version, the *Ren wang hu guo banruoboluomiduo jing* (仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經; T. 246), was produced by imperial commission during the Tang dynasty, in the years 765–766 CE, by the celebrated esoteric master Amoghavajra. Although ostensibly a retranslation, this is in fact a revision of the preceding version, with the inclusion of elements enhancing the esoteric character of the text (such as the long *dhāraṇī* inserted into chapter 7 [T. 246, VIII, 843c19–844a9]), and the elimination of certain disturbingly unorthodox features (for a

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detailed analysis of the composition of the second version, see Orzech, 1988, 70, 160–167). In this case, the canonicity of the scripture was directly endorsed by emperor Daizong (代宗; 727–779 CE), who wrote a preface (T. 246 [VIII] 834a14–c1; Orzech, 1988, 77).

The scripture is shaped as a dialogue, mainly between the Buddha and Prasenajit, the king of Kośala. Subdivided into eight chapters, it alternates passages in prose and verses, in the so-called prosimetric form typical of Mahāyāna *sūtras* (though not of Prajñāpāramitā literature).

Influenced by apocalyptic ideas about the end of the Dharma, this scripture represents a uniquely creative synthesis of various Buddhist strands (Orzech, 1988, 121) and different objectives. According to Orzech (1988, 71), traditional analyses of this text underscored its "dual agenda [...], which pursues both the highest vision of transcendent emptiness and more 'mundane' political and personal protection. Averting disasters and achieving the vision of the 'edge of reality' (*bhūtakoṭi*) are linked through kings and the bodhisattva path".

The political concerns which are characteristic of this scripture are the particular focus of its fifth, short chapter, entitled *Chapter on the Protection of the State* (*Hu guo pin* [護國品]) in both versions (T. 245 [VIII] 829c28–830c11; T. 246 [VIII] 840a9–c15), whose initial portion contains detailed ritual prescriptions for state protection.

As it is often the case with apocryphal texts, the *Prajñāpāramitā scripture for Humane Kings* represents a first-rate source for the study the intellectual, religious and political preoccupations of Chinese Buddhism. It remained an influential scripture in East Asian Buddhism. In particular, it was important for the Tiantai (天台) school (Orzech, 1988, 128–133), especially for the distinctive theory (expunged from the Tang version) of the three truths expounded in Chapter 4 of the early version (Orzech, 1988, 82, 85–86).

The most detailed study of this scripture, including an annotated translation of the second version, is by C. Orzech (1988). A summary of the text with excerpts from is found in M. de Visser (1935, 125–158), on which E. Conze based his outline of this text (1973b, 165–183).

The *Adhyardhaśatikā* and Other Tantric Prajñāpāramitā Texts

The inclusion of elements that can be called tantric or esoteric (such as mantras and ritual prescriptions) represents an important trend in the development of Prajñāpāramitā literature. The synthesis between *Tantra* and *Perfection of insight* becomes fully apparent in a group of short scriptures classified by some scholars as tantric (or esoteric) Prajñāpāramitā texts (for full lists see Conze, 1978, 79–92; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 94–112).

The most representative among these scriptures is the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Lines*), also known as *Liqu jing* (理趣經 [Jpn. *Rishukyō*]) in East Asian Buddhist tradition (*liqu* [理趣] = *nāya*, "guide, guiding principle", see Astley-Kristensen, 1991, 8, 8n20; see also *tshul* in the title of the Tibetan translation). That this text was considered a Prajñāpāramitā in a proper sense is shown by the fact that it was quoted as an authoritative scripture of this tradition by important Mahāyāna masters such as Candrakīrti and Haribhadra (Conze, 1978, 80), and, above all, by its inclusion in the *Da banruoboluomiduo jing*. However, it can be considered an essentially Tantric text; according to Tomabechi (2009, xii), in comparison to other Prajñāpāramitā scriptures the *Adhyardhaśatikā* "took further steps towards full 'tantricization' by laying emphasis on the notion of Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*) and the purity (*viśuddhi* [...]) of sensual pleasure".

The Sanskrit text of the *Adhyardhaśatikā* was initially known only partially, through an incomplete (folios 6–20) bilingual manuscript for the most part belonging to the Saint Petersburg Collections, and containing some passages from the Sanskrit *Adhyardhaśatikā* interspersed with passages in Khotanese. The portions in the two languages form a single whole, though the rationale behind the alternation of the two languages is not entirely clear. According to I. Astley-Kristensen (1991, 10), the portions in Sanskrit contain the philosophical aspects of the text, while those in Khotanese, which praise the virtues of the scripture and of its practice, may have been meant to address a wider audience. A slightly different interpretation has been proposed by M. Maggi (2009, 374), according to whom the passages in Khotanese represent parts of the scripture deemed to be exoteric, while those in Sanskrit (particularly rich in esoteric terminology) were considered esoteric and hence left untranslated.

This manuscript was at first studied and edited by E. Leumann (1912, 84–99 [the Sanskrit passages from this edition are reproduced in Vaidya, 1961, 90–92]; 1930). A new edition, including a translation of the Khotanese portions, has been published by R. Emmerick and E. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja (1995, 24–34). A fragment from an additional folio (no. 21) of this manuscript kept at the British Library has been edited by P.O. Skjærvø (2002, 359–360; folio 22 is mentioned by Tomabechi [2009, xxxii] as part of the same collection).

A nearly complete Sanskrit text of the *Adhyardhaśatikā* was discovered in recent years, included in the Pāla manuscript also containing the *Pañcaśatikā* as well as several other short Prajñāpāramitā texts (see above). A critical edition of the Sanskrit *Adhyardhaśatikā* based on this manuscript has been published by Tomabechi (2009, 3–28; see also xxiv–xxxii for a detailed description the manuscript, and liv–lx for a discussion of the Sanskrit text in terms of structure and content).

There are five Chinese translations of the *Adhyardhaśatikā* (Tomabechi, 2009, xliv–xlviii; Astley-Kristensen, 1991, 13–19), reflecting different stages in the textual development of this scripture, with signs of progressive tantricization. The earliest of these translations, and the earliest witness of this scripture, is that by Xuanzang, representing section 10 of his *Da banruoboluomiduo jing* (*Di shi Banruo liqu fen* [第十般若理趣分]; T. 220 [VII] 986a28–991b8). This, which according to Tomabechi (2009, xiv) "represents a pre-Tantric stage" in the development of the *Adhyardhaśatikā*, is by far the longest Chinese version. It is interesting to observe that according to the *Fayuan zhulin*, the original used by Xuanzang consisted of 300 *ślokas* (T. 2122 [LIII] 1024c25). The accuracy of Daoshi's record is essentially confirmed by a simple comparison of Xuanzang's translation with that of Amoghavajra, which according to Tomabechi (2009, xlvii) is close to the Sanskrit: indeed the former is more than twice the size of the latter.

The second translation, by Bodhiruci, dates to 693 (*Shixiang banruoboluomi jing* [實相般若波羅蜜經]; T. 240). The *Jin'gang ding yujia liqu banruo jing* (金剛頂瑜伽理趣般若經; T. 241), ascribed to Vajrabodhi (Jin'gangzhi [金剛智], active in the first half of the 8th century) is nominally the third Chinese version of the *Adhyardhaśatikā*. However its authenticity has been questioned; according to some scholars (Astley-Kristensen, 1991, 15; Tomabechi, 2009, xlvi), this text is likely to have been translated much later, on the basis of a Sanskrit manuscript brought to China during the Song (960–1127; 1127–1279) or Yuan (1277–1368) dynasties.

Amoghavajra's translation, called *Da le jin'gang bu kong zhenshi sanmaya jing* (大樂金剛不空真實三麼耶經; T. 243) and produced between 763 and 771 (Tomabechi, 2009, xivii) has been the most influential in East Asian Buddhism, and remains of paramount importance in Japan as one of the basic canonical scriptures of Shingon Buddhism (Astley-Kristensen, 1991, 1–2; 6–8). For a copiously commented translation of Amoghavajra's version, see Astley-Kristensen, (1991, 39–184). The last Chinese translation is the *Foshuo bianzhao banruoboluomi jing* (佛說遍照般若波羅蜜經; T. 242) by Dānapāla (active between 9th and 10th cents.).

The Tibetan translation, *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul brgya lnga bcu pa* (ascribed by one source to Śīlendrabodhi, Jinamitra, and Ye shes sde [Tomabechi, 2009, xxxiv]) is included, in most editions of the Kanjur (but not in the Peking edition), both in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (D 17) and *Tantra* (D 489/ P 121) sections (on its three recensions see Tomabechi, 2009, xli–xliv). In addition to these canonical editions, there are also several Dunhuang manuscripts of the Tibetan text. For a detailed presentation of these sources, see Tomabechi's monograph (2009, xxxiv–xliv), which includes also a critical edition of the Tibetan translation.

A somewhat tentative translation, partly based on the Sanskrit passages contained in the Khotanese manuscript and partly on the Tibetan translation, was included by E. Conze in his anthology of short Prajñāpāramitā texts (1973b, 184–195). For detailed surveys of modern scholarship on the *Adhyardhaśatikā*, see Tomabechi (2009, xiii–xx) and I. Astley-Kristensen (1991, 5–8). The most detailed study centred on this scripture to date is Watanabe (1995).

Apart from the *Adhyardhaśatikā*, there are some other short Prajñāpāramitā texts also classified as Tantra in the Tibetan canon and by modern scholars, as well as several *dhāraṇī*s and esoteric ritual texts related to Prajñāpāramitā (Conze, 1978, 81–91; Komine *et al.*, 2015, 102–112). Judging from the available internal and external evidence, they seem to be all fairly late. Only some of the most significant can be mentioned here.

The *Svalpākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā*

The *Prajñāpāramitā in very few words* (*Svalpākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā*) is a short text which, as pointed out by E. Conze (1978, 81), presents certain similarities with the *Heart Sūtra*, but with more marked tantric features. Apart from their shared shortness, the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara plays a role in both texts (though in the *Svalpākṣarā* only as an interlocutor of the Buddha). The text lays great emphasis on the

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immediate benefits and attainments made possible by the mere hearing of this teaching, which is explicitly said to be addressing beings of lesser faculties (Yuyama, 1977b, 287–288 §VIb–VIIa).

The Sanskrit text was first edited by E. Conze (1956, 113–115 [reproduced in Vaidya, 1961, 93–94]), and then, on the basis of more manuscripts, by Yuyama (1977b, 286–292), who also produced a critical edition of the Tibetan translation (1977b 293–297). The latter, entitled *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa yi ge nyung du*, is generally included both in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (D 22) and *Tantra* (D 530 / P 159) sections of the Kanjur (Yuyama, 1977b 281–282). There is also a Chinese version, the *Fo shuo sheng mu xiao zi banruoboluomiduo jing* (佛說聖佛母小字般若波羅蜜多經, T. 258) translated by Tianxizai (天息災) probably in 982 (Yuyama, 1977b, 282–283). The Sanskrit text has been translated by E. Conze (1973b 144–147), and the Chinese version by Yuyama (1977b 298–301).

The *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā*

Another scripture which belongs from a typological point of view to this group is the *Prajñāpāramitā for Kauśika* (*Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā*; given as *Kauśakaprajñāpāramitā* in Conze, 1956, 112, 115), a short dialogue between the Buddha and Indra, the lord of the gods (i.e. Kauśika). As shown by E. Conze (1978, 82–83), this is just a patchwork of short passages quoted from various sources – mainly Prajñāpāramitā texts but also Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* – together with several mantras, which make up the concluding portion of the text (Conze, 1956, 117–118; Vaidya, 1961, 96).

The Sanskrit text of the *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā* has been published by E. Conze (1956, 115–118), whose edition is reproduced by Vaidya (1961, 95–96). The Tibetan translation (included in the *Prajñāpāramitā* [D 19] and *Tantra* [D 554 / P 173] sections of the canon with the title *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa kau shi ka zhes bya'o*), lacks the final *mantras* and is thus shorter than the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. The latter, the *Fo shuo di Shi banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (佛說帝釋般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 249), is by Dānapāla (10th–11th cent.). E. Conze's partial English translation (1973b, 157–159) is based on both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions.

The *Perfection of Insight in One Syllable*

The *Prajñāpāramitā in one syllable* (**Ekākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā*) survives only in Tibetan translation, the *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi yum yi ge gcig ma* (found only in the *Prajñāpāramitā* section of the Kanjur [D 23/P 741]), rendered into English by E. Conze (1973b, 201). Apart from the usual introductory and closing formulas typical of *sūtras*, this scripture consists in one single sentence, presenting the syllable "a" as representing the whole *Prajñāpāramitā*. Thus this scripture can be taken to represent the extreme form of textual condensation across the entire scriptural family. The fact that the syllable (*askṣara*) "a" was selected to summarize the entire Prajñāpāramitā reflects the particular status and the rich symbolic meaning it has in the Buddhist tradition: both as the fundamental syllable (representing the shwa, the sound requiring the least physical effort to produce and thus the primal utterance), and as a negative prefix (in Sanskrit as in English), and hence an appropriate symbol of emptiness (Demiéville 1929–1930, 1–5).

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STEFANO ZACCHETTI

Pure Land Sūtras

Buddhism focused on Pure Land faith and practice can be defined as

> the set of all ideas and practices related to Buddhas who are presently living in world-systems other than our own…, [of] all Buddhist teachings that look forward to the possibility of rebirth in another world-system [*lokadhātu*] or Buddha-field [*buddhakṣetra*; *foguo* (佛國)], where a Buddha is presently teaching the Dharma. (Nattier, 2000, 74–75)

Let it be emphasized from the outset that a "pure land" is a paradise-like universe of its own and not, *stricto sensu*, a heaven (*svarga*), an expression that must be reserved for the blissful and increasingly ethereal abodes of the gods of a given world system within saṃsāra – ideas about which most certainly influenced the early representations of the pure lands (Nattier, 2000, 75, 75n9, 81, 99, 99n78).

In the strict sense just defined, Pure Land Buddhism originated in India around the turn of the 1st millenium. However, the expression "pure land" (*jingtu* [淨土]) used as a label lacks any clear Indic equivalent (but comp. Nattier, 2000, 73, 74n6; Fujita, 1996a, 20) and likely was first coined in China. In Kumārajīva's (344–413 CE) terminology, the expression refers to a purified/pure (Skt. *pariśuddha*) buddha field in contrast to an impure/defiled one (*huitu* [穢土]; on this distinction, see Lamotte, 1962, 397–399; Fujita, 1996a, 24–25). According to Fujita Kōtatsu (1996b, 36), *jingtu* (淨土) probably derives, by way of compression, from expressions such as *jing foguotu* (淨佛國土; purifying the/purified buddha field), rendering the Sanskrit *buddhakṣetra-pariśuddhi* ("purification of the/a buddha field"), *pariśuddhabuddhakṣetra* ("purified buddha field"), and so forth. In Chinese as well as in modern usage, both academic and nonacademic, the expression has come to refer predominantly to Amitābha's Sukhāvatī ("Land of Bliss"), the pure buddha field par excellence (Fujita, 1996b, 36), first transcribed as Xuhemati (須呵[訶]摩堤; Gan. Suhamadi[?]) and then translated as joy (*anyang* [安養]), peaceful bliss (*anle* [安樂]), and supreme/ultimate bliss (*jile* [極樂]; Fujita, 1996a, 20–21; 1996b, 33; Ducor, 2004, 373–374, 374n94).

In terms of Indic religious history, Pure Land Buddhism refers to beliefs and practices centered on the buddhas "of the ten directions," more specifically to Akṣobhya and Amitābha ("Limitless Light"; also known as Amitāyus ["Limitless Length of Life"]) and their world systems Abhirati ("Extremely Joyful") and Sukhāvatī, respectively located to the east and to the west of our own impure Sahā universe. In terms of literary history, Indic Pure Land Buddhism includes texts such as the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*, the Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the so-called *Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*, and the two *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtras*, along with somewhat later dogmatic treatises such as the (pseudo-) Nāgārjuna's *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* and (the pseudo-) Vasubandhu's **Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*, which the present entry covers for the sake of completeness in spite of their non-*sūtra* (but widely authoritative) character. A few words are also devoted to the Central Asian/Chinese "Visualization Sūtra" as well as to the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī*(*sūtra*), although the latter is not Sukhāvatī related, in view of the importance of these texts in East Asian Pure Land traditions. It is important to stress at the outset that the conceptual grouping of such materials is a retrospective phenomenon, and thus to speak of "Indian Pure Land Buddhism" is a sort of anachronism, although a sometimes helpful one. It is really only in Japan that we find the overt conceptualization of a "Pure Land Buddhism," but even then, not all the texts treated here have been considered under this umbrella (a case in point being the historically unknown Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra*).

Pure Land Buddhism is believed, by some, to have originated in Kushana northwest India, around 100 CE (Fujita, 1996a, 10; Halkias, 2013, 20–24), a chronology that makes it roughly contemporary with the earliest extant epigraphic attestation of Amitābha in the Govindnagar inscribed-image pedestal (153 or 104 CE), with no connection to Sukhāvatī (Schopen, 1987; Fussman, 1999, 540–543; Salomon & Schopen, 2002). The once widespread belief in non-Indic, mainly Iranian influences on the formation of the cult and the representation of Amitābha has now been generally abandoned (Fujita, 1996a, 13–14, 23–24; 1996b, 39–44; 1985; Fussman, 1999, 552–563;

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Ducor, 2004, 399; for a qualified acceptance of such influences, see Halkias, 2013, 20–24). Whatever the case may be, 2nd–3rd-century Chinese translations testify to the existence of Pure Land Buddhism in India *lato sensu* before the late 2nd century CE (Harrison, 1978; Nattier, 2000, 78–79; Ducor, 2004, 395; Satō, 2004). Akṣobhya's Abhirati world system is dealt with in some detail in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Daoxing bore jing* [道行般若經]; T. 224; translated in 179 CE by Lokakṣema [Zhi Loujiachan (支婁迦讖); *fl.* 170–190]; Lamotte, 1962, 360–362, 362n9) and in the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* (see below; maybe translated by Lokakṣema's disciples) as well as in Zhi Qian's (支謙; *fl.* 220–250) translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie jing* [維摩詰經]; T. 474; 223–228 CE; Lamotte, 1962, 360–370). As for Amitābha's Sukhāvatī, it is alluded to in Lokakṣema's translation of the *Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* (*Banzhou sanmei jing* [般舟三昧經]; T. 418; translated in 179 CE; Harrison, 1990) and in Zhi Qian's version of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*. According to J. Nattier,

> these early translations demonstrate with certainty that the cult of Akṣobhya (to a significant degree) and the cult of Amitābha (perhaps to a lesser degree) were already well established in India by this time. In scriptures translated from the late third century onward, however, the relationship between Akṣobhya and Amitābha is reversed, for no new scripture devoted wholly to Akṣobhya is ever translated (though the *Akṣobhyavyūha* is retranslated once), while works extolling Amitābha (including several re-translations of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, two translations of the shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and one version of the apocryphal *Kuan Wu-liang-shou-fo ching* 觀無量壽佛經) appear with considerable frequency. (Nattier, 2000, 79–80; see also Fujita, 1996a, 9–10)

As was suggested by G. Schopen (1977, 194), by the 3rd century at the latest, rebirth in Sukhāvatī had "become dissociated from a specific cult of Amitābha and ha[d] become instead one of a number of generalized rewards or 'blessings' associated with such a wide variety of religious acts that it [wa]s virtually open to any member of the Mahāyāna community as a whole" (Schopen, 1977, 194/173; see Fussman, 1999, 578, for a reversal of the perspective). In parallel to the generalization of rebirth in this buddha field as a religious goal, "the idea of Sukhāvatī was generalized to the point that it became a standard literary simile for magnificence, loveliness, etc." (Schopen, 1977, 199/177). Such popularity of Amitābha and Sukhāvatī – but not necessarily of a related cult (Schopen, 1987; Fussman, 1999) – might be reflected in mid-3rd- to early 5th-century Gandharan art-historical materials. According to P. Harrison and C. Luczanits (2012), the Muhammad Nari sculptured panel (in Lahore Museum; G-155) and several related "complex steles" can be analysed as representations of Amitābha preaching in Sukhāvatī flanked by the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Huntington, 1980; Fussman, 1987, 73; Quagliotti, 1996). Archaeological records testify to a "significant concentration [of these steles] in the Peshawar Basin north of the Kabul River" and "a thriving artistic milieu with high levels of patronage" (Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 107).

Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra and the Bajaur Mahāyāna *Sūtra*

Before turning to the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*, a few words should be said of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, for a significant part of chapter 11 of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is devoted to Akṣobhya and Abhirati (Chapter on the Vision of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya Thanks to [Vimalakīrti's] Bringing the Abhirati World System [into Our Sahā World System]; for a translation of sections 2–9, see Lamotte, 1962; see also Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 80–81). In this passage, Śākyamuni reveals to Śāriputra that the layman Vimalakīrti left the pure (*pariśuddha*) Abhirati world system in order to save the suffering living beings of the Sahā universe with its manifold defects. Learning of the assembly's wish to see Akṣobhya and Abhirati, Vimalakīrti shrinks the delightful universe so as to grasp it in his right hand and incorporate it into the Sahā world. Thereupon innumerable living beings vow to reach full awakening and to be born in Abhirati, which Śākyamuni "validates" in a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*), adding that "the bodhisattva who wishes to conquer such a *buddhakṣetra* [buddha field] must emulate all the bodhisattva practices of the *tathāgata* Akṣobhya" (section 7; trans. Lamotte, 1962, 366). Having thus brought these living beings to spiritual maturation (*vipacya*), Vimalakīrti brings the Abhirati world system back to its original location. Especially noteworthy is the *sūtra*'s description of Abhirati (section 4; Lamotte, 1962, 363–364). This paradise-like universe contains a moon, a sun, stars, dwelling places for various kinds of gods and supernatural beings, a central mountain Sumeru and mountain ranges, rivers, ponds, and seas; it has villages, towns, and kingdoms with men and women; bodhisattvas as well as *śrāvaka*s live there and listen to Akṣobhya; lotuses perform the task of buddhas in the ten directions. Three precious staircases (*sopāna*) connect Jambudvīpa to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven so as to allow these gods to descend to worship Akṣobhya and the humans to climb to heaven to visit the Trāyastriṃśa gods. Noteworthy is also this *sūtra*'s important remark to the effect that a *buddhakṣetra*'s purity is a function of the bodhisattva's mental purity (*VKN*. 1.15; T. 475 [XIV] 538c; Ducor & Loveday, 2011, 49; Nattier, 2007a, 380).

Much more important in connection to Akṣobhya and Abhirati is, however, the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*. This *sūtra* has come down to us in two Chinese translations and one in Tibetan. The first Chinese version in five chapters (*Achu foguo jing* [阿閦佛國經]; T. 313) is traditionally ascribed to the Yuezhi translator Lokakṣema and may thus belong to the earliest translations of Mahāyāna texts into Chinese. This attribution has been challenged by J. Nattier (2008, 85–86) on stylistic and terminological grounds. In her view (2008, 85–86), this translation was at least subject to revisions. The second extant Chinese rendition of the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* is a work of the Indian translator Bodhiruci in six chapters (*Budong rulai hui* [不動如來會]; T. 310[6]; translated between 706 and 713 CE; *sūtra* 6 in the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection; for a French translation of the first three chapters with copious references to Lokakṣema's and the Tibetan translation, see Dantinne, 1983, 24–34; for the "cult of the book," see Dantinne, 1983, 44f.; for a partial translation, see Chang, 1983, 315–338; see also Satō, 2008). Mention should also be made of a lost Chinese translation by Zhi Daogen (支道根; *fl.* 326–342 CE; see Dantinne, 1983, 17–20).

The Tibetan translation, the *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa mi 'khrugs pa'i bkod pa* (D 50/P 760[6]; ed. Satō, 2002a), was prepared by Ye shes sde, Jinamitra, and Surendrabodhi in the late 8th century or the early 9th century. According to J. Dantinne (1983, 34–35), the Tibetan version is very close to the *Achu foguo jing*, although it contains passages that lack any equivalent in either of the extant Chinese versions (a list of the sounds produced by the Bodhi tree, an account of painless childbirth, a formulation of Akṣobhya's initial vow concerning the ornamentation of his *buddhakṣetra*, and an allusion to the cult of stūpas and images). From a structural and a doctrinal point of view (e.g. the number of Akṣobhya's vows [see also Nattier, 2000, 97–98n74–75], considering individual developments, wording of formulas and clichés, and so forth), the *Achu foguo jing* and the Tibetan translation are likely to go back to the same Indic archetype, which must have been well spread in mid-1st-century northwestern India (Dantinne, 1983, 45), whereas the *Budong rulai hui* would derive from an independent Indic archetype (Dantinne, 1983, 4, 28–29).

The chapters of the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* deal with the following:

1. the production of the thought of awakening (*cittotpāda*; or **vyākaraṇavyūha*, the splendor of the prediction, in Bodhiruci's translation);
2. the wondrous qualities (**guṇa*) or felicities (**sukha*) of Akṣobhya's *buddhakṣetra*;
3. the *śrāvaka*s;
4. the bodhisattvas;
5. the (qualities of the) nirvāṇa (of the Buddha); and
6. the causes and conditions of rebirth (**upapattihetupratyaya*; in Bodhiruci's translation only).

In this *sūtra*, Śākyamuni expounds to Śāriputra how he who was to become the buddha Akṣobhya made his initial vow. In a very remote past, the buddha *Viśālanetra/*Mahānetra (Damu [大目]; Guangmu [廣目]; Tib. Spyan chen po) was presiding over the Abhirati realm when a then unknown mendicant monk told him about his intention to undertake the training of the bodhisattva. *Viśālanetra replied that such vows were most difficult to carry out since the bodhisattvas must bear no malice toward any living beings. Despite this caution, the monk persevered and proved to be unshakable (*akṣobhya*) in the fulfillment of his vows; he accordingly became the buddha Akṣobhya, ruling and teaching in the Abhirati world-system. The *sūtra* advises practitioners to emulate the practice of the bodhisattva Akṣobhya, for whoever is born in Abhirati reaches the stage of nonretrogression (*avaivartya*; see "*Ashuku*," in *Hōbōgirin*, 39b–40a; Dantinne, 1983, 198–199; Nattier, 2000, 85–86).

Sharing certain doctrinal features with the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* is a Gandhari *sūtra*, the so-called Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra*, that provides evidence for the existence of Mahāyāna scriptures within mainstream Buddhist institutions in Gandhara, thus belonging to one of the most sensational manuscript findings of the past decades. One of the 22 texts constituting the Bajaur Collection of Kharoshthi manuscripts (Strauch, 2007–2008; Falk & Strauch, 2014), it is an extensive *sūtra* fragment (about 200 cm in length and 600 lines, i.e.

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about 45% of the entire collection; the beginning and the end are missing). According to I. Strauch (2010, 26), "judging from their scripts and language, all of the manuscripts can be tentatively dated to the first two centuries CE." The Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra*, consisting of mixed prose and summarizing verses, has several ideas in common with the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*. Its prediction "uses the familiar concept of Akṣobhya and Abhirati to describe its own idea of a future Buddha-land. Abhirati is here clearly perceived as a model for a paradigmatic *buddhakṣetra*" (Strauch, 2010, 59). The text stages 84,000 *devaputras* (gods) directing their minds to the supreme and perfect awakening and asking the Buddha about the way to perform the training of a bodhisattva (*bodhisattvaśikṣā*). The *sūtra*'s description of Abhirati is "part of the prophecy which concludes the instruction of the 84,000 *devaputras* and predicts their future existence as buddhas named Vipulaprabha (or Mahāprabha) in a Buddha-land that is comparable to the Abhirati *buddhakṣetra* of Akṣobhya" (Strauch, 2010, 50–51).

Akṣobhya, Abhirati, and Early Mahāyāna

As pointed out by J. Nattier (2000, 101–102), "[t]he type of Pure Land Buddhism presented in the *Akṣobhyavyūha* [and now also in the Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra*] … constitutes a transitional stage between the earliest understanding of the bodhisattva path and the distinctive form of Pure Land Buddhism articulated in the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*." The last two centuries before the Common Era saw a gradual widening of the gap between ever more exalted descriptions of buddhahood and increasingly deprecating accounts of arhatship. As a result, it became possible to choose as one's religious goal the reenactment in every detail (likely with the *jātakas* as a practical guide) of the path that the future Buddha had gone through so as to become a "world-redeeming Buddha" (Nattier, 2003, 180). The emulation of a buddha's career was far more demanding not only in terms of (occasionally bloody) self-sacrifice but also in terms of sheer duration, for if arhatship could be achieved within a few lifetimes, buddhahood required billions of successive existences spent in accumulating the necessary provision of merit and knowledge (*puṇyajñānasambhāra*) and waiting for one's turn to come in the long succession of the future buddhas. Most agreed that the best way to acquire the necessary equipment for buddhahood was to serve and to attend the teachings of a living buddha. Around the beginning of the Common Era, bodhisattvas began to spread reports of visionary experiences of a universe of far greater dimension than had been hitherto imagined. These reports transmitted visions of innumerable world systems with teaching buddhas, thus opening up "the dramatic possibility of encountering a living buddha in the near future – indeed in one's next life, through being reborn in his realm" (Nattier, 2003, 184). As G. Halkias puts it,

> Buddha fields came to represent the goal and consummation of the Mahayana path, while the possibility of encountering buddhas and celestial bodhisattvas residing in heavens compensated for the spiritual vacuum left by the absence of Śākyamuni Buddha and provided an incentive for contemplative training. (Halkias, 2013, 4)

The *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* and the Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra* reflect this ideological stance while describing the career that makes an unnamed bodhisattva and myriad divinities (*devaputra*) become buddhas whose wonderful lands are described as the by-products of their bodhisattva practice. As P. Harrison and C. Luczanits have it,

> the domain of a Buddha is a natural consequence of the pursuit of the bodhisattva path, and the site of its culmination. Indeed, the bodhisattva path itself is often conceptualized as the 'purification' of a Buddha domain. (Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 73)

No less importantly, the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* and the Bajaur Mahāyāna *sūtra* still operate with a three-vehicle scenario according to which the great majority of the Buddhist practitioners opt for the path toward arhatship while only the spiritual elite embarks on the incomparably more demanding career leading to buddhahood. But being reborn in Abhirati and listening to the teaching of Akṣobhya makes it extremely easy for candidates of arhatship to attain nirvāṇa, and indeed innumerable listeners obtain arhatship at every sermon of Akṣobhya. As J. Nattier remarks (2000, 83), "[n]o one apparently will require rebirth elsewhere before attaining final liberation; thus birth in Akṣobhya's land is tantamount to the last birth of a non-returner." Contrary to the situation reflected in at least the later recension of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (see below), the documents related to Akṣobhya and the Abhirati world system thus do not involve a generalization of the bodhisattva ideal and remain true to both mainstream and early Mahāyāna conceptions according to which "[t]he 'job description' of a buddha is still – as it was in the time of Śākyamuni – to lead his followers to arhatship" (Nattier, 2003, 186). According to J. Nattier,

> [w]hat we see in the *Akṣobhyavyūha*... is the standard scenario of the "three vehicles," according to which some Buddhists – but not all – can and should undertake the difficult practices leading to Buddhahood so that they may in turn assist others in attaining Arhatship, just as Śākyamuni did. (Nattier, 2000, 94)

The Vows of Akṣobhya and the Merits of Abhirati

In contrast to the vows of the bodhisattva Dharmākara in the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* (see below all the vows of the future Akṣobhya describe the morality and the perfect behavior that he promises to observe during his career as a bodhisattva. This bodhisattva strengthens his vows with the formula "[If I should fail to fulfill these vows] I would be breaking faith with all the Buddhas, Blessed Ones, who are even now teaching the Dharma in incalculable, innumerable, inconceivable, immeasurable worlds" (Nattier, 2000, 96; for parallels in Mahāyāna literature, see Nattier, 2000, 95n71; for its Chinese and Sanskrit wordings, see Nattier, 2000, 96n72). In Bodhiruci's translation (see Dantinne, 1983; Satō, 2008, 99–111), the future Akṣobhya's vows are as follows:

1. not to have any thought (*citta*) of anger (*prakopa*) and/or malevolence (*vyāpāda*);
2. not to have any of the thoughts that are typical of the *śrāvaka*s and/or the *pratyekabuddha*s;
3. not to have any thought of desire (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*), delusion (*moha*), and so forth;
4. not to have any thought of doubt (*vicikitsā*), murder (*prāṇātipāta*), theft (*adattādāna*), false views (*dṛṣṭi*), unchastity (*abrahmacarya*), and so forth;
5. not to contradict one's words with one's acts;
6. not to produce words that are unaccompanied by the commemoration of the buddhas (*buddhānusmṛti*);
7. not to fail to embrace the homeless life (*anāgārikā*);
8. not to fail to develop the qualities of the purified/ascetic man (*dhūtaguṇa*) concerning diet, dressing, beds, seats, dwelling places, and so forth;
9. not to preach the law without eloquence (*pratibhāna*);
10. not to fail to have good physical behavior (*īryāpatha*);
11. not to produce any thought associated with the victory of allodox positions (**parapravādavijaya*);
12. not to teach women without producing ideas of impermanence, and so forth;
13. not to fail to think of the Buddha;
14. not to honor the allodox teachers (*anyatīrthika*) and the Brahmans while neglecting buddhas, *śramaṇa*s, and disciples (*śiṣya*);
15. not to perform the gift of material/worldly things (*āmiṣadāna*) and the gift of the law/spiritual things (*dharmadāna*) with discrimination;
16. not to fail to save the criminals who are being punished by sacrificing oneself (*ātmaparityāga*);
17. not to speak of other peoples' sins (*āpatti*);
18. not to allow *śrāvaka*s to make faults in one's *buddhakṣetra*;
19. not to have emissions of semen (*śukramokṣaṇa*) even in a dream (*svapnāntargata*);
20. not to allow bodhisattvas to have emissions of semen;
21. not to allow women in one's own *buddhakṣetra* to have imperfections such as menstruation;
22. not to be untrue to the buddhas;
23. not to fail to obstruct Māra and his evil undertakings;
24. not to fail to cause all bodhisattvas to obtain the perfection (*sampad*) of good qualities.

These 24 vows are interspersed with prima facie unrelated questions, such as the name of Akṣobhya and his superiority over all the bodhisattvas of the *bhadrakalpa* (fortunate aeon), as well as events such as earthquakes; perfumes; the prediction of Akṣobhya; the homage of herbs, plants, gods, and demons; outbursts of universal joy; various miracles; the production of the thought of awakening by myriad beings; and the redemption of vices.

The wondrous qualities of Abhirati are a by-product of Akṣobhya's intense spiritual practice (Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 78–81). In contrast to the Sahā world system (but partly in imitation of the Uttarakuru world; see Kwan, 1985, 62–82), Abhirati

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contains no bad rebirth destinations (*durgati*/*apāya*; i.e. as hell being, hungry ghost, or animal), no illnesses, no excrement or other bodily impurities, no kings, no prisons and prisoners, no allodoxes and "heretics," no trade (i.e. selling and buying) and labor, no darkness, none of the five degenerations (*kaṣāyas*; i.e. false views, immorality of the living beings, corruption of the aeon, defilements, and shortening of life), and no distinction between master and slave; desire, aversion, and delusion are there only tenuous; men and women do not copulate; childbirth is painless and takes place after a seven-day pregnancy. Among the positive qualities of the universe of the dharma king Akṣobhya, mention can be made of its inhabitants' observance of the ten wholesome courses of action; of the evenness, softness, and golden color of the soil; and of the presence of wish-fulfilling trees (bearing jewelry and clothing), bejeweled palaces, parks, ponds, gardens, and scented breeze; in Abhirati, food is not planted, harvested, or cooked but needs just to be thought of to be obtained (Nattier, 2000, 81–83; Strauch, 2010, 51–59). Moreover,

> [t]he description of life in Abhirati closely resembles that of an idealized monastic community. Akṣobhya's disciples do not need to beg for food, nor do they have to cut and sew their own monastic robes; robes and bowls simply appear before them as needed, and at mealtime their bowls automatically fill up with food. Nor is there any need for the monks and nuns to wash their dishes, for at the end of the meal their bowls simply disappear. Since no one in Abhirati would even think of doing an evil deed, Akṣobhya does not confer the prohibitive precepts on his congregation, but preaches only about the positive aspects of the Dharma. (Nattier, 2000, 83)

The Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*

The larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* can in many respects be considered the core Pure Land scripture. It has come down to us in five Chinese translations (Fujita, 1970, 23–96; 2007, 34–56; Mochizuki, 2001, 241–245; Ducor, 2004, 368–371; for a concordance, see Inagaki, 1978, viii–ix; for a synoptic edition, see Kagawa, 1984):

(1) ***Foshuo amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing*** (佛説阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經; T. 362). This is likely to be the earliest extant Chinese translation. According to P. Harrison (1998; 1999), there are good reasons to believe that in spite of the traditional attribution of the translation to Zhi Qian, it is the work of Lokakṣema, or a "slightly revised version of an original translation by Lokakṣema or a member of his school" (Nattier, 2008, 86; Harrison, 1998a, 556–557, 556–557n16–18).

(2) ***Foshuo wuliangqingjing pingdengjue jing*** (佛説無量清淨平等覺經; T. 361). Although this text has been ascribed to Lokakṣema (it has also been acredited to Dharmarakṣa [Zhu Fahu (竺法護); c. 308 CE; see Fujita, 1970, 37–41] and to Bo Yan [帛延 (白延); 220–265 CE] of the Wei dynasty [Fujita, 1970, 41–71]), it is most likely the work of Zhi Qian. It appears to be a revision of the *Foshuo amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing*, preserving much of the latter's vocabulary but introducing passages in verse (Fujita, 1970, 35–37, 55–61; Harrison, 1998a, 556–557; Nattier, 2008, 139; for a study and partial Japanese translation, see Karashima, 1999). The *Foshuo amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing* and the *Foshuo wuliangqingjing pingdengjue jing* can be considered "different versions of the same text... [or] to put it more carefully... the imperfect reflections of an archaic Chinese translation of the [larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*] in its Early Recension" (Harrison *et al.*, 2002, 180–181).

(3) ***Foshuo wuliangshou jing*** (佛説無量壽經; T. 360). The traditional attribution of this text to the 3rd-century Sogdian translator Kang Sengkai (康僧鎧; Saṅghavarman) has not withstood scholarly scrutiny. Ritually and exegetically by far the most important of the five Chinese translations in East Asia, this version is now widely acknowledged to be the work of Buddhabhadra (359–429 CE) and his assistant Baoyun (寶雲; 376–449 CE), both of whom were active in the early 5th century (Fujita, 1970, 62–96; Gómez, 1996, 126; Ducor, 2004, 371n79; for translations, see e.g. Gómez, 1996, 153–222; Inagaki, 2000, 227–313; Eracle, 2008, 49–141).

(4) ***Wuliangshou rulai hui*** (無量壽如來會; T. 310[5]). It forms part of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* and is the work of the late 6th-century and early 7th-century Bodhiruci II (for an English translation, see Chang, 1983, 339–360). This translation was translated into Tibetan at Dunhuang under the title *'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa* (PT 557, 563, 562, 561, 556, 96, 564; see Akamatsu, 1984b; ed. Silk, forthcoming).

(5) ***Foshuo dasheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing*** (佛説大乘無量壽莊嚴經; T. 363). This was

prepared in 991 CE by Faxian (法賢; Dharmabhadra; also known as Tianxizai [天息災]; *fl.* 980–1000).

Whereas the *Foshuo amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing* and the *Foshuo wuliangqingjing pingdengjue jing* bear witness to an early recension of the text, the *Wuliangshou rulai hui* and the *Foshuo dasheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing* reflect its later recension; the *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* can be said to represent an intermediate stage in the transmission of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*.

The only extant Tibetan translation of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* is yet another witness to the later recension. Entitled *'Phags pa 'od dpag med kyi bkod pa* (**Āryāmitābhavyūha*; D 49/P 760[5]; ed. Kawaguchi, 1972, 213–339; see the *Zōyaku Muryōjukyō ihon kōgōhyō*, 1999; Fujita, 2007, 56–60), it was executed in the early 9th century by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde (Halkias, 2013, 63–65).

The recension reflected in this Tibetan translation is very close to the Nepalese redaction of the Sanskrit text. This very late textual tradition is instantiated in 38 codices: two palm-leaf manuscripts dating to the mid-12th century (mss. R and N1) and 36 paper copies made between the 17th and the mid-20th centuries (for a synoptic edition, see Fujita, 1992–1996; see also Fussman, 1999, 531–532). All editions of the Sanskrit text of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* are based on a varying number of manuscripts belonging to this Nepalese redaction (Müller & Nanjio, 1883 [*editio princeps*, 5 mss.]; Wogihara, 1972, 4–159; Ashikaga, 1965 [20 mss.]; Fujita, 1992–1996 [38 mss.]; 2011; 2007, 19–34; for translations of the Sanskrit redaction, see e.g. Müller, 1894a; Gómez, 1996, 61–111).

Another, much earlier redaction of the Sanskrit text of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* has recently come to light among the Buddhist manuscripts of the Schøyen Collection (on this collection, see Braarvig, 2000). This redaction consists of 26 fragments belonging to three folios of a birch-bark Sanskrit manuscript, "which can be dated on paleographical grounds to around the 6th or 7th centuries" (Harrison *et al.*, 2002, 181) and which may possibly come from the Bamiyan area. According to P. Harrison *et al.* (2002, 181), these fragments "preserve a version of the [larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*,] which differs markedly from the Sanskrit text as we know it" and which constitutes "a third recension of the [larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*,] which agrees with no known version of the text." Organizing the evidence in terms of a gradual process of development, this Sanskrit manuscript from Gandhara "seems to fall somewhere between T. 360 and the text as we find it in T. 310[5], the Nepalese Redaction of the Sanskrit, and the Tibetan translation" (Harrison *et al.*, 2002, 183).

In addition, fragments preserved in several Central and East Asian languages testify to the wide diffusion and the popularity of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* (Fujita, 1996a, 38n6; Harrison *et al.*, 2002, 180n8). Worth mentioning are (1) a fragment of an unknown Chinese rendition (Kudara, 1989; Fujita, 2007, 36–39); (2) seven fragments of a Uighur version (Zieme & Kudara, 1985b, 11–15, 71; Zieme, 1985a; Geng, 2004; Halkias, 2013, 14–15; seemingly a translation of T. 360); (3) a fragment of a Khotanese version (Emmerick, 1992, 31 [no. 18.21]; Bailey, 1963, 123 [no. 219 (Kha 0013c2)] that could be based on a Sanskrit original; Fujita, 1992, xv); and (4) a Xixia (西夏) fragment (Nishida, 1977, 23).

The larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* can be tentatively dated to the 1st century CE (Ducor, 2004, 272–273; see also Fussman, 1999, 535, who hypothesizes a 1st-cent. nucleus in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; note that according to Fussman, 1999, 574–577, the text is in fact a chapter [*parivarta*] of an unidentified work, a hypothesis that has been challenged by Ducor, 2004, 374–375).

The plot of the *sūtra* closely parallels that of the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* (the following summarizes the "Nepalese" Sanskrit version; paragraphs according to Gómez, 1996; Gómez's tables 7a and 7b [1996, 266–277] provide a useful synopsis of the main topics and episodes in T. 360 and the Nepalese Sanskrit version; the most spectacular divergences consist in the absence, in all expressions of the later recension, of the eventual death of Amitābha [Nattier, 2007b, 203ff.; Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 76–77] and of the rightly famous but clearly interpolated section on the "five evils" [Gómez, 1996, 205–215; Inagaki, 2000, 291–305; Eracle, 2008, 118–133; see also Gómez, 1996, 253n80; Harrison *et al.*, 2002, 181n9]; the main differences between the two recensions are summarized in Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 75–78).

In the midst of myriad disciples and bodhisattvas, on the Gṛdhrakūṭa ("Vulture Peak") near Rājagṛha, Śākyamuni tells Ānanda the story of the encounter of the monk Dharmākara (a king according to T. 360) with the buddha of the past Lokeśvararāja, his vows, his career as a bodhisattva, and his creation of the paradise-like Sukhāvatī to the west, "a buddha-field that is one hundred thousand million trillion buddha-fields away from where we are" (section 40; trans. Gómez, 1996, 80). At some point during the teaching of Lokeśvararāja, Dharmākara vows to emulate the Buddha in saving all living beings:

> I will have a magnificent field,
> est, and in this most noble be
> awakening, will be found the
> of the state of nirvana. And I
> so that in it all living beings
> (section 19.8; trans. Gómez, 19

Conforming to Dharmākara's
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(Nattier, 2003, 190). During
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making his initial vows (s
in the presence of Lokeśva
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bodhisattva, insisting on his
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of the perfections; his prov
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Amitābha/Amitāyus ten co
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tions 41–45) and life span (
Amitābha/Amitāyus owes
names, the text proceeds to
Sukhāvatī (sections 52–70
itants (sections 71–85). Am
features of Amitābha's wo
be made of the absence o
beings, animals, hungry g
this land's prosperity and
ous scent; flowers; fruits;
(magically created) bird
emitting enchanting sou
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ddha in saving all living beings:

> I will have a magnificent field, the best and highest, and in this most noble beautified high seat of awakening, will be found the incomparable bliss of the state of nirvana. And I will purify this field so that in it all living beings will reach nirvana. (section 19.8; trans. Gómez, 1996, 67)

Conforming to Dharmākara's wish, Lokeśvararāja expounds during one million years "how the perfect arrays of wondrous qualities and ornaments in the buddha-fields of eighty-one hundred thousands million trillion buddhas could be accomplished" (section 22; trans. Gómez, 1996, 68). Note that, in contrast to the situation described in the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*, the buddha Lokeśvararāja never attempts to dissuade Dharmākara from engaging in the daunting career of a bodhisattva. In other words, "[f]or the author of the *Akṣobhyavyūha* . . . the bodhisattva path is a challenging . . . option for Buddhist practitioners; for the author of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, by contrast, such a choice seems to be a matter of course" (Nattier, 2003, 190). During five successive cosmic ages, Dharmākara gathers all these arrays before making his initial vows (section 28; see below) in the presence of Lokeśvararāja. The *sūtra* next expands on Dharmākara's subsequent training as a bodhisattva, insisting on his bodily, mental, behavioral, moral, and meditative qualities; his practice of the perfections; his provision of merit; and his worship of innumerable buddhas (sections 30–39). Śākyamuni now reveals to Ānanda that Dharmākara has become a fully awakened buddha named Amitābha/Amitāyus ten cosmic ages earlier and has ever since presided over the Sukhāvatī world system surrounded by innumerable disciples and bodhisattvas. After expounding the infinite light (sections 41–45) and life span (sections 50–51) to which Amitābha/Amitāyus owes his two most frequent names, the text proceeds to a detailed description of Sukhāvatī (sections 52–70 and 80–84) and its inhabitants (sections 71–85). Among the many wonderful features of Amitābha's world system, mention can be made of the absence of bad rebirth forms (hell beings, animals, hungry ghosts, and anti-gods); of this land's prosperity and peacefulness, its marvelous scent; flowers; fruits; jewel trees; sweet-voiced (magically created) birds; and melodious rivers emitting enchanting sounds such as "impermanent," "selfless," "buddha," and "emptiness," and its gigantic tree of awakening (see also sections 97–99) and lotuses issuing golden preaching buddhas; and the absence of oceans and of Sumeru and other mountains (Nattier, 2000, 81n23). Those born in Sukhāvatī share similar attributes in terms of complexion, belongings, and sensory and affective life; they eat according to their wish and obtain whatever they long for. In another description of the qualities of the bodhisattvas born in Sukhāvatī (sections 103–121), the text alludes to their possession of the 32 marks of a great being; their excellence in meditation and discernment; their constant vision of buddhas and audition of the dharma; their capacity to travel at will to worship thousands of buddhas; their ability to teach the dharma in full omniscience; their prodigious mindfulness, knowledge, and equanimity; and so forth. The bodhisattvas who are reborn in that field are tied to only one more birth (*ekajātipratibaddha*) before they reach full awakening, but with one notable exception: "those bodhisattvas who, by the power of their vows, have roared the roar of the Great Lion . . . and will remain devoted to leading all living beings to complete nirvana, so that they will not enter nirvana themselves" (section 100; trans. Gómez, 1996, 97).

Toward the end of the *sūtra* (sections 133–142), just after Amitābha's photic self-manifestation to Ānanda, Śākyamuni turns to the bodhisattva Ajita/Maitreya. Causing him to see Sukhāvatī, he shows him two types of rebirths by pointing out "those who dwell inside the closed calyxes of immense lotuses" and "those who sit cross-legged on the lotus flowers" (Gómez, 1996, 104). Whereas the first ones had initially entertained doubts about rebirth in Sukhāvatī but had planted the necessary roots of merit, that is, performed good deeds with an aspiration to such a rebirth, the second ones were free of doubt, planted roots of merit, and strongly aspired to be reborn in Amitābha's Sukhāvatī. The closed calyxes into which they are reborn function as prison-like purgatories in which they are doomed to spend five hundred years, thus wasting much of the most precious time that they could spend worshipping and listening to Amitābha. A little earlier (sections 91–94), the *sūtra* also distinguishes three types of believers (Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 77–78). Some people constantly bring to mind the Tathāgata, plant limitless roots of merit, dedicate their thoughts to awakening, and vow to be reborn in Sukhāvatī. These will enjoy the visit of Amitābha and his retinue of monks at their death and be reborn in Sukhāvatī with thoughts of "serene trust." Those who are less zealous in bringing Amitābha to mind and planting roots of merit but who direct their minds toward rebirth in Sukhāvatī will see a magical creation of the Tathāgata standing before them at death;

> If such living beings pass away while in possession of this mental concentration, the focus of which is the serene trust caused by the vision of the Tathāgata, and if their mindfulness is not weakened at that point, they will be reborn in that same buddha-field. (Gómez, 1996, 93)

Finally, those who bring the Tathāgata to mind only ten or even one time(s) but are, nonetheless, longing for his buddha field without being hostile to or dejected by this dharma will see Amitābha in their dreams and be reborn in Sukhāvatī in the state of non-retrogression.

Dharmākara's Vows

The vows made by Dharmākara form the most decisive part of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*. The number of these vows presents important variations according to the versions (T. 362: 18 vows; T. 361: 24; T. 360: 48 [see Ducor & Loveday, 2011, 389–397]; T. 310[5]: 48 [see Chang, 1983, 341–345]; the Nepalese Sanskrit redaction: 47; the Tibetan version: 49; T. 363: 36). According to J. Nattier (2003, 190), "the future Amitābha's vows focus on the creation of a 'pure land'," whereas the "beauty of the realm of Akṣobhya is presented as the by-product of the merit he has acquired by engaging in these activities, not as the result of a conscious plan" (see also Nattier, 2000, 95–98).

As J. Ducor rightly points out (2004, 378–379), Dharmākara's 47 (Nepal Sanskrit redaction)/48 (T. 360) vows are concerned less with the qualities and ornaments of Sukhāvatī as a "cosmic receptacle" (*bhājanaloka*) than with the specificities of the beings who inhabit it or come into contact with it. Thus it is that vows 30/31, 31/32, and 32 alone can be said to describe the ornaments of this world system: (1) it is self-luminous and of a mirrorlike character, with countless buddha fields reflecting themselves in it (vow 30/31); (2) it has innumerable, scented, and bejeweled vases whose perfume is "fit for the worship of buddhas and bodhisattvas" (vow 31/32); and (3) it is constantly showered by a rain of aromatic jewellike flowers and with music-making clouds (vow 32). Additionally, from vow 28 we can gather that Sukhāvatī has a 9,000-kilometer-high tree of awakening, and from vow 1 that it has neither hells nor animals, neither hungry ghosts nor anti-gods. Thus in spite of Dharmākara's preliminary statement ("Once I awake to ... full awakening, my buddha-field will be endowed with arrays of inconceivable qualities and ornaments, just as I have declared it to be in these vows" [trans. Gómez, 1996, 69]), more than 80% of his vows pertain to the inhabitants rather than their environment, whose wondrous qualities are abundantly described elsewhere in the *sūtra* (see above; see also Ducor, 2004, 378–379). In addition, at least three vows pertain to Amitābha himself (vows 13/12 and 15/13 reflect his wish to possess an immeasurable halo of light and an unlimited life span; vow 17 expresses his wish to be praised by countless buddhas).

About 30 vows refer to the living beings and/or the bodhisattvas born in Sukhāvatī. These beings will never be reborn in bad rebirth states (vow 2); all of them will have the color of gold (3); among them, the difference between humans and gods will be purely conventional (4); and they will possess the five superknowledges (*abhijñā*) – that is, (a) miraculous powers (*ṛddhi* [5/9]); (b) the memory of their previous existences (*jātismara* [6/5]); (c) a divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) to perceive all world systems (7/6); (d) a divine ear (*divyaśrotra*) to listen to every teaching of the good law (*saddharmaśravaṇa* [8/7]); and (e) the knowledge of other minds (*paracittajñāna* [9/8]). These beings will lack any idea of property (*parigrahasaṃjñā*) even regarding their own body (10); they will be certain of following the right path (11), will have an immeasurable life span (*āyuḥpramāṇa* [14/15]), and will not even know the word "unwholesome" (*akuśala* [16]). They will be only one more birth away from buddhahood (21/22), teach the dharma in full omniscience (24/25), and perfectly recognize Sukhāvatī's splendor (27). They will have no need to learn or to teach and will possess the four kinds of analytic understanding (*pratisaṃvid* [29]). Their happiness will equal that of a monk having entered the third stage of meditation (*dhyāna* [38/39]), and those who hear the name of Amitābha will be reborn in families of noble birth until they reach perfect awakening (42/43). The bodhisattvas born in Amitābha's buddha field will have the 32 marks of a great man (20/21), travel to innumerable other buddha fields, and wait on innumerable buddhas (22/23) who will accept the bodhisattvas' offered worship (*pūjā* [25/–]). In whichever way they imagine to plant roots of merit (*kuśalamūla*), these roots will appear and grow (23/24). These bodhisattvas with bodies as strong as diamonds (26) will see the gigantic tree of awakening (28) and will not have to wash, dry, sew, or dye their robes (37/38) – note that this clearly indicates the monastic state of these bodhisattvas; they will be able to perceive the marvelous qualities of innumerable buddha fields (39/40) and to hear

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the dharma as and when they want it (45/46). Those who hear Amitābha's name will not be liable to retrogression from their progress toward awakening (46/47).

The various recensions of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* mirror changing ideas regarding the issue of gender (Harrison, 1998a; Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 75); the *Foshuo amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing* and the *Foshuo wuliangqingjing pingdengjue jing* unambiguously state that only males are born in Sukhāvatī (in contrast to the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra*), thus showing that "the early Mahāyāna assumption that one must be reborn as a male before becoming a buddha has been generalized to include all of the inhabitants of Sukhāvatī as well" (Nattier, 2003, 191). This doctrinal stance is reflected in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*'s description of Sukhāvatī in chapter 24 (Kern & Nanjio, 1908–1912, 418–419):

> If…a woman, having heard this discourse on Dharma, will take it up, surely this will be her last existence as a woman. O Nakṣatra, whichever woman, having heard in the final five hundred years this chapter on the former life of Bhaiṣajyarāja, will obtain it…she certainly, having passed away from here, will be reborn in the world-sphere Sukhāvatī. (trans. Schopen, 1977, 159–160; see also Fujita, 1980, 121)

By contrast, such excluding statements do not appear in the *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* and the later recension, "a development which is congruent with, and quite likely was elicited by, the apparent universalization of the bodhisattva path" (Nattier, 2003, 192). Note that Dharmākara's vow 35 is not directly concerned with rebirth in Sukhāvatī but claims that women, upon hearing Amitābha's name, will "feel disgust at their female nature" and not be "reborn again as women when they leave their present birth" (Gómez, 1996, 74).

In addition to vow 35, 11 vows are related to the beings and bodhisattvas born in other buddha fields including our own. Beings filled with the light of Amitābha will enjoy inconceivable happiness (33); those who will hear his name will obtain a root of merit "which is joy and delight in the conduct of the bodhisattva" (43/44). As for the bodhisattvas who hear the name of Amitābha, they will obtain the power of remembrance and the power of *dhāraṇī*s until they reach buddhahood (34); they will receive the homage of the entire world when they salute Amitābha (36/37); they will not suffer from deficient spiritual faculties and powers (40/41); they will attain various states of deep mental concentration and absorption (41/42 and 44/45); and they will become receptive to the dharma and accept its ultimate truth (47/48).

As is to be expected from the entirely different nature of the two bodhisattvas' vows, the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* and the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* testify to diverging views concerning the means of being reborn in Akṣobhya's and Amitābha's realms. Indeed,

> rebirth in Abhirati…is attained through one's own religious merit, and it does not require even an awareness of Akṣobhya himself. In the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, by contrast, access to Amitābha's world is associated with knowledge of him and with personal reliance on his name. (Nattier, 2003, 191; see also Dantinne, 1983, 42)

This emphasis on bearing Amitābha in mind and recollecting his name (*nāmadheya*) is best exemplified in Dharmākara's two most famous vows (18 and 19), given here in full:

> Blessed One, may I not awaken to unsurpassable, perfect, full awakening if, after I attain awakening, those living beings in other world spheres who conceive the aspiration to attain unsurpassable, perfect, full awakening (*anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheś cittam utpādya*), hear my name (*nāmadheya*), and remember (*anu* √*smṛ*) me with serene trust (*prasannacitta*), will not be met by me at the moment of death (*maraṇakālasamaya*) – if I should not stand before them then, surrounded and honored by a retinue of monks (*bhikṣusaṅgha*), so that they can meet death without anxiety. Blessed One, may I not awaken to unsurpassable, perfect, full awakening if, after I attain awakening, living beings in unlimited, countless numbers of buddha-fields will hear my name, will set their minds on being reborn in my buddha-field (*buddhakṣetre cittaṃ preṣayeyuḥ*) and dedicate their roots of merit to rebirth in it (*upapattaye kuśalamūlāni pariṇāmayeyuḥ*), and yet not be reborn in my buddha-field. And this will be true even if they have made the resolution (*cittotpāda*) [to attain awakening] only ten times – except in the case of those who have committed the five offenses entailing immediate retribution (*ānantaryakārin*) and of those who are hindered by their own opposition to the Good Dharma (*saddharmapratikṣepāvaraṇāvṛta*). (trans. Gómez, 1996, 71)

The logic underlying this and other vows can be summarized as follows: Dharmākara will not become a buddha if, after he has become a buddha, those who hear his name, and wish to be reborn in his land, and dedicate their roots of merit cannot do so. But Amitābha is a buddha now, which makes sure that the condition was fulfilled.

Another conspicuous line of evolution between the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* and the successive recensions of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* is revealed by their respective treatment of *śrāvaka*s/arhats and *pratyekabuddha*s (Harrison & Luczanits, 2012, 75–76). In the *Akṣobhyavyūhasūtra* (as well as in T. 361 and T. 362), Sukhāvatī is regarded as "an optimal locale" (Nattier, 2003, 191) for the attainment of arhatship (Gómez, 1996, 243–244n3). In the later recension, however,

> references to arhats . . . have become far less common, while hyperbolic descriptions of the qualities of bodhisattvas in Amitābha's world occur in great profusion. Indeed, the authors of this recension of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* seem to understand the bodhisattva path as something that is accessible to all. (Nattier, 2003, 192)

As Fujita Kōtatsu has it,

> [a]lthough the early recensions of the *Larger Sūtra* state that the person born in the Pure Land will gain the awakening of a śrāvaka (suggesting the need for further advancement and negating immediate buddhahood), the later recensions eliminate it and focus on the consummation of the bodhisattva path. (Fujita, 1996b, 26)

This is of course not to say that *śrāvaka*s are altogether absent from the later versions of Sukhāvatī, if only because, as was pointed out by J. Ducor (2004, 382–385), a vast retinue of disciples (see vow 12/14) belong to the specific properties of buddhas (see also Gómez, 1996, 243–244n3; Nattier, 2000, 93n66).

The Shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*

The relative chronology of the two *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*s is difficult to establish. A small majority of specialists seem to be inclined to regard the larger *sūtra* as slightly earlier than the shorter; the two *sūtra*s likely were independent compositions and "may possibly stem from different circles of devotees" (Fussman, 1999, 535–537). The smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* has been preserved in two Chinese translations, two Tibetan versions, and a Sanskrit recension.

The *Foshuo amituo jing* (佛說阿彌陀經; T. 366; trans. Gómez, 1996, 145–151; see also Ducor, 1998, 53–95; Inagaki, 2000, 353–360; Eracle, 2008, 181–187), the by far better known and more widely used of the two Chinese translations, is the work of Kumārajīva. It was completed in 402 CE (under the original title *Wuliangshou jing* [無量壽經]; identical to T. 360; see Ducor, 1998, 118–119). This text was translated into Tibetan, under the title *Snang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo*, and discovered in a manuscript from Dunhuang (PT 758; Akamatsu, 1984a). Missing the beginning, the extant latter two-thirds of the text have been edited (see Li & Silk, forthcoming). The Chinese version is also found in several Dunhuang manuscripts transcribed in Tibetan characters for recitation by practitioners unable to read Chinese (Thomas & Clauson, 1927). Finally, it was rendered into Uighur, of which a fragment from Sangim near Turfan remains (Zieme & Kudara, 1985b, 13).

The *Chengzan jingtu fo sheshou jing* (稱讚淨土佛攝受經; T. 367; c. 650–655 CE; trans. Eracle, 1981, 57–94; see also Inagaki, 1993; Nishimura, 1995; Fujita, 1998) is the second extant Chinese translation. It is by Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE) or by his scribe Dasheng Xun (大乘詢; Fujita, 1998, 3–4, 22), but it never equaled Kumārajīva's work in fame and elegance.

An additional translation by Guṇaprabha (393–468 CE), most likely prepared between 446 and 453 CE (Ducor, 1998, 120), was already considered lost in 710 CE. (For the numerous manuscripts from Dunhuang, almost all of which contain Kumārajīva's translation, see Hirokawa, 1981; 1984; Inokuchi, 1964; Kaneko, 1978.)

The Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, the *'Phags pa bde ba can gyi bkod pa* (**Āryasukhāvatīvyūha*), was prepared from the Sanskrit by Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde around 800 CE (D 115/P 783; ed. Kawaguchi, 1972, 341–356; Ducor, 1998, 169–175; trans. Lopez, 2004, 60–68; see also Onoda, 2001; 2003; 2008; for its reception in Tibet, see Nōnin, 2013; see also Inaoka, 2002).

In contrast to the Sanskrit version of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, the shorter *sūtra* has no extant Nepalese redaction but has come down to us in Siddham script in 18th-century Japanese editions (for a detailed explanation and an overview of the manuscripts, forming the basis of Müller & Nanjio's *editio princeps* [1883, 92–100], see Ducor, 1998, 99–107; for reeditions and emendations, see Wogihara, 1972; Kimura, 1943; Ashikaga, 1955; Fujita, 1975; 2011; Ducor, 1998, 161–165; Kitabatake, 2006; Tsukinowa, 1955; for a few preserved fragments in Brahmi script, see Fujita, 2011, xxxix–xl; for translations, see e.g. Müller, 1894b, 98–103; Gómez, 1996, 15–22; Ducor, 1998, 141–149; Cicuzza, 2011).

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Before numerous monks, bodhisattvas, gods, and other beings, Śākyamuni teaches Śāriputra the existence of the Sukhāvatī buddha field in which Amitāyus has been teaching for ten cosmic periods as a fully awakened buddha. Sukhāvatī owes its name to the fact that physical and mental pain (*kāyaduḥkha* and *cittaduḥkha*, respectively) are unknown to its inhabitants, who continuously "experience conditions of boundless happiness" (*apramāṇāni sukhakāraṇāni*; trans. Gómez, 1996, 16). The Buddha proceeds next to a detailed description of the "panoplies/display of the wondrous qualities of buddha fields" (*buddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*) of Sukhāvatī, mentioning its railings, its rows of palm trees, its nets of tinkling bells, and its lotus ponds with golden sand and refreshing water; its precious stairways, gem trees, and heavenly musical instruments; its (magically created) wild geese, curlews, and peacocks that sing Buddhist virtues inspiring faith to human beings. Sukhāvatī knows of no hells, animal realm, or world of the dead (*yamaloka*); its beings travel to other buddha fields "and then return to their own world . . . in time for the afternoon nap" (trans. Gómez, 1996, 17). After explaining why the buddha who presides over Sukhāvatī is named "Limitless Life" (Amitāyus) and "Limitless Light" (Amitābha) and how big his assembly of disciples is, the Buddha briefly mentions the immeasurable number of beings reborn there "as pure bodhisattvas who will not fall back (*avinivartanīya*) and will be separated from awakening by only one birth (*ekajātipratibaddha*)" (trans. Gómez, 1996, 18). But to be reborn in Sukhāvatī, living beings "should set their mind/vow (*praṇidhānaṃ kartavyam*) on rebirth in that buddha-field . . . for living beings are not reborn in that buddha-field of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as the result of an inferior root of merit" (trans. Gómez, 1996, 19). And indeed,

> those sons or daughters of good families who will hear the name (*nāmadheya*) of the blessed Amitāyus . . . and then will bring it to mind (*manasi* √ *kṛ*) without distraction for one night, or two, or three, four, five, six, or seven nights – they will be met by the Tathāgata at the moment of their death. When the moment of their death approaches . . . Amitāyus . . . surrounded by an assembly of disciples (*śrāvakasaṅgha*) and a host (*gaṇa*) of bodhisattvas, will stand before [them] (*purataḥ* √ *sthā*), and [they] will die with a mind that is free from distorted views (*aviparyasta-citta*). After they die, they will be reborn in the Land of Bliss, in the buddha-field of Amitāyus. (trans. Gómez, 1996, 19)

Interestingly, the *sūtra* ends with a statement by Śākyamuni to the effect that, just as he praises the buddhas of all six directions, these buddhas extol his qualities, saying the following:

> A most difficult task (*suduṣkara*) has been undertaken by . . . Śākyamuni . . . After he awakened to . . . full awakening in this Sahā world, he taught a Dharma that the whole world was reluctant to accept, at a time when the cosmic age was in a period of decay (*kalpakaṣāya*), when living beings were in a period of decay (*sattvakaṣāya*), when views and opinions corrupted living beings (*dṛṣṭikaṣāya*), when the length of human life had declined (*āyuṣkaṣāya*), when the afflictions vitiated human beings (*kleśakaṣāya*). (trans. Gómez, 1996, 21)

The Visualization *Sūtra*

A third scripture connected to Amitābha is the *Guan wuliangshoufo jing* (觀無量壽佛經; T. 365; also known as *Guan jing*). Although often cited in scholarship under the imaginary titles **Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* or **Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, and traditionally credited as translated by Kālayaśas between 424 and 442 CE, this work has been demonstrated to be a Central Asian or Chinese "apocryphon" (Fujita, 1970, 116–136; 1990; Tanaka, 1990, 38–42; according to Fujita, 1996a, 6, 8, 31, the *sūtra* could have been produced in the Turfan area, an opinion possibly reinforced by Yamabe, 1999; Silk, 1997; Ducor & Loveday, 2011, 16–60; for translations, see Takakusu, 1894; Yamada *et al.*, 1984; Inagaki, 2000, 317–350; Eracle, 2008, 145–177; for the at least 150 manuscripts of the text known from Dunhuang, see Hirokawa, 1984, 101).

The *sūtra* can be divided, as it is, for example, in the commentary of Shandao (善導; 613–681):

1. (序分; Prologue; the story of Ajātaśatru and Vaidehī);
2. (定善; Meditative Good; contemplations 1–13: how to contemplate Sukhāvatī and perceive the Buddha);
3. (散善; Non-meditative Good; contemplations 14–16: how to attain birth in the nine grades); and
4. (流通分; Epilogue; transmission).

The vocabulary of the *Guan jing* seems to owe much to the Wei (魏; 220–265) dynasty translation of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (T. 360) and to that of the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* (觀佛三昧海經; *Sūtra* on the Ocean of Contemplative Trance of Visualizing the Buddha; T. 643; Fujita, 1990, 160). Perhaps even more convincing evidence of the composite nature of the text is the differential use of terms for the same individuals. Yamada Meiji (1976) has showed that the Chinese names used to refer to the buddha Amitāyus are not mixed randomly in the text but follow a definite pattern. The name appears in the text 34 times, in translation as Wuliangshou fo (無量壽佛) 19 times, while the transcription Amituo fo (阿彌陀佛) appears 15 times. What is of importance, however, is the distribution of these names, which appear in the following order:

1. Prologue: Amituo fo, 3 times;
2. Meditative Good: Wuliangshou fo, 15 times, and Amituo fo, once in the 13th section;
3. Non-meditative Good: Amituo fo, 11 times, and both names once each in the 16th section; and
4. Epilogue: Wuliangshou fo, 3 times.

In addition, with regard to the prologue section and its story of Ajātaśatru and Bimbisāra, Yamada Meiji (1976, 78) observed that even in this very brief section, the name Devadatta appears twice, once as Diaoda (調達) and once as Tipodaduo (提婆達多). The most plausible explanation for these discrepancies is that the scripture was built out of originally diverse elements already in the Chinese language. J. Silk (1997) has showed that the frame story is found widely in Indian texts, including those belonging to the Jaina tradition, in a fashion that further suggests that the *sūtra* was assembled in a Chinese environment.

The story begins in Rājagṛha, where prince Ajātaśatru, son of King Bimbisāra, incited by the evil Devadatta, imprisons his father, intending to starve him to death. However, Queen Vaidehī covers her body with flour mixed with ghee and honey and fills her ornaments with grape juice, secretly giving these to the king, helping him to survive. The king then prays to the Buddha asking help from Mahāmaudgalyāyana. Maudgalyāyana flies to the king and day after day preaches to him about the eight precepts of the lay follower. The Buddha also sends his disciple Pūrṇa. After Ajātaśatru discovers what the queen has done, he attempts to kill her violently but is dissuaded by a minister. Hereafter Bimbisāra disappears from the story, as Ajātaśatru imprisons Vaidehī; she likewise prays to the Buddha, who sends both Maudgalyāyana and Ānanda to her. She laments her evil fate to have such a son and requests a teaching about a place free of suffering, away from Jambudvīpa, a general word for India in Buddhist texts.

The Buddha shows Vaidehī a vision of countless buddha fields, which he illuminates with light from between his eyebrows. Vaidehī proclaims that among these lands, she wishes to be reborn in Sukhāvatī (termed here *jiyue shijie* [極樂世界], the world of ultimate bliss). The Buddha then offers instructions on this world of Amitābha and on what those who aspire to be reborn there should do, namely three sets of meritorious acts. Vaidehī states that thanks to the Buddha, she has been able to see the land but asks how those who come later, when the Buddha is gone, can similarly do so. In response, the Buddha offers 16 contemplations, the description of which takes up the bulk of the text. The process begins with a contemplation of the setting sun, located of course in the west, the location of Sukhāvatī. There follow contemplations of water, earth, and so on, namely the features of the western land itself, with its trees, lakes filled with flowers, pavilions, and so on.

Amitāyus appears in the sky, along with Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Vaidehī, in awe, again asks how future beings will likewise be able to have such a vision. The Buddha responds with instructions for various complex visualizations. Important here are the visualizations of Amitāyus himself with all the special marks that characterize the body of a buddha. Then follows instruction on the contemplation of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. One should imagine oneself being born in the land of utmost bliss, inside a lotus. There follow instructions about the contemplation of a large-size buddha image, which has led some scholars to speculate, probably unnecessarily, about connections with monumental imagery especially in Central Asia.

The text explains that beings fall into nine categories according to their qualification for rebirth, this being determined by their conduct in the world, ranked from the highest of the high to the lowest of the low. Each will be treated differently, those down to the middle grade of lowest rank obtaining birth in the land of utmost bliss. The final group, consisting of those who commit evil acts such as the five sins of immediate retribution (*ānantarya* sins – killing one's parents, killing a saint, drawing the blood of the Buddha, and causing a schism in the monastic community) or other severely evil acts, is fated to hell for aeons, but even they eventually obtain birth in Sukhāvatī as well. The contemplation of this fate is the 16th and final contemplation (for a list of the contemplations, see Yamada *et al.*, 1984, 117).

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The *Pratyutpannasan*

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The earliest commentary on the *Guan jing* is the *Guan Wuliangshoujing yishu* (觀無量壽經義疏; T.1749) of Jingying Huiyuan (淨影慧遠; 523–592 CE), while in retrospect the most influential, at least in the Japanese Pure Land traditions, has been the *Guan Wuliang shoufojing shu* (觀無量壽佛經疏; T.1753; Tanaka, 1990, xviii, xix, 58) of Shandao.

The *Guan jing* appears to have furnished the main source for Pure Land iconography in East Asia. An interesting suggestion of Yamabe Nobuyoshi (2002) is that the scripture itself, and the Central Asian wall paintings at Toyok, arose out of the same milieu, and that the *sūtra* may have tried to put into words images also depicted by the painters of the cave murals, rather than, as we usually imagine, the murals having been based on preexisting scriptures (for a detailed treatment of the visual culture of the *Guan jing*, see Ducor & Loveday, 2011, 241–386).

The *Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*

Before concluding this overview of Indian Pure Land *sūtra* literature, mention should be made of the *Pratyutpanna*(*buddhasammukhāvasthita*)*samādhisūtra* (*Sūtra* on the *Samādhi* of [the Bodhisattva Who Stands Face-to-Face with the Buddhas of] the Present). This *sūtra*, "an early Mahāyāna work which expounds a developed form of *buddhānusmṛti* ("calling a/the buddha to mind") primarily in terms of the doctrine of Śūnyatā" (Harrison, 1978, ix), entertains an original relationship with devotion to Amitābha/Amitāyus, which it both presupposes and reinterprets. The *Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra* has come down to us in four Chinese translations:

1. *Banzhou sanmei jing* (般舟三昧經; Skt. **Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*; T. 418), a slightly revised (by Zhi Qian[?]) version of Lokakṣema's original translation (trans. Harrison, 1998b; see also Harrison, 1990, 207–272; Nattier, 2008, 81–83);
2. *Bapi pusa jing* (拔陂菩薩經; Skt. **Bhadrapālabodhisattvasūtra*; T. 419), an anonymous translation of the first six chapters of the *sūtra*;
3. *Banzhou sanmei jing* (般舟三昧經; T. 417), attributed to Lokakṣema but rather an anonymous abridgement of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* with a long interpolated versified passage; and
4. *Da fangdeng daji jing xianhu fen* (大方等大集經賢護分; T. 416), the work of Jñānagupta and others, completed in 594–595 CE.

The Tibetan translation, *'Phags pa da ltar gyi sangs rgyas mngon sum du bzhugs pa'i ting nge 'dzin* (D 133/P 801; ed. Harrison, 1978; trans. Harrison, 1990) is Śākyaprabha and Ratnarakṣita's early 9th-century revision of an (their own[?]) earlier translation (Harrison, 1978, ix–xii).

A few Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia (Khadalik near Khotan[?]; Thomas, 1916; Harrison, 1990, 273–302; Karashima, 2009, 348–351; Wille, 2014, 227) and a Gandhari fragment (Harrison & Hartmann, 2014a, xvin19) have been identified so far.

As P. Harrison remarks,

> [a]lthough [the *sūtra*] makes mention of the Buddha Amitābha as one of many possible objects of visualisation and meditation, it is not strictly a Pure Land text; in fact, it has closer affinities with the Prajñāpāramitā literature, and seems to have been written with a view to resolving certain tensions between those two developments of the Mahāyāna. (Harrison, 1978, ix)

The *sūtra* actually alludes only once to rebirth in Amitāyus' Sukhāvatī. Having heard of Amitāyus' name, appearance, and qualities, the bodhisattvas call this buddha to mind and finally see him as a result of repeated concentration. They ask him, "Lord, what dharmas must bodhisattvas and mahāsattvas possess to be reborn in this world-system [of yours]?" (section 3E; trans. Harrison, 1990, 36). Here is the buddha's reply: "Sons of good family, if the calling to mind of the Buddha ... is practised, cultivated, developed and rehearsed, then one is reborn in this world-system" (section 3F; trans. Harrison, 1990, 36). Amitāyus then defines this *buddhānusmṛti* as a repeated and undistracted concentration (*manasikāra*) on the tathāgata (here Amitāyus himself, but virtually all buddhas of the ten directions) teaching an assembly of *śrāvaka*s with his 32 marks, a golden body, and wonderful ornaments (sections 3F, 8A). Most descriptions insist that the bodhisattva should perform this *samādhi* "in accordance with what he has learnt" (*yathāśrutam*), which "clearly refers to oral or written traditions concerning the [b]uddha or [b]uddhas chosen as objects of the *samādhi*, and the use of this material as the basis for the visualisation" (Harrison, 1978, 44). This material is largely similar to, for example, the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* or the later (and non-Indic) *Guan wuliangshou jing*.

But, first, the *sūtra* immediately stresses that

> those bodhisattvas do not see the Tathāgata through obtaining divine vision, do not hear the True Dharma through obtaining the divine faculty of hearing, and do not travel instantaneously to that world-system through obtaining magic power, but while remaining in this very

> world-system. (section 3C; trans. Harrison, 1990, 32–33)

Similarly, while leaving the *samādhi*, the bodhisattvas, having thought,

> "Did these *Tathāgatas* come from anywhere? Did I go anywhere?"... understand that the *Tathāgatas* did not come from anywhere. Having understood that their own bodies did not go anywhere either, they think: "Whatever belongs to this Triple World is nothing but thought... It is because however I imagine things, that is how they appear." (section 3L; trans. Harrison, 1990, 42)

Second, immediately after defining the required *buddhānusmṛti*, Amitāyus gives the following warning:

> And one does not misconceive, does not objectify... does not falsely imagine, does not falsely discriminate, and does not review the Tathāgata: he who obtains the *samādhi* of Emptiness by thus concentrating on the Tathāgata without apprehending him, he is known as one who calls to mind the Buddha. (section 3H; trans. Harrison, 1990, 37–38; 1978, 45; this aspect of the *sūtra* may not be entirely unrelated to section 10 of the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra* [see below]; Inagaki, 1999, 69–70)

The *sūtra* makes use of telling images to state how this *samādhi* should be understood: as the dream of food and drink of a hungry and thirsty man lost in the wilderness (section 3H), as the dream of a man who has traveled to another country and recollects his native land (section 3I), as the vision of a monk performing the meditation on the repulsive (*aśubhabhāvanā*; section 3J), and as the vision in a mirror of "certain women and men with a natural bent for washing their hair and putting on jewellery" (section 3K; trans. Harrison, 1990, 41). Be it in dream, in the meditation on the repulsive or in a mirror, these images have no real counterpart outside of the meditating mind itself. In other words, here again, "[b]y thought alone is the Buddha produced; [a]nd by thought alone is he seen" (section 3O[1]; trans. Harrison, 1990, 43). For all this, however, one should be wary of considering the *buddhānusmṛti* described in our *sūtra* as a fruitless exercise in meditation, for one performs this *samādhi* in order to worship the envisioned buddhas and to hear their dispensation, that is, to increase one's provision of merits and knowledge.

> The Buddhas... also show their faces and proclaim their names to that bodhisattva even in his dreams, and cause that bodhisattva to hear the Dharmas of the Buddhas. Further... undeclared, unobtained words of the Dharma come within the range of hearing of that bodhisattva, and he acquires them; by the power of that *samādhi* that bodhisattva hears those Dharmas. (trans. Harrison, 1978, 54; from the Sanskrit fragment corresponding to section 14H)

According to P. Harrison (1978, 51; see also Ducor, 2004, 395–398; Ducor & Loveday, 2011, 60), the author of the *sūtra* – "both a proponent of Śūnyatā and at the same time a devotee of Amitābha" – took to task

> those of his fellow Mahāyānists who were, in his opinion, falling short of the ultimate truth in their veneration of Amitābha. The target of his criticism, errors of attitude (the apprehension of a basis, a materialist view of the *buddhānusmṛti* experience and a refusal to apply the doctrine of Śūnyatā to it) and errors of intent (desire for material gain and fortunate rebirth), are so clearly mirrored in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* that we would be hard put to it to deny some sort of connection between that work and the *Pratyutpanna-sūtra*.

The *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra*

Another text sometimes classified as belonging to the genre of Pure Land literature is the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī(sūtra)* ([*Sūtra* on] the *Dhāraṇī* that Accomplishes by Boundless Gate). However, though certainly of Indic origin, this text cannot indeed be considered a Pure Land *sūtra* insofar as neither the hope to be born in a pure buddha field nor Sukhāvatī finds any mention in it. The only connection of this Mahāyāna *sūtra* with Amitābha is the genealogy of the realization and the dispensation of the *dhāraṇī* (revealed in section 9; Inagaki, 1999, 65–66). In chapter 15, Śākyamuni reveals that the bodhisattva Acintyaguṇaratnaśrī, who had heard the *dhāraṇī* from the buddha Ratnaśrītejorājakalpa, and who realized and taught it 160,000 years later, was none other than Amitāyus (Inagaki, 1999, 149–151). This *dhāraṇī sūtra* has come down to us in eight Chinese translations (among which are the *Wuliang men weimichi jing* [無量門微密持經]; T. 1011; an authentic work by Zhi Qian; see Nattier, 2008, 141–142; Inagaki, 1999, 4), a Tibetan version (*'Phags pa sgo mtha' yas pas bsgrub pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs*;

D 140, 525, 914/P 539, 808; Inagaki
fragments (Inagaki, 1999, 20–22
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D 140, 525, 914/P 539, 808; Inagaki, 1987), two Sanskrit fragments (Inagaki, 1999, 20–22; Karashima, 2009, 335–337, 520–521; Ye, 2009, 122–123, 126–127; Harrison, 2009, 644n42), and a quotation in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall, 1897–1902, 15–16, 18; Inagaki, 1999, 3–4). The *sūtra* has also been commented on by the 7th-century scholar Jñānagarbha (**Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīṭīkā*; D 2695–2696/P 3519–3520; trans. Inagaki, 1999, 27–202).

Works Ascribed to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu

Turning briefly to non-*sūtra* works ascribed to known Indian scholars, mention should be made first of the *Shizhu piposha lun* (十住毘婆沙論; T. 1521; trans. Kumārajīva), a commentary (*vibhāṣā*) on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* attributed to Nāgārjuna, who is regarded by the Japanese Jōdo Shinshū (淨土眞宗) school as its first patriarch (on this text, see Lindtner, 1982, 14n26; Fujita, 1996a, 32–33; Ducor, 2008, 394n201; partial trans. Eracle, 1981; Inagaki, 1998a). This commentary owes much of its fame to its chapter *Yixing pin* (易行品; Chapter on Easy Practice; T. 1521 [XXVI] 40c–45a), according to which two paths are conducive to birth in Amitābha's Pure Land:

> One is the way of difficult practice which likens the bodhisattva path to walking on land to reach one's destination; and the other is the way of easy practice which compares the path of faith to the ease of riding on a vessel on a watercourse to reach the same destination. The latter path teaches the "mindfulness of the Buddha" (*nianfo* [念佛]) and recitation of the Buddha's name as leading to the stage of non-retrogression. (Fujita, 1996a, 32)

This distinction between "difficult way" (*nanxingdao* [難行道]) and "easy way" (*yixingdao* [易行道]) parallels the one between "method of the saints" (*shengdaomen* [聖道門]) and "method of [rebirth in] the Pure Land" (*jingtumen* [淨土門]). It had an enormous impact on East Asian Buddhism, especially in the apocalyptic framework of *mofa* ("demise-of-the-dharma") ideology (末法; Jpn. *mappō*; Ducor, 2005, 43–58). According to K. Fujita (1996a, 33), the Indian origin of this work "cannot be doubted," even though it may not be the work of the celebrated Mādhyamika philosopher (and probably not the same either as the author of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* [*Mohe bore boluomi jing shilun* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經釋論; T. 1509; also known as the *Dazhidulun* (大智度論); trans. Kumārajīva).

A last work that deserves to be mentioned here is the *Wuliangshou jing youbotishe yuanshengjie* (無量壽經優波提舍願生偈; Skt. **Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*; The Treatise on the *Sūtra* of [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life and the Verses on the Vow for Rebirth; T. 1524; trans. Bodhiruci in 529–531 CE). This text is ascribed to Vasubandhu, the second patriarch of the Jōdo Shinshū school. Together with its commentary, the *Wang shenglun chu* (往生論註; T. 1819; see Corless, 1973; Inagaki, 1998b), by Tanluan (曇鸞; 476–542 CE), who is reported to have received the treatise from the hands of Bodhiruci himself in Luoyang (Eracle, 2008, 21), this short treatise in mixed verses and prose commentary had a huge impact on Genshin (源信, 942–1017), Hōnen (法然, 1133–1212), and Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1263) and has been widely considered a "basic manual for Pure Land practice in general" (Moriyama, 2005, 236). It has been translated several times into Western languages (e.g. Kiyota, 1991; Eracle, 2008, 189–210; Payne, 1996, 258n2; on this treatise, see e.g. Fujita, 1996a, 34–35; Payne, 1996; Inagaki, 2000, 66–78). In Vasubandhu's own words, an *upadeśa* consists of a dogmatic matrix (*mātṛkā*, *abhidharma*) meant as "the basis for exposing the meaning of other *sūtras*" (*vyākhyāyukti*; Lee, 2001, 160, 8–9; *de las gzhan pa'i mdo sde'i don bshad pa'i rten*; Moriyama, 2005, 236–237). The relationship of (the pseudo-)Vasubandhu's **Upadeśa* to the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* has been debated (esp. Payne, 1996, 234–242), and, indeed, the **Upadeśa*'s description of Amitābha's Sukhāvatī may have more in common with Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (10.30; Lamotte, 1973, 317–322) than with either of the two Pure Land *sūtras* (Payne, 1996, 237–240). In their colophon (and also v. 2), the 24 verses are claimed to be a poetic exposition of the **Amitāyuḥsūtra*, which corresponds to the Chinese title of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* but apparently not to its Indic title. According to R.K. Payne (1996, 242), the verses could be a summary of the scriptural corpus associated with A(pari)mitāyus rather than of a single *sūtra*.

The *Wuliangshou jing youbotishe yuanshengjie*'s 24 verses deal with the 17 merits of Sukhāvatī (vv. 3–14; note that merits 13 and 16 insist that only bodhisattvas and no *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddhas* are reborn there as such, a feature shared by the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* [Lamotte, 1973, 319], which the *Wang shenglun chu* discusses at length [Kiyota, 1991, 282; Eracle, 2008, 200–201]), the eight merits of Amitābha (vv. 15cd–19), and the four merits of the bodhisattvas (vv. 20–23; Kiyota, 1991, 275–277; Payne, 1996, 235–238). The *Wang shenglun chu* systematizes the Pure Land practices and begins with "an account of the primary purposes of Pure Land aspirants, namely, to cognise the Buddha Amitābha, to visualize his Land and to wish to be born there" (Moriyama, 2005, 241). The main purpose of the treatise is to expound the "five contemplative gates" (*wunianmen* [五念門]) that enable one to attain these primary objectives:

1. the gate of worship (*libaimen* [禮拜門]), which consists in the bodily action of those who aspire to be reborn in Sukhāvatī;
2. the gate of praise (*zantanmen* [讃歎門]), that is, verbal recitation or chanting of the name of Amitābha, a practice aimed at being performed in the great assembly of this buddha;
3. the gate of aspiration (*zuoyuanmen* [作願門]), in which mental one-pointedness (*cittaikāgratā*) is resorted to in order to achieve calm (*śamatha*) and, as a result, to enter Amitābha's "lotus world";
4. the gate of visualization (*guanchamen* [觀察門]), the most important of the five gates, which resorts to insight (*prajñā*) in order to achieve discernment (*vipaśyanā*) and bears on the 29 abovementioned merits; and
5. the gate of the transfer of merit (*huixiangmen* [迴向門]; Skt. *pariṇāma*), in which, without abandoning any of the suffering living beings, one makes vows to achieve great compassion, acting and being reborn freely for the salvation of all living beings.

Whereas the first four gates are entrance gates leading to the realization of buddhahood (and hence are *svārtha, for the bodhisattva's own sake), the fifth gate is an exit gate used by the bodhisattvas to alleviate the sufferings of human beings by returning to saṃsāra and transferring merits (and hence is *parārtha, for other beings' sake). According to R.K. Payne (1996, 242), the five gates "constitute a single, ritualized visualisation practice, a *sādhana*." The *Wang shenglun chu* systematically expands on the 29 merits, which it presents in an Abhidharma-like manner as the accomplishment of Amitābha's inconceivable power.

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VINCENT ELTSCHINGER

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VINCENT ELTSCHINGER

Samādhirājasūtra

The *Samādhirājasūtra* (Discourse on the King of *Samādhis*) is a mid-length Mahāyāna scripture showing some affinities with the Prajñāpāramitā corpus through its emphasis on *śūnyatā* (emptiness) and *samatā* (sameness). It was in existence in the 2nd century CE and shows some concerns, such as the forest vocation and the permitted asceticisms, in common with other early Mahāyāna texts. It was quoted readily by Buddhist commentators. Despite its title it does not expound a specific meditation technique, and the nature of the *samādhi* to which it refers is disputable. The text is constructed from a variety of textual units from genres to be found in other Mahāyāna scriptures, including the didactic, narrative, *jātaka*, (self-)laudatory, and listing materials in prose and verse.

Sources

The *Samādhirājasūtra* is known from a variety of manuscripts, the greatest number of which come from Nepal, where its status as one of the *navadharma* ("nine *dharmas*") texts has ensured its scribal reproduction for ritual purposes. While the earliest of these is probably from the 12th century, the bulk of Nepalese witnesses (38 in total known to date) are paper manuscripts made between the late 17th and early 20th centuries, most of which carry a complete text. In addition to these, there are two probably 11th–12th-century Indian or Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in Tibet, an almost complete 6th-century birchbark manuscript from Gilgit, and a variety of manuscript fragments ranging in putative dates from the 5th to the 9th century: from Afghanistan (5th–6th cents., mainly now in the Schøyen collection; Skilton, 2002a) and Central Asia (5th–9th cents., in collections in Saint Petersburg, Paris, and London; Skilton, 1999b; Karashima & Wille, 2006; 2009). In addition to these sources in Sanskrit, the language of the text's original composition (there being no evidence of any earlier Prakrit precursor), there exist canonical translations, one into Tibetan, *Ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (Mahāyāna Discourse Known as the King of *Samādhis*), made by Śīlendrabodhi and Dharmatāśīla in the early 9th century (P 31, 32), and several into Chinese. A late 7th(?)-century catalogue, the *Da zhou kan ding zhong jing mu lu* (大周刊定眾經目錄; T. 2153), compiled by Ming Quan (明佺), lists a now lost one-volume *juan* [scroll]) translation by An Shigao (安世高), which may correspond to the single-volume translation mentioned in Seng You's (僧佑) early 6th-century catalogue *Chu san zang ji ji* (出三藏記集; T. 2145). Otherwise the Chinese canon preserves three extant translations of the *Samādhirājasūtra*: a complete translation made by Narendrayaśas (Na lian ti ye she [那連提耶舍]) entitled **Candrapradīpasamādhisūtra* (*Yuedeng sanmei jing* [月燈三昧經]; T. 639), finished in 557 CE, two sections of a translation with the same name by Xian Gong (先公; T. 640, 641), made between 420 and 479 CE, and a translation of chapter 34 treated as an independent *sūtra*, **Candraprabhabodhisattvasūtra* (*Yueming pusa jing* [月明菩薩經]; T. 169), made by Zhi Qian (支謙) between 223 and 253 CE (for the latter, see Nattier, 2008, 142).

The *editio princeps* of the complete Sanskrit text of the Gilgit manuscript was published by N. Dutt and V.S.N. Sharma (1941; 1953; 1954) and republished with editorial changes by P.L. Vaidya (1961). This was based on a reading of the Gilgit manuscript, supplemented freely, especially for the many lacunae in that manuscript, by material from two Nepalese manuscripts and the Tibetan translation. A facsimile edition of the Gilgit manuscript was published by R. Vira and L. Chandra (1974). This functions as an invaluable corrective to the *editio princeps*, which fails to fully differentiate recensions, which are conflated at will, and omits structural features of the Gilgit text. This criticism applies even more to P.L. Vaidya's reedition (Skilton, 2000b, 13–15). Reliable critical editions of individual chapters have been made by various authors: C. Regamey (1938, chs. 8, 19, and 22; this was completed prior to the discovery of the Gilgit manuscript), S. Matsunami (1975, chs. 1–7), C. Cüppers (1990, ch. 9), and A. Skilton (1997, ch. 17).

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Titles, Recensions, and Date

The *Samādhirājasūtra* was widely known under at least two titles, and the textual evidence analyzed to date suggests that there was a total of four distinct recensions in circulation (Skilton, 1999b). Hereafter *Samādhirājasūtra* is used as a portmanteau term for the text ignoring its specific recensions. Two closely related recensions (*Samādhirājasūtra* I and *Samādhirājasūtra* II) are transmitted in the Nepalese manuscripts, which call their text *Samādhirājasūtra*. This is also the title of the Tibetan translation. The text of these recensions is cited under variants of the name (*Ārya*)*samādhirāja* by Indian Buddhist scholars. These recensions are primarily characterized by the presence of an additional 15% or so of material not found in the others. This consists of prose and verse material that supplements the existing chapters. This often appears as part of the prose introduction to a chapter and is distributed fairly evenly across the *Samādhirājasūtra* as a whole, although a significant number of chapters, as many as 14, have none of these additions, while others, for example chapters 10 and 35, have several. *Samādhirājasūtra* II appears to be a linguistically improved recension of *Samādhirājasūtra* I but with other significant differences. The material that forms chapter 38 in *Samādhirājasūtra* I is divided into three separate named and numbered chapters in *Samādhirājasūtra* II, giving a total of 42 chapters for this recension, whereas *Samādhirājasūtra* I has 40.

The two remaining recensions are shorter than those recorded by the Nepalese and Tibetan witnesses. They have the same general coverage, but individual chapters lack the sometimes substantial prose and verse insertions present in *Samādhirājasūtra* I and II. They also both include material that is not found in the *Samādhirājasūtra* I and II recensions. The first of these recensions is witnessed by the Chinese translation of Narendrayaśas and several Central Asian manuscripts. While these manuscript fragments are too small to indicate the title of their text, the Chinese title is translated from the Sanskrit **Candrapradīpasamādhisūtra*. This name is known in its variant form *Candrapradīpa*(*sūtra*) to Indian scholars and is also mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Gaṇapati Śāstrī, 1920, 38, 109). The fourth recension was at one time that of the Gilgit manuscript alone, until analysis of manuscript fragments from Afghanistan revealed a second witness (Skilton, 2002b). While the Gilgit manuscript has lost its final leaves and therefore lacks a colophon to indicate the title, the discovery of a fragment of the colophon of the manuscript found in Afghanistan (see above) suggests that this recension may also have gone under the title (**Candrapradīpa*)*samādhir Mahāyāna*(*sūtra*). In the final chapter of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, and also significantly in chapter 3 (see below), the Buddha entrusts the discourse to a disciple and explicitly instructs him that the *sūtra* should be known as *Mahākaruṇāvatāra* (The Embodiment/Introduction to Great Compassion). This title is only recognized in citations made by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla (Gomez & Silk, 1989, 35–36).

Any attempt to date the scripture must necessarily take account of its distinct recensions (Skilton, 1999a). Extant physical evidence gives an earliest date of 11th century for manuscripts of recensions *Samādhirājasūtra* I and II, although Candrakīrti's 7th-century quotation of this recension, the redacting of material from its chapter 1 in the *Praśāntaviniścayaprātihāryasamādhisūtra* (*Jizhaoshenbian sanmodi jing* [寂照神變三摩地經]; T. 648), translated in the 6th century, and reference by the 4th–5th-century scholar Asaṅga to a text of this name in his *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* possibly takes it back to the 4th century (Skilton, 1999a). The Gilgit recension is dated by its manuscript witnesses to the 6th century at the earliest. The earliest known date for the title *Candrapradīpasamādhisūtra* is established by Xian Gong's 5th-century translation. (This ignores citations under the same name in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, an anthology problematically attributed to Nāgārjuna.) An early 3rd-century date for some version of the text is confirmed through the translation by Zhi Qian made between 223 and 253 CE. While Zhi Qian treats this as a complete *sūtra*, internal evidence suggests that it is extracted from a larger text, presumably one or another recension of the *Samādhirājasūtra*/*Candrapradīpasamādhisūtra*. Beyond Zhi Qian, the single-volume translation attributed to An Shigao offers the possibility that a much abbreviated or partial translation of one recension of this text was made between 148 and 170 CE.

Following this discussion, we should make two important observations: all four recensions were in circulation in the broader Buddhist world simultaneously; and we should not assume a linear relationship among recensions. The diversity of the recensions that we now know as literary texts may have emerged independently in a mixed oral-literary environment, such that none has precedence over

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Structure and Chapters

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1. *Nidāna*...
2. *Śālendrarājapūrvayoga*
3. *Buddhānusmṛti*
4. *Samādhi*
5. *Ghoṣadatta*
6. *Samādhi*
7. *Kṣāntyavatāra*
8. *Abhāvasamudgata*
9. *Gambhīradharmakṣānti*
10. *Purapraveśa*
11. *Sūtradhāra*
12. *Samādhyanuśikṣaṇa*
13. *Samādhinirdeśa*
14. *Smitasandarśana*
15. *Smitavyākaraṇa*
16. *Pūrvayoga*
17. *Bahubuddhanirhārasam*
18. *Samādhyanuparindanā*
19. *Acintyabuddhadharman*
20. *Indraketudhvajarāja*
21. *Pūrvayoga*
22. *Tathāgatakāyanirdeśa*
23. *Tathāgatācintyanirdeśa*
24. *Pratisaṃvidāvatāra*
25. *Anumodanā*
26. *Dānānuśaṃsā*
27. *Śīlanirdeśa*
28. *Daśānuśaṃsā*

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the others. The exception to this is *Samādhirājasūtra* II, which appears to be an intentional redaction of *Samādhirājasūtra* I.

Structure and Chapters

The shorter recension of the *Samādhirājasūtra* from Gilgit is, to use the traditional measure, almost exactly 8,500 *ślokas* in length. Like other mid-length Mahāyāna scriptures, it is subdivided into chapters, although these divisions are not consistent across recensions and are in themselves evidence of the recensional divergence in the history of this text. The divisions of the Gilgit recension cannot be determined with finality due to loss of some folios and significant damage to others. Despite this loss of material, the manuscript indicates some 42 internal divisions, only 27 of which correspond with those in other recensions. There are no chapter colophons and therefore no chapter titles. The complete Chinese translation (T. 639) has no chapter divisions and is divided into ten volumes. The longer recensions (transmitting at least another 1,300 *śloka* of material distributed unequally across most chapters) are divided into named chapters (*parivarta*), but they diverge in places (although the *editio princeps* conflates all recensions). The distribution of the variations only partly corresponds to the recensions *Samādhirājasūtra* I and II discussed above, since a subset of *Samādhirājasūtra* I manuscripts have the same chapter titles as *Samādhirājasūtra* II, this doubtless reflecting the complex transmissional history of the two recensions in India and Nepal. The chapter titles of *Samādhirājasūtra* I are listed below.

Table 1: Chapters of the *Samādhirājasūtra* in recension *Samādhirājasūtra* I (material in brackets added for clarification).

...parivarta	The chapter on ...
1. *Nidāna...*	The opening circumstances
2. *Śālendrarājapūrvayoga*	A former existence of King Śālendra
3. *Buddhānusmṛti*	The recollection of the Buddha
4. *Samādhi*	[Definition of] *samādhi*
5. *Ghoṣadatta*	[The buddha] Ghoṣadatta
6. *Samādhi*	[Preparations for] *samādhi*
7. *Kṣāntyavatāra*	The introduction to forbearance
8. *Abhāvasamudgata*	[The buddha] Abhāvasamudgata
9. *Gambhīradharmakṣānti*	Forbearance toward the profound teaching
10. *Purapraveśa*	Entry into the city [of Rājagṛha]
11. *Sūtradhāra*	Preserving the *sūtra*
12. *Samādhyanuśikṣaṇa*	Instruction in *samādhi*
13. *Samādhinirdeśa*	The exposition of *saṃādhi*
14. *Smitasandarśana*	[The Buddha] making a smile
15. *Smitavyākaraṇa*	Explanation of the [Buddha's] smiling
16. *Pūrvayoga*	A former existence
17. *Bahubuddhanirhārasamādhimukha*	The entrance into the *samādhi* cited by many buddhas
18. *Samādhyanuparindanā*	Transmission of the *samādhi*
19. *Acintyabuddhadharmanirdeśa*	An exposition of the inconceivable teaching of the Buddha/buddhas
20. *Indraketudhvajarāja*	[The buddha] Indraketudhvaja
21. *Pūrvayoga*	A former existence.
22. *Tathāgatakāyanirdeśa*	The exposition of the body of the Tathāgata
23. *Tathāgatācintyanirdeśa*	The exposition of the inconceivability of the Tathāgata
24. *Pratisaṃvidāvatāra*	An introduction to analytical knowledge
25. *Anumodanā*	Rejoicing in merit
26. *Dānānuśaṃsā*	The advantages of generosity
27. *Śīlanirdeśa*	The exposition of ethical conduct
28. *Daśānuśaṃsā*	The ten [sets of] advantages

. . . *parivarta*	The chapter on . . .
29. *Tejogaṇarāja*	[The buddha] Tejogaṇa
30. *Anuśaṃsā*	Advantages
31. *Sarvadharmasvabhāvanirdeśa*	The exposition of the own-being of all dharmas
32. *Sūtradhāraṇānuśaṃsā*	The advantages of preserving the *sūtra*
33. *Kṣemadatta*	[The monk] Kṣemadatta
34. *Jñānavatī*	[The girl] Jñānavatī
35. *Supuṣpacandra*	[The monk] Supuṣpacandra
36. *Śīlaskandhanirdeśa*	Exposition of the mass of ethical conduct
37. *Yaśaḥprabha*	[The monk] Yaśaḥprabha
38. *Kāyavāṅmanaḥsaṃvara*	Restraint of body, speech and mind
39. *Pada*	The terms
40. –	(All recensions place the *sūtra* colophon here.)

Most chapters consist of a prose introduction, of varying length, followed by verse. The length of individual chapters varies widely. Chapter 32, the second longest, is the equivalent of over 650 *śloka*s in length – consisting of a short prose introduction followed by over 280 verses in a variety of meters. In contrast, chapter 27 is the shortest, the equivalent of only 25 *śloka*s, with five lines of prose and six verses. Neither chapter varies significantly between recensions. The longest chapter is 35, the equivalent of 700 *śloka*s of mixed prose and verse in the short recensions, although this is supplemented by substantial additions in the *Samādhirājasūtra* I and *Samādhirājasūtra* II recensions.

While the division into chapters and the choice of titles reflect an explicit redactional intent, we can also look for unwitting redactional evidence to illuminate a different structural principle in operation. As with most Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, the *Samādhirājasūtra* ends with a *parīndanā*, that is, an explicit act of transmission of the text by the Buddha to Ānanda. However, there are two earlier points of transmission, to Candraprabha, the Buddha's main interlocutor, which appear to demarcate the conclusion of earlier stages of the evolution of the text and suggest a cumulative process of composition (Skilton, 1997, 105–109). These earlier conclusions are contained in chapters 3 and 18 and imply that at points the *Samādhirājasūtra* grew from a core consisting of the material in chapters 1–3, to 1–18, and finally to 1–40. If this interpretation is correct, this growth took place prior to the derivation of the divergent recensions that we know.

Language/Poetry

The *Samādhirājasūtra* is composed in a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit that conforms to F. Edgerton's classification and in this sense is linguistically unremarkable (Edgerton, 1953, xxv). Prose passages are in a grammatically simple Sanskrit that is "Buddhist" by virtue of its vocabulary, while verse passages are usually characterized by a similar vocabulary plus a hybridized morphology and phonology showing frequent Middle Indic forms. This is noted by Candrakīrti, who interprets them as legitimate exigencies required by meter (Lang, 1993). The recension *Samādhirājasūtra* II seems to have undergone a systematic revision of its language. Since this also includes the resolution of occasional problematic passages, modern editors of the Sanskrit text have tended to give preference to readings from manuscripts carrying recension *Samādhirājasūtra* II, resulting in the conflation of recensions and the insertion of later Classical Sanskrit readings into a supposedly earlier text that the editor is reconstructing.

Of greater note is the variety of metrical forms that occur through the text. The standard *śloka* is widely employed, as also *triṣṭubh*, but a number of chapters also include verses composed in complex and sophisticated verse, for example *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *pramitākṣarā*, *aupacchandasika*, *ānandajāta*, and a variant of the *upasthitapracupita*, which reveals a *kāvya* or literary agenda on the part of the composers (Skilton, 2002a). This is consistent with the rich narrative content of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, although *kāvya* meters are not restricted to this type of content. We should bear in mind that this material stands chronologically very close to the earliest *kāvya* poetry from India and appears to confirm the

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There are two modern translations of the *Samādhirājasūtra* into Japanese (one almost complete [Tamura & Ichigō, 1975] and one partial [Mitsuhara, 1974a; 1974b; 1975; 1977]), but no complete published translation of any recension into a Western language exists (Gomez & Silk, 1989, 44–46). Translations into English of individual chapters and sections can be found in the works of C. Regamey (1990), L. Gomez and J.A. Silk (1989), C. Cüppers (1990), and A. Skilton (1997; 2002a). A relatively detailed summary of all chapters prefaces the volumes of N. Dutt and V.S.N. Sharma (1941; 1953; 1954).

Summary of Contents

The *Samādhirājasūtra* is explicitly concerned to transmit and expound the virtues of a *samādhi* that is frequently described in the text itself as *sarvadharmasvabhāvasamatāvipañcita*, "the *samādhi* that is elaborated as the sameness in essence of all phenomena." While we might reasonably expect that this refers to a meditative state, the text itself explicitly and repeatedly identifies this *samādhi* as a specific list of some 330 doctrinal terms. The importance of this list is borne out by its repetition at crucial points in the structure of the *sūtra*: in chapter 1, shortly followed by the transmission of the text in chapter 3; in chapter 17, immediately preceding the second transmission of the *sūtra* in chapter 18; and finally in chapters 38 and 39, immediately prior to the final transmission of the text in chapter 40. This interpretation is reinforced by the absence of any significant material dealing with meditation. There is no meditation practice taught in the *Samādhirājasūtra*, nor does the Buddha enter a *samādhi* for the purpose of teaching, as he does at the start of the *Heart Sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtra*. We should probably regard this usage of *samādhi* as similar to that of the term *mātṛkā*, in the sense of collection – that is, as denoting a significant list of doctrinal terms (Skilton, 2002b). The name of the *samādhi* is also integrated into the *sūtra* title of *Samādhirājasūtra* II, which describes itself in its own colophon as *sarvadharmasvabhāvasamatāvipañcitāt samādher nāma mahāyānasūtram* "a Mahāyāna *sūtra* called the *Samādhirāja* as obtained from the *samādhi* that is elaborated as the sameness in essence of all phenomena" (Dutt, 1954, 648, ll. 3–4).

The *Samādhirājasūtra* treats this *samādhi* list itself in three different ways, although each is embedded in a relatively standardized context: in chapter 1, the list is simply recited item by item, and praised. It is then followed by a *pūrvayoga* (former-life) story illustrating the commitment of the Buddha to the *samādhi* in former times and finally by a prediction of the degeneration of the saṅgha and an appeal for the text to be preserved – an appeal that is met by Candraprabha in chapter 3. In chapter 17, the entire list is once again repeated, but this time in verse, in the context of a former-life story demonstrating the Buddha's former commitment to this list. This is followed by chapter 18, in which degenerate times are predicted and the second transmission of the *samādhi* to Candraprabha is accomplished. The third cycle of recitation of the *samādhi* is spread across chapters 38 and 39. Preceding these is a chapter relating an extensive former-life story that demonstrates the Buddha's commitment to and the power of the *samādhi* and that emphasizes the degeneration of the saṅgha. In chapter 38, the first three terms of the *samādhi* – restraint of body, speech, and mind (*kāyasaṃvara*, *vāksaṃvara*, and *manaḥsaṃvara*) – are expounded in detail. Chapter 39 takes up the remaining items and offers short definitions of each in an Abhidharma-style catechism: for example item seven, "In this context, what is impartiality toward the bases of consciousness (*dhātu*)? It is the relinquishing of the bases of consciousness as being similar to a magical creation." (Dutt, 1954, 628, ll. 7–8) This extensive didactic chapter is followed by the final transmission of the *samādhi*, this time to Ānanda. While these chapters are concerned with the explicit exposition of the *samādhi* itself, all other chapters offer narratives to convince the audience of the power, significance, lineage, application, and utility of the *samādhi*.

A number of significant themes that resonate throughout the *Samādhirājasūtra* are touched on in the chapters already described, but these are also set within a very simple narrative structure. The Buddha is residing on the Vulture's Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa) at Rājagṛha and is accompanied by 100 thousand monks and 80 million bodhisattvas. Among the audience is a young man, Candraprabha, whose spirituality is well-developed through previous lives spent learning from former Buddhas and who has set out on the Mahāyāna path. He asks leave to put a question to the Buddha, and this is granted. He asks what practices lead to the highest awakening, and the Buddha replies that one single dharma guarantees such achievement, and this is to possess *samacitta* (even mind). Those who possess this quickly acquire the *samādhi* that is elaborated as the sameness in essence of all phenomena. Thereafter the Buddha addresses the content of subsequent chapters to Candraprabha. Having undertaken to preserve the *Samādhirājasūtra* for posterity in chapter 3, Candraprabha invites the Buddha to attend his house in the city for a meal, to which the Buddha agrees. Chapters 10 and 11 are thus the narrative core of the present-time action of the *sūtra*, in that they are dedicated to describing the marvels attendant on the Buddha's entry into Rājagṛha and his partaking of the meal, which is offered in chapter 11. Once again Candraprabha is granted the opportunity to question the Buddha, and he asks a series of questions on how to achieve the highest attainments, for example recollection of former births. The Buddha replies that a single dharma enables a bodhisattva to acquire these qualities, and that is to understand the essence (*svabhāva*) of all things as they truly are (*yathābhūta*). After enlarging on this answer and praising a bodhisattva's understanding of emptiness, the Buddha discourses on the virtues of preserving this *samādhi*/*sūtra* (both terms are used). For this reason, this chapter is entitled *Sūtradhāra* (Preserving the *Sūtra*), but this theme, a common one in Mahāyāna *sūtras*, recurs throughout the text and is particularly noticeable in at least another four chapters: 2, 9, 32, and 36. Candraprabha receives his prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) to buddhahood in chapter 15. The Buddha returns to the Vulture's Peak in chapter 17, and the text is once again transmitted to Candraprabha in chapter 18. Hereafter, there is no further present-time narrative development, as the location remains the same while the Buddha delivers the material in the remaining chapters.

This rather simple present-time narrative structure is a backdrop to a large body of former-life narrative material that forms a substantial component of the *sūtra* text as a whole. As many as a dozen chapters contain such *pūrvayoga*: 2, 5, 8, 16, 17, 20, 21, 29, 33, 34, 35, and 37. While a number of these are modest if not cursory in their relation, a small group of three (chs. 33, 34, and 37) are substantial literary creations employing *kāvya* poetry, 15–20 pages in length in the *editio princeps*, and a fourth is a major composition. This is the *Supuṣpacandraparivarta*, some 55 pages in length and a major retelling of the Kṣāntivādin story concerning a Buddhist ascetic who is killed for practicing forbearance (*kṣānti*). This story was well-known throughout the Buddhist world and is preserved in multiple recensions (Skilton, 2002c).

Beside the *samādhi* itself, former-life stories are the major theme of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, but the next most frequent genre of chapter is the exposition (*nirdeśa*). There are seven expositions: chapters 13, 19, 22, 23, 27, 31, and 36; these deal with discussions of relatively discursive mixed doctrinal subjects. In this sense, they are distinct from the two introductory (*avatāra*) chapters, which deal with specific doctrinal formulations. These are chapter 7, which sets forth a distinctive account of three forms or degrees of forbearance (*kṣānti*), and chapter 24, which sets forth an account of the analytical knowledges (*pratisaṃvit*). Only one chapter is a *vyākaraṇa* [to buddhahood], and this is chapter 15, in which the reasons for the Buddha having smiled in the previous chapter are explained and Candraprabha's future buddhahood is predicted. Another single representative of a literary type is the *samādhimukha* (entrance to a *samādhi*), normally an exposition of a meditative state or practice, but here applied to chapter 17, which is the *Bahubuddhanirhārasamādhimukha* (The Entrance to the *Samādhi* Cited by many buddhas). A substantial section of the verses in this chapter recite the names of former buddhas who have memorized and cited the *samādhi*, after which the *samādhi* itself is rehearsed in verse form.

The remaining genre of chapter to mention is that of advantages (*anuśaṃsā*). There are three chapters that describe themselves as such: 26, 28, and 30; on the basis of form, content, and location, however, chapter 27 (*Śīlanirdeśa*) should also be considered an integral part of this passage. This sequence of chapters in the *Samādhirājasūtra* was presumably originally built around the perfections (*pāramitā*). The first two perfections – generosity (*dāna*) and ethical conduct (*śīla*) – are explicit in the chapter titles, while chapter 28 begins by looking at the remaining four: forbearance (*kṣānti*), effort (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and understanding (*prajñā*); it then moves on to great learning (*bahuśruta*), giving the dharma (*dharmadāna*), dwelling in emptiness (*śūnyatāvihāra*), solitude (*pratisaṃlayana*), forest living (*araṇyavāsa*), and the permitted asceticisms (*dhutaguṇa*). Chapter 30 describes the advantages of preserving and transmitting this *samādhi*. Beyond these named chapters, it is clear that the advantages of maintaining this *samādhi* and its associated practices are frequent themes throughout the text.

The naming of chapter 27 *Śīlanirdeśa* rather than **Śīlānuśaṃsā* raises the question of the significance of the current chapter titles. It should be stressed that these are the titles adopted by a redactor for the recension *Samādhirājasūtra* I. These are largely

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followed by the redactor(s) of *Samādhirājasūtra* II but with divergences. Nevertheless they are just one vision of how to understand the sections of the text, and we will do well to recall that the other recensions have neither chapter titles nor even the same internal divisions as these two.

Context

The likelihood that the *Samādhirājasūtra* dates from at least the 3rd century CE, and very possibly from the century prior to that, places it in the frame of what we commonly call early Mahāyāna. This is a phase of development that predated the well-developed doctrinal positions of the middle period in monastic universities, in which Mahāyāna was but a range of "differentially marginalized minority groups" (Schopen, 2005, 17), a variety of religious and doctrinal positions embodied in an emergent *sūtra* literature some of which became the focus of major Mahāyāna schools and the majority of which did not.

Like all *sūtras*, the *Samādhirājasūtra* is anonymous, and we are probably closest to understanding its origins if we see it as the product of a redacting community that was at different points responsible for at least three of the versions that we now know. (*Samādhirājasūtra* II is better placed within a learned environment concerned with revising and normalizing the text, perhaps a monastic university.) Following on from these considerations, we can note that the *Samādhirājasūtra*'s unusual usage of the term *samādhi* is not unique but one that it shares it with a small group of other *Samādhisūtra: Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra* (T. 417; P 32), *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (T. 642; P 32), *Praśāntaviniścayaprātihāryasamādhisūtra* (T. 648; P 32), and **Sarvadharmaniyatapravicayacaryāsūtra* (觀察諸法行經; T. 649). A reasonable conclusion would be that this usage was known within a redacting community that was shared by these texts (Skilton, 2002b).

The concern with its own preservation also places the *Samādhirājasūtra* with the insecurities of emergent Mahāyāna minorities, a position that also seems to be consistent with its interest in the forest vocation. It has been convincingly argued by a number of scholars that early Mahāyāna *sūtras* share an advocacy of two overlapping areas of practice: forest living and the permitted asceticisms, of which the former is one. Both of these are well attested in this text and integrated both with the present-time framework of the *sūtra* and with its *pūrvayoga* content. For example, the forest life is clearly and vigorously advocated in the *Supuṣpacandra* chapter (Skilton, 2002c). In this respect, the *sūtra* appears to reflect an antagonism toward urban monastic Buddhism. The language of this antagonism casts this opposition as a critique of severely degenerate conditions within the monastic community, which advocates of the *Samādhirājasūtra* abhor and against which they arm themselves by preservation of the *samādhi*. This concern with monastic degeneration is particularly strongly expressed not only in chapters 16, 18, and 24 but also in chapters 5, 21, 29, 35, and 37. These passages can be seen as alternating and thereby contrasting with many others that describe the qualities of buddhas or bodhisattvas, that is with exemplars of the ideal.

Reception

The *Samādhirājasūtra* is used extensively as a proof text by Indian Mādhyamika scholars. Candrakīrti cites the *Samādhirājasūtra* over 30 times, Śāntideva 25 times, and Kamalaśīla a dozen times, and there are at least another eight authors known to use the text. The chapter most frequently cited is chapter 9 (Gomez & Silk, 1989, 32–38; Cüppers, 1990, xvi–xvii). Despite this interest, there appears not to have been a Mādhyamika commentary composed for the *Samādhirājasūtra*. Instead Tāranātha mentions a now-lost commentary on the *Samādhirājasūtra* (as *Candrapradīpa*) by the prolific 7th-century Yogācārin author Candragomin (Chattopadhyaya, 1990, 207), and the Ldan dkar catalogue mentions a now-lost anonymous commentary with the title *Ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po chos nyid zab mo'i 'grel pa* (Elucidation of the Profound Intrinsic Nature of the *Samādhirāja*; Gomez & Silk, 1989, 38). Otherwise, the only surviving Indian commentary (*ṭīkā*), called the *Kīrtimālā*, is by Mañjuśrīkīrti. This author is known for commentaries on tantric texts, there being a total of five items ascribed to him in the Tanjur. His *Kīrtimālā*, which shows a tendency to interpret the text in a Yogācāra light (Regamey, 1990, 22), also cites Dharmakīrti, suggesting a *terminus post quem* of the 7th century for its composition (Cüppers, 1990, 110). This commentary only survives in a Tibetan translation made in the 11th century by Śāntibhadra and Tshul khrims rgyal ba (P 105). There are partial translations from it by C. Cüppers (1990) and K. Mitsuhara (1974; 1975; 1977).

In Tibet itself, the *Samādhirājasūtra* continued to be utilized by Mādhyamika authors, for example

Tsongkhapa, but a more distinctive development is the identification within the Kagyu lineage of Gam po pa with Candraprabha. This Tibetan author, also called Zla 'od gzhon nu (*Candraprabhakumāra), is seen as the rebirth of the *Samādhirājasūtra*'s hero, returning to spread the teaching of the *sūtra* in a fallen age (Roerich, 1996, 452). The *Samādhirājasūtra* is the first text cited by Gam po pa on the first page of his *Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* (Jewel Ornament of Liberation), although the quotation, to the effect that the *tathāgatagarbha* can be found in all transmigrating beings, is not in known recensions of the text. There is a modern commentary in English by the Kagyu teacher Thrangu Rinpoche (1994).

In China, it was probably the *Samādhirājasūtra*'s thematic interest in the degeneration of the saṅgha and references to the final time (*paścimakāla*) that made it of interest to the Kashmiri translator Narendrayaśas, who also worked on other texts connected to the idea of final dharma (末法), the disappearance of the Buddha's teaching from the world (Nattier, 1991, 116; Hubbard, 2001, 62, 62n1). This overlaps with the emergence of a Buddho-Taoist messianism in early medieval Chinese Buddhism, which amalgamated around the bodhisattva Yueguang tongzi (月光童子), that is *Candraprabhakumāra, who is predicted to be reborn in China as an illustrious propagator of the faith during the final age in a *sūtra* bearing his name (月光童子經; T. 534; Zürcher, 1982). Between the 3rd and the 6th century, a number of apocryphal, that is non-Indian, *sūtras* were produced that portrayed Candraprabhakumāra as a savior who appears after a major apocalypse. In the same period, Candraprabhakumāra is identified with Yan Hui (顏回), Confucius' favorite disciple (Zürcher, 2007, 313–314). Besides these, there are no Chinese-language commentaries proper on the *Samādhirājasūtra*.

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ANDREW SKILTON

Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra

The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* is a relatively late (4th-cent. CE[?]) Indian Mahāyāna work consisting of ten chapters in which the Buddha explains apparently contradictory statements attributed to him in earlier discourses. It contains a number of doctrines that appear for the first time in Indic literature and that later became influential in India, Tibet, and East Asia. It is particularly influential in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school, for which it is the most important scriptural source.

The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* claims to be a discourse (*sūtra*) spoken by the Buddha, but the fact that it discusses texts and doctrines that probably did not appear before the 2nd century CE indicates that its date of composition was at least 600 years after his death. It was originally written in Sanskrit, but today only Tibetan and Chinese versions are extant. However, as K. Matsuda (2013, 942–943) has argued, features of the language of the verses, some of which are composed in Classical Sanskrit while others are instead in so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the independent existence of parts of the text (see below), and the presence at the end of chapters 7–10 of epilogue phrases typical of the closing of a *sūtra* suggest that the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* as we have it may be the result of a weaving together of originally independent scriptures into an organic whole.

Although the text as a whole is available only in Tibetan and Chinese translation, portions are found in Sanskrit, quoted in treatises including the *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* (Nagao, 1964, 43), *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Nagao, 1982–1987, I.4, II.7), Kamalaśīla's third *Bhāvanākrama* (Tucci, 1971, 1), and Sthiramati's *Triṃśikābhāṣya* (Lévi, 1925, 33–34; Buescher, 2007, 102–104). The text in its entirety is quoted in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (according to Schmithausen, 1987, 14, the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* might have been composed shortly before the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* was edited; Delhey, 2013, 535–538); since a Sanskrit manuscript of the latter is known to be extant in Tibet, it is possible that the *sūtra* may be recovered from this source in the foreseeable future. A single Sanskrit leaf of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* from a portion of the whole gifted to the Czar of Russia and now kept in Saint Petersburg has been published (Matsuda, 2013), and another fragment has been identified among the Central Asian manuscript fragments kept in Berlin (Matsuda, 2013, 942; Waldschmidt, 1971, 180).

The Tibetan Kanjur contains a canonical translation of the text, titled *Dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (D 106/P 774). However, an entirely different and older translation has been found in a partial manuscript at Dunhuang (Stein tib. 683, 194; Hakamaya, 1984; 1986; 1987; 1988), covering approximately forty percent of the text. Although not ascertained, the title of this older version may have been *Bar mtshams ma las par 'grel pa*, based on quotations in another old Tibetan translation, that of the first *Bhāvanākrama* (Hakamaya, 1984, 188). In addition, there are palpable recensional differences between the Tshal pa and Them spangs ma lines of the translation preserved in the Kanjur (Kato, 2006), further suggestive of the complex history of the *sūtra*'s textual transmission even within Tibet.

The modern edition of the Tibetan version of the *sūtra* published by É. Lamotte in 1935 is based only on the Narthang Kanjur, with some reference to the Chinese renderings and commentaries in Tibetan. When it is compared with now available Sanskrit fragments, however, É. Lamotte's reconstructions of technical terms are fully confirmed.

In addition to the Tibetan translations, five Chinese translations of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* survive:

1. *Shenmi jietuo jing* (深密解脫經; Discourse Unraveling Profound Mysteries; T. 675), translated by Bodhiruci (Putiliuzhi [菩提流支]) in 514 CE;

2. *Jie shenmi jing* (解深密經; Discourse Unraveling Profound Mysteries; T. 676), translated by Xuanzang (玄奘);

3. *Foshuo jiejie jing* (佛說解節經; Discourse Unraveling Knots in Buddha's Teachings; T. 677; chs. 1–4), translated by Paramārtha (Zhendi [眞諦]);

4. *Xiangxu jietuodi poluomi liaoyi jing* (相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經; Discourse of the Definitive Meaning, Unraveling Knots of the Perfections;

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T. 678; ch. 9), translated by Gu
batuoluo [求那跋陀羅]); and

5. *Xiangxu jietuo rulai souz*
(相續解脫如來所作隨順處了義
the Definitive Meaning of the
T. 679; ch. 10), also translated by

Several commentaries are extan
1. Asaṅga's *Āryasaṃdhinirm*
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bshad pa; Commentary on the
Explaining the Thought; D 398
ing the main points of the *sūtra*
2. Byang chub rdzu 'phrul's *Ā*
sūtrasya vyākhyāna (Tib. *'Phag*
par 'grel pa'i mdo'i rnam par bs
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D 4358/P 5845). Steinkellner [
author may be the Tibetan tr
rgyal mtshan [c. 8th cent.]).
3. Jñānagarbha's *Āryasaṃdh*
maitreyakevalaparivartabhāṣy
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Explaining the Thought; D 4
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alistic reading.
4. Wŏnch'ŭk's (Yuance [
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Explanation of the Superior
Profound Mysteries; ZZ 369;
'Phags pa dgongs pa zab mo
rgya cher 'grel pa; D 4016/P 55

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type I
Introduction

1. Gambhīrārthasaṃdhinirmo
2. Dharmodgata
3. Suviśuddhamati
4. Subhūti
5. Viśālamati

6. Guṇākara
7. Paramārthasamudgata
8. Maitreya
9. Avalokiteśvara
10. Mañjuśrī

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ed by Paramārtha (Zhendi [眞諦]);
tuodi poluomi liaoyi jing (相續解
經; Discourse of the Definitive
eling Knots of the Perfections;

T. 678; ch. 9), translated by Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuoluo [求那跋陀羅]); and

5. *Xiangxu jietuo rulai souzuo suishunchu jing* (相續解脫如來所作隨順處了義經; Discourse of the Definitive Meaning of the Tathāgata's Works, T. 679; ch. 10), also translated by Guṇabhadra.

Several commentaries are extant:

1. Asaṅga's *Āryasaṃdhinirmocanabhāṣya* (Tib. *'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa*; Commentary on the Superior Discourse Explaining the Thought; D 3981/P 5481), summarizing the main points of the *sūtra*.
2. Byang chub rdzu 'phrul's *Āryasaṃdhinirmocanasūtrasya vyākhyāna* (Tib. *'Phags pa dgongs 'grel nges par 'grel pa'i mdo'i rnam par bshad pa*; Explanation of the Superior Discourse Explaining the Thought; D 4358/P 5845). Steinkellner [1989] argues that the author may be the Tibetan translator Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan [c. 8th cent.]).
3. Jñānagarbha's *Āryasaṃdhinirmocanasūtre āryamaitreyakevalaparivartabhāṣya* (Tib. *'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i mdo las 'phags pa byams pa'i le'u nyi tshe'i bshad pa*; Commentary on Just the Maitreya Chapter from the Superior Discourse Explaining the Thought; D 4033/P 5535), in which the commentary on chapter 8 gives a strongly idealistic reading.
4. Wŏnch'ŭk's (Yuance [圓測]; Tib. Wen tshegs) *Hae simmil kyŏng so* (解深密經疏; Expansive Explanation of the Superior Discourse Unraveling Profound Mysteries; ZZ 369; trans. into Tibetan as *'Phags pa dgongs pa zab mo nges par 'grel pa'i mdo rgya cher 'grel pa*; D 4016/P 5517; see Inaba, 1972.

In the Tibetan translation, the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* has 10 chapters, in each of which a bodhisattva questions the Buddha. Here the names of the bodhisattvas are used as the chapter titles, except for chapter 1, which is a dialogue between two bodhisattvas. Bodhiruci's translation agrees with this format, while that of Xuanzang treats the first four chapters as a single unit, because these chapters consistently discuss the characters of the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*). According to K. Matsuda (2013, 942), a Sanskrit fragment that bridges chapters 2 and 3 suggests that these were indeed originally a single unit, this in turn suggesting that Xuanzang may have rearranged the text (or dealt with a recension that did so). The same understanding, however, is found in Asaṅga's commentary (Lamotte, 1935, 53–54), so this may represent some interpretive tradition. Xuanzang's translation takes the topics disputed in each chapter as their respective titles.

The Title

The Sanskrit term *saṃdhi* has a number of associations, including junction, knot, intention, and thought. The Tibetan translators rendered it as *dgongs pa*, suggesting that they construed it as intention or purport. This reflects the structure of the text: each chapter begins with an advanced bodhisattva pointing out apparent contradictions in statements attributed to the Buddha and asking him to explain what he intended when he made them. *Nirmocana* also has a number of possible meanings, including loosen, free, unravel, and explain. The

type I Introduction	**type II** ***Xù pǐn* (序品; Introduction)**
1. Gambhīrārthasaṃdhinirmocana	*Shèngyìdì xiāng pǐn* (勝義諦相品; Characters of the Ultimate Truth)
2. Dharmodgata	
3. Suviśuddhamati	
4. Subhūti	
5. Viśālamati	*Xīn yì shì xiāng pǐn* (心意識相品; Characters of Heart, Mind, and Consciousness)
6. Guṇākara	*Yīqiè fǎ xiāng pǐn* (一切法相品; Characters of All the Dharmas)
7. Paramārthasamudgata	*Wú zìxìng xiāng pǐn* (無自性相品; Characters of Selflessness)
8. Maitreya	*Fēnbié yúgā pǐn* (分別瑜伽品; Analyzing the Meditation)
9. Avalokiteśvara	*Dì pōluómìduō pǐn* (地波羅蜜多品; Stages and Perfections)
10. Mañjuśrī	*Rúlái chéng suǒzuò shì pǐn* (如来成所作事品; Completing the Buddha's Performance)

Tibetan translators' choice of *nges par 'grel pa* (to expound, explain) indicates that they took it in the latter sense, again apparently reflecting the structure of the text.

Xuanzang's translation of the title as "Discourse Unraveling Profound Mysteries" suggests that he regarded it as a sermon in which the Buddha revealed new teachings in order to free his followers from conceptual knots that had arisen due to confusion regarding his doctrine. This is also true of Paramārtha's translation: "Discourse Unraveling Knots in Buddha's Teachings." These interpretations of the title became normative in East Asia.

The Three Wheels of Doctrine

In chapter 7, the Buddha answers questions from the bodhisattva Paramārthasamudgata and provides a model for reconciling doctrinal discrepancies. He states that some of his words are of "interpretable meaning" (*neyārtha*), while others are of "definitive meaning" (*nītārtha*). He divides his teachings into three "wheels of doctrine" (*dharmacakra*). The first wheel refers to the division of the Dharma into Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle) and Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle). The former consists of doctrines such as the four noble truths (*āryasatya*) and dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*), which appear in the first sermon attributed to the Buddha, the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta* (Discourse Turning the Wheel of Doctrine; SN 56.11), as well as other works in the *nikāyas* and *āgamas*. These were taught to trainees of inferior capacities for particular soteriological purposes, but do not represent the Buddha's final thought. In the second wheel, the Buddha undermines the excessive truth value assigned to his words by Hīnayānists by asserting that his teachings – along with all phenomena – are empty (*śūnya*) of inherent existence, merely constructs produced by causes and conditions. This probably mainly refers to the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* (Perfection of Wisdom Discourses). The *Saṃdhinirmocana* implies that some of the Mahāyāna trainees who heard these words also misinterpreted their intent, and as a result fell to an extreme of nihilism. They concluded that the Buddha was negating the existence of all phenomena and stating that his own words are devoid of meaning. The third wheel of doctrine, referred to as the "wheel of good differentiations" (*legs par phye pa'i chos 'khor*; Skt. *suvibhakta dharmacakra*), is taught by the Buddha in order to counteract these false views; in it, he clarifies exactly what is being negated and what is not.

The *Saṃdhinirmocana*'s argument for definitive status is not restricted to the three-wheels schema; it also includes a number of tropes that serve to reinforce this notion. The sermon is set in a celestial realm, one that can only be accessed by advanced practitioners. The interlocutors are all tenth-level (*bhūmi*) bodhisattvas, and by implication the questions that they ask and the answers that the Buddha provides will be his final thought, intended for trainees on the highest stages of the path. The text incorporates the Mahāyāna notion that the Buddha gave some teachings for beings of inferior capacities and reserved his advanced sermons for others of superior abilities (*upāya* [skillful means]). The three-wheels schema further extends this by creating a new division within the ranks of Mahāyāna and assigning the definitive teachings to the *Saṃdhinirmocana*. Those for whom this text is normative should regard its teachings as the Buddha's final word on all doctrinal matters.

Structure of the Text

É. Lamotte (1935) asserts that the *Saṃdhinirmocana* is a composite text, but it could equally well be regarded as a coherent work, perhaps written by a single author (although it is also probable that, like other Indian Buddhist *sūtras*, it has undergone revision and augmentation). The internal structure of the *Saṃdhinirmocana* can be understood to reflect a common division into basis (*vastu*), path (*mārga*), and result (*phala*).

The first four chapters discuss the basis, namely the two truths (ultimate truth and conventional truth). The ultimate truth (*paramārthasatya*) is neither the same as, nor different from, the phenomena that it characterizes. It is compared to the melodious tone of a musical instrument and the instrument itself or a conch shell and its color. As in the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* (see Lamotte, 1935, 21–22, 182–183), the ultimate truth is regarded here as possessing five characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) – it is inexpressible (*anabhilāpya*), nondual (*advaya*), beyond speculation (*tarkasamatikrānta*), neither the same as nor identical to (*bhedābhedasamatikrānta*) the conditioned phenomena, and of a single taste/flavor (*ekarasa*). Whereas chapter 1 deals with the first two characteristics, chapters 2 to 4 discuss the remaining three respectively. To put it briefly, firstly, while

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ely. To put it briefly, firstly, while

reality cannot satisfactorily be described as being either conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) or unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), eminent persons such as the Buddha pragmatically resort to such dual metaphorical designations (*aupacarikapada*) and conventional expressions (*vyavahārābhilāpa*) born of imagination (*parikalpa*) in order to cause ordinary persons to realize the Dharma's inexpressible nature. Those who see the truth (*dṛṣṭasatya*) know that the things that appear to them as conditioned or unconditioned are comparable to magical creations (*māyopama*).

Secondly, the ultimate is beyond any speculation, in that, contrary to the ordinary persons' (*pṛthagjana*) speculation, it is cognized by the noble ones (*ārya*) through direct personal intuition/experience (*pratyātmavedanīya*), is not the object of notions (*nimittagocara*), is inexpressible, and is beyond ordinary transactions (*vyavahāravyucchedaka*) and beyond controversies (*vivādavyucchedaka*).

Thirdly, conditioned phenomena and the ultimate are neither the same nor different (the *sūtra* develops several arguments in order to demonstrate this: if they were identical, then all childish ordinary persons [*bālapṛthagjana*] would see the truth and obtain nirvāṇa and awakening; in that case, just like conditioned phenomena, the ultimate would belong to affliction [*saṃkleśa*], all conditioned phenomena would be as undifferentiated [*niviśiṣṭa*] as the ultimate, etc.).

Fourthly, the ultimate is the pure object (Tib. *rnam par dag pa'i dmigs pa*; Skt. *viśuddhālambana*) or the object for purification (Skt. *viśuddhyālambana*) that is present in things such as the five aggregates (*skandha*), the twelve sensory bases (*āyatana*), dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), the four kinds of nutriment (*āhāra*), the four truths (*satya*), the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), the four foundations of miraculous powers (*ṛddhipāda*), the five faculties (*indriya*) and forces (*bala*), the seven limbs of awakening (*bodhyaṅga*), and the eightfold path (*aṣṭāṅgamārga*). All of them are wrongly analyzed and debated on as separate items by philosophers. In sharp contrast to this, monks who devote themselves to yogic practice (*yogācārabhikṣu*) do not distinguish between the suchness (*tathatā*) and the selflessness (*nairātmya*) of the aggregates and between the bases and the elements. Among these, the ultimate is as neutral (*animitta*), unqualifiable (*nirvikalpaka*), and immutable (*avaivartika*) as space (*ākāśa*) among different material things (*rūpa*). This is the reason why it is said to have one and the same taste/flavor everywhere.

This leads into chapter 5, a discussion of consciousness (*vijñāna*) that focuses on the doctrine of "fundamental consciousness" (*ālayavijñāna*), which the Buddha refrained from revealing to childish ordinary beings for fear that they might mistake it for a permanent soul or self (*ātman*). This is described as the underlying source of cognition on the basis of which all other consciousnesses develop. It is composed of "seeds" (*bīja*; hence its designation as *sarvabījakacitta*, mind possessing all seeds) deposited by past volitional actions, and these continually enter its continuum, come to fruition on the basis of causes and conditions, produce results that accord with the original actions and intentions, and in turn create predispositions for cognitive patternings to continue into the future.

This idea serves a number of doctrinal functions for Buddhist epistemology and soteriology. The seeds of the fundamental consciousness, like seeds produced by trees or plants, remain *in potentia* until the proper conditions for their maturation are present. Similarly, in meditative states in which consciousness ceases to function, seeds of past actions remain in stasis until emergence from meditation. This is significant because the mind, like all phenomena, is momentary according to Buddhist theoreticians, and so if its continuum is interrupted, it would be problematic for meditators to retain past memories or habits. The fundamental consciousness accounts for this, and it also serves to explain how beings gravitate toward successive existences. The *Saṃdhinirmocana* states that another name for this consciousness is "appropriating consciousness" (*ādānavijñāna*) because it makes a connection to future lives that accord with past karmas and because the mind takes possession of the body and appropriates it. As the *sūtra* has it, once "arrived" at a new destiny (*gati*) and mode of generation (*yoni*), the mind first appropriates the material organs (*rūpīndriya*) together with the body and the imprints (*vāsanā*) of objects (*nimitta*), names (*nāma*), and ideas (*vikalpa*).

It also provides a model for the path and for attainment of buddhahood. As one progresses along the path and engages in meritorious activity and meditation, one first weakens and then gradually eliminates negative seeds and replaces them with pure ones. When the continuum of the fundamental consciousness is composed entirely of virtuous seeds, one undergoes "transformation of the basis" (*āśrayaparāvṛtti*), after which it is termed "stainless consciousness" (*amalavijñāna*). This is associated with attainment of buddhahood, and because afflictions are adventitious (*āgantuka*), once they have been removed, there is no possibility of their future reemergence.

Chapter 6 expands on the previous discussion of the two truths by declaring that phenomena may be viewed in terms of three characters (*lakṣaṇa*): (1) the imputational character (*parikalpitalakṣaṇa*), false notions (essence, attributes, etc.) imputed (mainly on the basis of names [*nāma*] and verbal conventions [*saṅketa*]) to phenomena such as selfhood or the division into subject and object; (2) the other-dependent character (*paratantralakṣaṇa*), which refers to the fact that conventionally phenomena are dependently arisen (*pratītyasamutpāda*, presented here both as the twelvefold formula and as causality in general); and (3) the thoroughly real character (*pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa*), which is equated with emptiness: when one realizes that the imputational is false and no longer perceives it, one sees the thoroughly real. The third character is commonly translated as "perfected" or "consummated" (see Nagao, 1983), but this is misleading because it implies that it is brought about through human activity. The *sūtra* makes it clear that *pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa* is unchanging, and it is compared with suchness (*tathatā*) and reality limit (*bhūtakoṭi*). Like the thoroughly real character, these refer to ultimate reality, which never changes and is always the final nature of things. Knowing the imputational character amounts to knowing that things are characterless; knowing the other-dependent character amounts to knowing things connected with affliction (*saṃkleśa*); knowing the thoroughly real character amounts to knowing things connected with purification (*vyavadāna*). In chapter 7, the thoroughly real character is said to be an "object of observation for purification," which means that because it is the unchanging ultimate truth, meditators can remove afflictions by focusing attention on it. If it were transient or something brought into being by their actions, then it could not serve this purpose.

The three-characters schema is further developed in this chapter, which discusses three "nonentitynesses" (*niḥsvabhāvatā*): (1) nonentityness in terms of character (*lakṣaṇaniḥsvabhāvatā*): imputational phenomena are completely false and so lack the characteristics imputed to them by thought; (2) nonentityness in terms of production (*utpattiniḥsvabhāvatā*): phenomena are dependently arisen on the conventional level, but this is not ultimately true, and so in this sense, they lack production; and (3) ultimate nonentityness (*paramārthaniḥsvabhāvatā*): the thoroughly real character is an absence of the imputations falsely superimposed on the other-dependent, and so in the ultimate sense, they lack them. For the *śrāvakas*, the *pratyekabuddhas*, and the bodhisattvas, penetrating and cultivating these nonentitynesses is the only way to obtain nirvāṇa, the only path toward purification (*viśuddhimārga*) and the only purification (*viśuddhi*). It is with reference to this that the Buddha has spoken of the one vehicle (*ekayāna*).

The Path

Chapter 8 transitions into a discussion of the path to buddhahood, which continues in chapter 9. The future buddha Maitreya asks about calming (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*), the two components of yoga, to which the Buddha responds that they are integral to attainment of unsurpassed awakening (*anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi*). The discussion of meditation practice contains a statement that the phenomena perceived in meditation are "cognition only" (*vijñaptimātra*). A. Wayman (1979, 67) contends that this is not a statement of universal idealism and that its purview is restricted to meditative states, but the *Saṃdhinirmocana* (8.7) then extends it to all phenomena:

> [Maitreya]: Are the forms of things like sentient beings, which abide in the nature of images of the mind, "different" or "not different" from the mind?
>
> [Buddha]: Maitreya, they are "not different." However, because childish beings with distorted understanding do not recognize these images as cognition-only, they misconstrue them. (trans. Powers, 1995, 155)

The text does not elaborate on this, and it is not clear that the statement is meant as an affirmation of universal idealism, as L. Schmithausen (1976, 247) contends, but the *sūtra*'s commentators agree that it is. In his commentary, Wŏnch'ŭk (D 4016 *thi*, 218.1) states the following: "When [foolish beings] abandon external objects, then they pacify incorrect minds; when they pacify incorrect minds, then they realize the middle way." Byang chub rdzu 'phrul (D 4358 *cho*, 326.5) states that "[c]hildish beings – who do not perceive suchness, whose vision has degenerated due to faults of vision – perceive external objects as existing although they do not exist." Jñānagarbha is even more explicit:

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> This indicates that the mind appears as a percept (*ālambana*) that is like an image ... A percept is an appearance of the mind in the aspect of an object and, moreover, it is not different from cognition because it is observed simultaneously ... This indicates that such cognitions – which arise from seeds of cognition that from beginningless time are infused with predispositions for designating apprehending subjects and apprehended objects – appear in the aspects of apprehending subjects and apprehended objects. (D 4033 *bi*, 321b–322a)

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of calming and insight (definitions, mutual relationships, preliminaries, supports, intellectual features, etc.). The Buddha declares that each supports the other and that the goal of this practice is attainment of a union of calming and insight (*śamathavipaśyanāyuganaddha*). This is attained at the level of "one-pointed mind" (*cittaikāgratā*). Some practices involve focusing on meditative objects, while others examine Buddhist doctrines, especially in the form of the twelvefold exposition of the Dharma, which the bodhisattva is requested to listen to, master, and reflect on. When bodhisattvas are able to understand the Dharma comprehensively without requiring explanations or contextualization, they "attain joy in the joyousness of the Dharma." This training results in attainment of the truth body (*dharmakāya*). This process begins on the first bodhisattva level and is deepened as bodhisattvas progress on the path.

The main obstacles to *śamatha* are laxity and excitement. The former is a tendency to lose focus on the meditative object due to inattention, and the latter occurs when one becomes overly stimulated. The antidote to laxity is increasing the size or brightness of the meditative object, and the antidote to excitement is decreasing them. When one is able to maintain focus for as long as one wishes and maintains an equilibrium between laxity and excitement, one perfects *śamatha*. *Vipaśyanā* involves analyzing the object to ascertain its final nature, that is, emptiness. As their wisdom deepens, bodhisattvas progressively master Buddhist doctrines and comprehend the nature and attributes of the phenomena of existence. The Buddha informs Maitreya that development of wisdom has three stages:

1. wisdom arisen from hearing (*śrutamayī prajñā*), which is when trainees listen to Dharma teachings and have a preliminary understanding;
2. wisdom arisen from thinking (*cintāmayī prajñā*), when they think about them in greater depth and develop conceptual comprehension; and
3. wisdom arisen from meditation (*bhāvanāmayī prajñā*), when they contemplate doctrines nonconceptually and attain intuitive insight.

This transforms their perceptions, and they gradually wean themselves from false ideas. In connection (and addition) to *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, chapter 8 deals with numerous items traditionally regarded as relevant for yoga either as mental and cognitive properties, such as a bodhisattva's special knowledge of the Dharma (*dharmapratisaṃvid*) and of things (*arthapratisaṃvid*), or as ontological determinations, such as suchness (*tathatā*) and the various forms of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), or else as specific attainments, such as supreme awakening (*anuttarā samyaksambodhi*) and nirvāṇa.

In chapter 9, the Buddha continues the discussion of the path. He tells the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that it begins with a pure thought. This refers to the mind of awakening (*bodhicitta*), the intention to pursue buddhahood for the benefit of other beings. This marks attainment of the first bodhisattva level (*bhūmi*). The second level is concerned with cultivation of pure ethics, and pure intention is required for entry into the third level. Cultivation of wisdom is the primary practice of the fourth level, and this continues through the tenth level. On the eleventh level, one attains buddhahood. The Buddha then explains the meaning of the names of the levels and gives detailed descriptions of negative factors that inhibit meditators from attaining them.

He then describes how bodhisattvas train in the six perfections (*pāramitā*): (1) generosity (*dāna*), (2) ethics (*śīla*), (3) patience (*kṣānti*), (4) effort (*vīrya*), (5) concentration (*dhyāna*), and (6) wisdom (*prajñā*). These are the primary focus of the bodhisattva path, and when all have been cultivated to the highest degree, one attains buddhahood. Throughout this process, bodhisattvas are motivated by intense compassion for the sufferings of sentient beings, and this enables them to overcome despondency due to the length and difficulty of their task and to overcome obstacles. Wisdom in particular aids in developing skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*), the ability to adapt their words and deeds to the individual proclivities of trainees.

After the discussion of the perfections and bodhisattva motivation, Avalokiteśvara raises an important question: if there are innumerable buddhas and bodhisattvas who have cultivated wisdom and who have perfected skill in means, why are there so many suffering and impoverished beings? The Buddha replies that this is due to their own ignorance and the negative karma that they accrued in their present and past lives. Buddhas and bodhisattvas constantly work for their benefit, but beings foolishly misunderstand their teachings and persist in counterproductive habits, and as a result they remain enmeshed in cyclic existence and suffer its vicissitudes.

Chapter 9 ends with an explanation of the Buddha's intention (*sandhā/abhiprāya*) while teaching the one vehicle (*ekayāna*). According to the Buddha, the "vehicle of the hearers" (*śrāvakayāna*) spells out the various natures of things such as the five aggregates (*skandha*) and the six internal sensory bases (*āyatana*), whereas the Mahāyāna ("Great Vehicle") claims these very things to ultimately amount to a single element or principle (*dharmadhātu*). This is the reason why the two vehicles do not really distinguish themselves. But due to excessive literalism, some people either add to (*āropa*) or subtract from (*apavāda*) the Buddha's teaching, thus concluding that these vehicles are really distinct, and so they engage in debate.

The Result

The focus of chapter 10 is the culmination of the path: attainment of buddhahood. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī asks about the characteristics of the truth body (*dharmakāya*). The Buddha states that the path to attaining it begins with renunciation and proceeds through cultivation of the perfections and gradual progression through the bodhisattva levels. He then declares that the lives of buddhas in their respective worlds are really only displays for the benefit of sentient beings. They all follow a set pattern: they enter a suitable womb in a family of high standing, then take birth, live in opulent surroundings in which they enjoy the best that a world has to offer, and then leave home to pursue asceticism. They later declare that asceticism and hedonism are both hindrances and then appear to progress through the stages leading to unsurpassed awakening. These actions are displayed through the creation of emanation bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*).

In addition to these displays, buddhas also deliver teachings in the form of *sūtras*, Vinaya instructions, and *mātṛkā* (condensed statements of doctrine that can also function as spells or incantations). This is followed by a listing of topic areas that summarizes a wide range of teachings that had become part of Mahāyāna canonical literature by the 2nd century CE.

The Buddha then segues into a lengthy discussion of logic and reasoning. These are essential to the teaching activities of bodhisattvas because they serve to convince skeptics. To put it in a nutshell, reasoning (*yukti*) is presented as fourfold: (1) reasoning about things' mutual dependence (*apekṣā*); (2) reasoning about the way in which results or effects are produced (*kāryakaraṇa*); (3) reasoning proving by means of arguments (*upapattisādhana*); and (4) reasoning about the true nature of things (*dharmatā*). Focusing on the third type of reasoning, the Buddha spells out its various argumentative devices: perception, inference, analogy or exemplification, and authoritative statements made by trustworthy persons such as the omniscient. All such analysis is based on intuitive understanding of suchness, which guides the use of language and reasoning. Bodhisattvas make distinctions between conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) phenomena, and they point out the negative outcomes of engaging in unskillful deeds and the benefits of cultivating virtue. They further teach about cause and effect. In disputation with opponents, bodhisattvas must employ "pure analysis of logical correctness." This involves direct perception of the subject of reasoning, understanding how it comes to be, providing concordant examples, giving flawless reasonings, and citing "very pure scriptures."

This sort of reasoning and analysis became an important concern of many luminaries of Yogācāra and the Buddhist Pramāṇa ("Epistemology") tradition, including Vasubandhu (c. 350–430 CE), Dignāga (c. 480–540 CE), Dharmakīrti (c. 7th cent. CE), and their successors. The Buddha's description of proper reasoning encodes notions that would become important for these philosophers, particularly the emphasis on direct perception (*pratyakṣa*) as the basis for proper logic and inference (*anumāna*) based on such observation (on this discussion and its relationship with later logic and epistemology, see Steinkellner, 1988, II.14–19; Yoshimizu, 2010).

The use of examples (*dṛṣṭānta*) is a standard aspect of Indian systems of reasoning. The requirement that one cite scriptures as part of the process of disputation was later dropped by Buddhists who engaged in debate with non-Buddhist opponents. Since the two sides did not agree on which scriptures were authoritative, debates were conducted solely on the basis of agreed-on means of authoritative cognition (*pramāṇa*). For the Buddhist epistemologists beginning with Dignāga, only direct perception and inference were acceptable.

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In response to a question by Mañjuśrī, the Buddha describes the activities of buddhas. He states that as a result of their training over the course of countless eons, buddhas become so habituated that their efforts on behalf of sentient beings are purely spontaneous. No thought or deliberation is required, and for each person or group, a buddha will intuitively know what is most beneficial. He concludes with a declaration that the *Saṃdhinirmocana* contains the "definitive instruction."

The *sūtra* has occasioned much discussion among scholars including in the context of the development of certain key doctrinal ideas. H. Buescher (2008) argues that the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* represents a new direction in Buddhist thought, one distinct from other philosophical traditions, including Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, and Madhyamaka. The main differences, he contends, relate to its introduction of a number of new doctrines, including fundamental consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), the three natures (*svabhāvatraya*), and cognition-only (*vijñaptimātra*). His discussion of the origin of the fundamental-consciousness doctrine takes issue with L. Schmithausen (2007), who argues that the earliest mention of fundamental consciousness is found in the *Samāhitābhūmi* (Level of Meditative Concentration) of the basic section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Levels of Yogic Practice). It is also at odds with the chronology proposed by C. Lindtner (1992), who believes that the discussion of fundamental consciousness in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Descent into Lanka Discourse) predates that of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. H. Buescher's ideas are further discussed by L. Schmithausen (2014), who clarifies his earlier arguments and presents new evidence for his chronology.

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JOHN POWERS

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JOHN POWERS

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* ([*Sūtra* of] Utmost Golden Light; also known as *Suvarṇa[pra]bhāsottama-[sūtrendrarāja]sūtra*; Utmost Golden Light, King of Kings of *Sūtras*; commonly rendered *Sūtra of Golden Light*) is a Mahāyāna text likely composed or compiled in the century or two prior to its *terminus ante quem* in the early 5th century CE, when it was first translated into Chinese. Extant in several different versions of varying title and length, the *sūtra*'s contents are quite diverse, including a confession, instructions for rituals, praise poetry, a medical text, a treatise on kingship, and three *jātaka* tales. As in several other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, these heterogeneous elements are united by a pronounced emphasis on the transformative power of the text itself and on the exalted status of its preacher. In Central and East Asia, it gained particular renown as a means for protecting the state.

Recensions, Translations, and Editions

The extant Sanskrit *sūtra* is preserved primarily through the Nepalese manuscript tradition, in which the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* is revered as one of the nine dharmas (*navadharma*), a set of ritually important texts in Nepalese Buddhism. Two known manuscripts attest to a relatively early stage in this tradition: a partially preserved palm-leaf manuscript (ms. G) held at the University of Cambridge and consulted by J. Nobel (1937), and the complete 1581 CE paper manuscript (ms. J) held in the Tōyō Bunkō Oriental Library, the primary Sanskrit witness consulted by P.O. Skjærvø (2004). P.O. Skjærvø surmises that these two manuscripts likely had a common ancestor, albeit at a remove of several generations. By comparison with the hundreds of later (late 17th-early 20th cent.) Nepalese manuscripts held in various collections, these two show a closer affinity to the more than 80 Central Asian Sanskrit fragments that have thus far been identified, dating roughly from the latter half of the 1st millennium CE (Nobel, 1937, ix–xiii; Skjærvø, 2004, xxxiii–xxxvii; Yuyama, 2004). Although the chapter divisions vary somewhat among the extant Nepalese manuscripts, all represent a single recension of the *sūtra*. Some of the Central Asian fragments attest to other recensions of the text (Skjærvø, 2004, li).

Two editions of the Sanskrit were made prior to the 1937 publication of J. Nobel's authoritative edition. Of the first, by SaratChandra Das and SaratChandra Śāstrī (1898), only the first fascicle was published (1898). The second, prepared by Bunyiu Nanjio and revised and edited by Hokei Idzumi after Nanjio's death, was published in Japan in 1931. J. Nobel (1933) deemed these previous editions flawed. An edition prepared in 1967 by S. Bagchi (1967) relies in part on the Nanjio and Idzumi edition. Tsuchida Ryūtarō (1985) provides valuable notes on J. Nobel's edition. P.O. Skjærvø's edition (2004) relies on that of J. Nobel but takes into account the abovementioned manuscript (ms. J), the numerous Central Asian fragments discovered since J. Nobel's edition was prepared, and the readings preserved in the Khotanese manuscripts, as well as advances made in the understanding of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit since the time of J. Nobel. On these editions, see the remarks of Hahn (2011).

The extant premodern translations of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*, ranging from 18 to 31 chapters in length, attest to a complex history of redaction and transmission. The earliest extant recension of the text is that preserved in the 420 CE Chinese translation *Jin guangming jing* (金光明經; *Sūtra* of Golden Light; T. 663) attributed to the Central Asian monk Tanwuchen (曇無讖; Skt. *Dharmakṣema; 385–433 CE); this version lacks several passages extant in the Sanskrit, while some parallel passages differ somewhat in content or placement within the text. Certain of the Central Asian fragments agree with this translation against the Nepalese manuscript tradition (Nobel, 1937, xiii–xiv.; Skjærvø, 2004, li–lii). Despite these relatively minor differences in content, the chapter divisions of Dharmakṣema's translation agree with the extant Sanskrit text, save that a list of names of buddhas and bodhisattvas that concludes a chapter in the Chinese translation constitutes a separate chapter in the Sanskrit text.

A second canonical version of the *sūtra* in Chinese is the *Hebu Jin guangming jing* (合部金光明

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經; Collated *Sūtra* of Golden Light; T. 664), a compilation made by the monk Baogui (寶貴) in 597 CE. This version supplements the 18 chapters of Dharmakṣema's translation with excerpts from two other translations attributed to Paramārtha (眞諦; 499–569 CE) and Jñānagupta (闍那崛多; 523–600 CE), respectively. These translations no longer survive as independent canonical works, but an incomplete manuscript of Paramārtha's text has been preserved in Japan (Radich, 2014, 209). M. Radich (2014) has demonstrated that the new chapters in Paramārtha's version have sources in earlier Chinese translations of other texts, and suggests that these chapters were likely composed in China.

The longest attested recension of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* is the translation completed in 703 CE by Yijing (義淨; 635–713 CE), the *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* (金光明最勝王經; Most Victorious King of Golden Light *Sūtra*; T. 665), with 31 chapters. This version was highly influential, serving as the source text for subsequent translations into Tibetan, Sogdian, Uighur, and Tangut. The Uighur translation (*Altun Yaruk Sudur*) is perhaps the most important extant Uighur Buddhist text and has been studied quite extensively (see Radlov & Malov, 1913; Tekin, 1971; Zieme, 1996; Wilkens, 2001).

Tibetan canonical collections also contain three versions of the *sūtra*, designated Tib. I, Tib. II, and Tib. III by J. Nobel in his editions of these versions (1944; 1958). Tib. I (*'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po*; Noble Utmost Golden Light, King of Kings of *Sūtras*; D 557/P 176), containing 21 chapters, corresponds quite closely to the extant Sanskrit version, although a few passages in the Sanskrit are not present in the Tibetan and vice versa. Tib.II (also entitled *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po*, D 556/P 175), with 29 chapters, reproduces Tib. I with only minor changes in all the sections shared between the two versions. It is said to have been translated from Sanskrit by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde in the early 9th century, but M. Radich (forthcoming) has shown that some of the additional chapters may have been translated from Chinese. J. Nobel's Tib. III (*'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mchog tu rnam par rgyal ba'i mdo sde'i rgyal po theg pa chen po'i mdo*; Noble Utmost Golden Light *Mahāyāna Sūtra*, Most Victorious King of *Sūtras*; D 555/P 174) is a translation from Chinese of Yijing's 31 chapter version (*Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing*), attributed to Chos grub (9th cent.). Several sections of this version are preserved in two significantly different forms in different Tibetan editions of the canon. In addition, partial manuscripts of the *sūtra* found at Dunhuang attest to at least two other Tibetan translations, studied in depth by C. Oetke (1977, and see de Jong, 1979). Scholars have noted that certain Mongolian translations of the *sūtra*, the *Altan Gerel*, while based on the Tibetan canonical versions (as is usually the case), suggest that the translators consulted the Chinese and Uighur versions as well (Aalto, 1950; Nattier, 1987).

The extensive but fragmentary Khotanese manuscript remains appear to attest to all but the earliest recension of the text and to different translations of the same recension. These have been edited and translated by P.O. Skjærvø (2004). The form of the language varies considerably, testifying to Old, Middle, and Late Khotanese, and ranging from the 5th or 6th century through the 9th or 10th century. The oldest fragments are largely in agreement with the earliest Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts but preserve an earlier stage in the development of this recension. The Middle Khotanese versions roughly correspond to Tib.II and the compilation of Baogui, while the latest manuscripts seem to correspond with Yijing's translation (Skjærvø, 2004, lx–lxvi).

The title of the *sūtra* also varied over time. While the Khotanese and Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts attest to the title *Suvarṇabhāsottama*, the Nepalese tradition seems unanimous in preferring *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*. The presence or absence of *-pra-* would make little difference from the point of view of Sanskrit. As the title of Yijing's translation indicates, some interpreters considered the *sūtra*'s very frequent epithet for itself, *sūtrendrarāja* ("king of kings of *sūtras*") to constitute part of the title; a certain number of other *sūtras* refer to themselves in this way as well.

Scholarly translations into modern Western languages began at the early date of 1832, with the translation by I.J. Schmidt of the chapter on the three bodies of the Buddha into German. E. Burnouf included a detailed summary of the Sanskrit *sūtra* in his 1844 *Introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme indien* (Burnouf, 1844, 484–491). A number of partial translations were made, including one by V. Radlov & S. Malov (1913) from Uighur into German. J. Nobel (1958) produced a German translation of Yijing's Chinese version. R.E. Emmerick (1970; ²1990; ³1996) translated the Sanskrit into English. The Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition, a contemporary Buddhist organization rooted in Tibetan Buddhism that advocates the recitation

of the *sūtra*, has produced transla
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website (see bibliography).

Summary of Contents

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Summary of Contents

The language of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottama* is consistent with what F. Edgerton (1953) termed Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. As is the case with a number of other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, the *sūtra* is composed in a mix of verse and prose in which the prose sections conform more or less to standard Sanskrit, but with a distinctively Buddhist vocabulary, while the verse sections preserve more Middle Indic forms. Most of the verses are composed in the common *śloka* and varieties of *triṣṭubh* meter, but occasionally more elaborate meters are encountered. Perhaps because the *sūtra* incorporates material from a number of different sources, it shows considerable stylistic variation, and transitions between chapters are sometimes abrupt. That said, a number of overarching themes connect its diverse materials and suggest some of the aims that may have motivated its composition and ongoing augmentation.

The most pervasive of those themes is the nature and potency of the *sūtra* itself. The first chapter, *Nidānaparivarta* (Originating Circumstances) situates the Buddha not only in the geographical location of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa ("Vulture Peak") but also in the "dharma realm" (*dharmadhātu*), the "profound region of buddhas" (*gambhīra buddhagocara*). These two locations are subsequently identified with the *sūtra* itself. The Buddha, surrounded by a sizeable assembly, utters verses regarding the power of this "king of kings of *sūtras*" that he is about to preach: the calamities, deformities, and misfortunes that it will bring to an end, the manifold deities who will respond to its preaching by offering protection, and the ritual preparations that would-be auditors of the *sūtra* should undertake.

Chapter 2, *Tathāgatāyuḥpramāṇaparivarta* (The Lifespan of the Tathāgata), opens in the house of the bodhisattva Ruciraketu, who wonders why the Buddha's lifespan was a mere 80 years, since he has so richly fulfilled the two causes of longevity: refraining from killing living beings and giving them food. The buddhas of the four directions appear, and reveal to him that the Buddha's lifespan is, in fact, immeasurable. Then the Brahman Kauṇḍinya requests a relic (*dhātu*) of the Buddha. The remainder of the chapter, mostly in verse, reveals that there cannot be a relic aside from the dharma relic/realm (*dharmadhātu*) because the Buddha does not have a flesh-and-blood body but rather an eternal body that is identical with his teachings.

In chapter 3 (*Deśanāparivarta*, Confession), the bodhisattva Ruciraketu falls asleep and has a dream in which verses of confession issue forth from a shining golden drum. When he awakens, Ruciraketu visits the Buddha and recites the verses, which move from the confession of past evil acts, through the resolve to work for the benefit of beings, to praise of the Buddha and rejoicing for the merit earned by others. The efficacy of this "confession of Utmost Golden Light," it is said, is such that a single recitation destroys negative karma accumulated over thousands of aeons. The chapter ends with the assertion that all those "in whose ear this confession enters" have already served thousands of buddhas.

Chapter 4, *Kamalākaraparivarta* (Profusion of Lotuses), consists of verses in praise of all past, present, and future buddhas. They were originally recited, the Buddha reports to the goddess Bodhisattvasamuccayā, by a certain King Suvarṇabhujendra. The expiatory power of the *sūtra* is again asserted.

Chapter 5, *Śūnyatāparivarta* (Emptiness), entirely in verse, begins by asserting that since emptiness has been dealt with at length in other *sūtras*, the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* will deal with it concisely. The primary focus of the chapter is the emptiness of the body and the illusoriness of the self. The chapter ends with a strong rhythmic assertion of the Buddha's realization and transmission of the dharma, represented as *amṛta* (immortalizing nectar).

The sixth and longest chapter in the *sūtra*, *Caturmahārājaparivarta* (The Four Great Kings), in prose save for a series of laudatory verses near the end, consists of a series of rhythmic exchanges between the Buddha and the eponymous divine kings regarding the *sūtra* and its preaching, especially in relation to the wellbeing of the human king and his kingdom. The oral *sūtra* is characterized as *dharmāmṛtarasa* (the liquid essence of the immortalizing nectar of the dharma), which enters and transforms its listeners, above all the four great kings themselves (the so-called "world protectors" [*lokapāla*]: Vaiśramaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, and Virūpākṣa), imbuing them with virile, kingly qualities. By honoring and protecting the *sūtra*'s preachers and proponents and sponsoring the ritual oration of the *sūtra*, a human king acquires for himself and his kingdom the protection of the four great kings. The preacher is asserted to be the functional equivalent of the Buddha and receives a prediction to buddhahood by all the buddhas in the cosmos. The chapter ends when the four great kings are moved to tears by the affective force of the dharma and vow to protect the *sūtra*'s preacher.

Protecting the preacher of the *sūtra* and ensuring his eloquence remain the primary foci of the next several chapters, in which a series of deities rise from the assembly to offer their aid. In chapter 7 (*Sarasvatīparivarta*), the goddess Sarasvatī promises to bestow eloquence on the preacher of the *sūtra* and provides him with a bathing ritual and potent syllables (*dhāraṇī*) to ensure the flawlessness of his memory and the sweetness of his speech. The chapter ends with the Brahman Kauṇḍinya offering verses of praise to Sarasvatī herself. The goddess Śrī then rises from the assembly (chapter 8, *Śrīparivarta*) and offers her assistance to the preacher, as well. The chapter also includes ritual formulae and potent names to be recited by those who desire prosperity and protection. There follows the very brief chapter 9 (*Buddhabodhisattvanāmasaṃdhāranaparivarta*, Maintaining the Names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas), which in some versions of the *sūtra* is incorporated into the preceding or following chapter. The chapter asserts that those who pay homage to a specified list of buddhas and bodhisattvas will recall their previous births.

In the tenth chapter (*Dṛḍhāparivarta*), the earth goddess Dṛḍhā promises that whenever and wherever the *sūtra* is preached, she will lay her invisible body at the feet of the preacher and be satiated with the liquid essence of the immortalizing nectar of the dharma. The richness and fertility of the earth will increase as a result, and all beings who consume its fruits will glow with energy and health. They will beg the preacher to perform the *sūtra* again, and so the cycle of flourishing continues. The *yakṣa* general Saṃjñāya rises from the assembly in chapter 11 (*Saṃjñāyaparivarta*), offering further protection to the preacher and guaranteeing his eloquent performance.

Chapter 12, *Devendrasamayaṃ nāma rājaśāstraparivarta* (The Treatise on Sovereignty-Entitled "Contract for Divine Kings"), returns to the theme of sovereignty introduced in chapter 6. A king who is stepping down from the throne recites to the son who will succeed him a versified treatise on kingship, framed as King Brahma's response to a query from the four great kings regarding why a human king is called divine. The treatise explains that the quality of divinity is not inherent but granted by the gods, on the condition that the king rule in accordance with the dharma. The benefits of doing so and the considerable costs of neglecting to do so are described in detail.

Chapter 13 (*Susaṃbhavaparivarta*), a story of the Buddha's past life as King Susaṃbhava ("Auspicious Origin"), exemplifies the benefits to rulers that result from hearing the *sūtra* and honoring its preachers. King Susaṃbhava dreams that he hears the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* uttered by a preacher shining in the midst of the sun. He seeks out the preacher when he awakens, makes the appropriate ritual preparations for the preaching of the *sūtra*, and is overcome with joy and pleasure when it is preached. At the conclusion of the story, the Buddha attests to the efficacy of this experience: it was because he heard and rejoiced in the *sūtra* that he experienced human and divine kingship over multiple lifetimes and eventually gained his beautiful golden dharma body. The preacher became the buddha Akṣobhya.

The fourteenth chapter, *Yakṣāśrayo nāmarakṣāparivarta* (The Protective Text Called "Refuge of the Yakṣas"), in verse, save for a brief prose introduction, advocates hearing and reciting the *sūtra*, and offers somewhat esoteric instruction on the process and its results, including the directive to enter the realm/relic of the dharma (*dharmadhātu*), where Buddha Śākyamuni preaches this *sūtra* in the stūpa of the dharma. Throngs of deities will ensure the success and well-being of those who hear and study this *sūtra*, and the entire cosmos will flourish.

In chapter 15, *Daśadevaputrasahasravyākaraṇaparivarta* (The Prediction for Ten Thousand Godlets), the goddess Bodhisattvasamuccayā asks the Buddha why he has predicted ten thousand godlets to enlightenment, since they have not engaged in the arduous acts of self-sacrifice and lavish giving that are supposedly required of would-be bodhisattvas. The Buddha offers two reasons: first, because the godlets developed a root of merit through hearing and rejoicing in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*; and second, because of a resolve in a past life. The subsequent two chapters tell the story of that past life, which demonstrates the power of preaching. In chapter 16, *Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta* (On Curing Diseases), the Buddha tells the story of his previous birth as Jalavāhana ("Water Bearer"), son of the merchant and physician Jatindhara. At that time, in the realm of the good king Sureśvaraprabha, many people are ill. Wishing to heal them, Jalavāhana asks his father to share his medical knowledge. Jatindhara does so in a series of verses describing

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flesh-eating animals running t
ous, he follows them, and finds
the brink of death because an ev
the water source of the pond. Ja
compassion for the fish and bri
then food. He preaches to them
hear the name of the buddha
power of whose previous resol
heaven after they die. Recogni
able birth was due to the prea
the former fish shower him wit
The narrating Buddha reveals t
godlets whom he has predict
were the fish that Jalavāhana s
The well-known *jātaka* ta
recounted twice in chapter 1
first in a mixture of prose and v
in verse; the content of the tw
but not identical. The Buddh
group of monks on finding the
incarnation as the Bodhisattv
was Mahāsattva, the youngest
day, the princes are wanderin
upon a tigress who has recen
so weak and hungry that she
vation or eat her own cubs. A
situation tragic, but Mahāsatt
himself to save her. In both r
der of the story dwells in gre
and grief of Mahāsattva's par
Chapter 19, *Sarvatathāg*
Praise of All Tathāgatas), cons
the Buddha's beauty, power,
first by a throng of bodhisattv
and finally by the goddess B
The goddess concludes her
plaintive stanzas (not fully p
which she begs to see the Bu
dha rises and commends her,
the *sūtra* ends.
While the *Suvarṇabhāso*
tains a broad range of mate
central and interrelated clai
the eternal body of the Budd
it is efficacious both as a m

ition that the king rule in accor-
harma. The benefits of doing so
ble costs of neglecting to do so are
l.
usaṃbhavaparivarta), a story of
ast life as King Susaṃbhava
gin"), exemplifies the benefits to
from hearing the *sūtra* and honor-
King Susaṃbhava dreams that he
abhāsottama uttered by a preacher
idst of the sun. He seeks out the
e awakens, makes the appropriate
ns for the preaching of the *sūtra*,
with joy and pleasure when it is
conclusion of the story, the Bud-
efficacy of this experience: it was
d and rejoiced in the *sūtra* that he
an and divine kingship over mul-
d eventually gained his beautiful
ody. The preacher became the bud-

h chapter, *Yakṣāśrayo nāmārakṣā-*
otective Text Called "Refuge of the
e, save for a brief prose introduc-
earing and reciting the *sūtra*, and
esoteric instruction on the process
ncluding the directive to enter the
e dharma (*dharmadhātu*), where
uni preaches this *sūtra* in the stūpa
Throngs of deities will ensure the
-being of those who hear and study
e entire cosmos will flourish.
Daśadevaputrasahasravyākaraṇa-
Prediction for Ten Thousand God-
ss Bodhisattvasamuccayā asks the
has predicted ten thousand godlets
nt, since they have not engaged in
s of self-sacrifice and lavish giving
dly required of would-be bodhisat-
a offers two reasons: first, because
veloped a root of merit through
joicing in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*;
ause of a resolve in a past life. The
chapters tell the story of that past
onstrates the power of preaching. In
dhipraśamanaparivarta (On Curing
Buddha tells the story of his previ-
vāhana ("Water Bearer"), son of the
hysician Jatindhara. At that time, in
good king Sureśvaraprabha, many
Wishing to heal them, Jalavāhana
to share his medical knowledge.
so in a series of verses describing

the seasonal and alimentary causes and cures of illnesses. Jalavāhana then cures the diseases of the people in the land simply by proclaiming that he is a doctor, with the ability to free them from illness.

The story continues in chapter 17, *Jalavāhanasya matsyavaineyapūrvayogaparivarta* (The Story of Jalavāhana's Fish Disciples). Jalavāhana is wandering through a forest when he notices all the flesh-eating animals running toward a pond. Curious, he follows them, and finds ten thousand fish on the brink of death because an evil being has diverted the water source of the pond. Jalavāhana feels great compassion for the fish and brings them first water, then food. He preaches to them and causes them to hear the name of the buddha Ratnaśikhin, by the power of whose previous resolve they are reborn in heaven after they die. Recognizing that this favorable birth was due to the preaching of Jalavāhana, the former fish shower him with pearls and flowers. The narrating Buddha reveals that the ten thousand godlets whom he has predicted to enlightenment were the fish that Jalavāhana saved.

The well-known *jātaka* tale of the tigress is recounted twice in chapter 18 (*Vyāghrīparivarta*), first in a mixture of prose and verse, and then entirely in verse; the content of the two versions is similar, but not identical. The Buddha tells the story to a group of monks on finding the relics of his previous incarnation as the Bodhisattva. In that lifetime, he was Mahāsattva, the youngest of three princes. One day, the princes are wandering in a forest and come upon a tigress who has recently given birth. She is so weak and hungry that she will either die of starvation or eat her own cubs. All the princes find the situation tragic, but Mahāsattva decides to sacrifice himself to save her. In both renditions, the remainder of the story dwells in great detail on the horror and grief of Mahāsattva's parents and brothers.

Chapter 19, *Sarvatathāgatastavaparivarta* (In Praise of All Tathāgatas), consists of verses in praise of the Buddha's beauty, power, and eloquence, offered first by a throng of bodhisattvas, then by Ruciraketu, and finally by the goddess Bodhisattvasamuccayā. The goddess concludes her praise with a series of plaintive stanzas (not fully preserved in Sanskrit) in which she begs to see the Buddha's body. The Buddha rises and commends her, all present rejoice, and the *sūtra* ends.

While the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* obviously contains a broad range of material, it also makes a few central and interrelated claims: that the *sūtra* itself is the eternal body of the Buddha, and that preaching it is efficacious both as a means of state protection and as an alternative path to buddhahood. That efficacy is supported by the rich assortment of rituals included in the *sūtra*, which offer specific means for addressing suffering and enhancing well-being on a personal, communal, and cosmic level. The additional chapters included in the other versions of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* largely augment these themes, advancing particular theories of embodiment (as in the **trikāya* chapter) and expanding the *sūtra*'s ritual resources with the addition of several *dhāraṇī* chapters. The table on the following page containing a list of the chapters included in Yijing's Chinese version of the *sūtra* and its canonical Tibetan translation (Tib. III) provides a sense of the extent and character of that expansion (for a table comparing the contents of the Sanskrit with all the Chinese and Tibetan canonical versions, see Nobel, 1937).

While the textual history of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* suggests that it grew and changed through a gradual process of accretion, it also demonstrates that multiple versions of the *sūtra* circulated simultaneously and were deemed worthy of preservation side by side in canonical collections. Indeed, the anthologizing tendencies implied in the *sūtra*'s history and content are confirmed by a number of studies. Suzuki Takayasu (1996) has demonstrated that chapter 2 on the lifespan of the Buddha concludes with verses from the **Mahāmeghasūtra*, which is not otherwise extant in Sanskrit (see also Forte, 1976). C. Ludvik (2004; 2006) has studied a hymn in the Sarasvatī chapter of Yijing's translation of the *sūtra* that corresponds to verses in praise of a goddess from the Sanskrit *Harivaṃśa*, a very interesting example of shared material between Buddhist and other South Asian literatures. M. Radich's (2014; forthcoming) analysis of the complex relationship between the translation attributed to Paramārtha and a number of other Chinese sources points to the continued augmentation of the text in China. Hamano Tetsunori (1984; 1985) has shown that the influential chapter on the three bodies (**trikāya*) of the Buddha, which is not part of the extant Sanskrit text, but is included in all the translations except Tib. I and that of *Dharmakṣema, has parallels in the *Sku gsum la 'jug pa'i sgo* (Skt. **Kāyatrayāvatāramukha*; D 3980/P 5290). And J. Wilkens (2001) demonstrates that in the Uighur translation, the same chapter is expanded to incorporate ideas not found in the Chinese text from which it was translated, that of Yijing.

Indeed, J. Nobel (1937, xxxix–xlvii) argues that the *sūtra* was composed from the beginning through an additive process: he posits that the verses of the *Deśanāparivarta* and the *Kamalākaraparivarta*,

English Chapter Title	Yijing's translation	Tib. III
1. Introduction	*Xupin* (序品)	*Gleng gzhi'i le'u*
2. Lifespan of the Tathāgata	*Rulai shouliang pin* (如來壽量品)	*De bzhin gshegs pa sku tshe'i tshad bstan pa'i le'u*
3. Distinguishing the Three Bodies	*Fenbie sanshen pin* (分別三身品)	*Sku gsum rnam par 'byed pa'i le'u*
4. Confession from a Golden Drum Perceived in a Dream	*Mengjian jingu chanhui pin* (夢見金鼓懺悔品)	*Rmi lam na 'gyod tshangs byed pa mthong ba'i le'u*
5. Eliminating Karmic Obstructions	*Mie yezhang pin* (滅業障品)	*Las kyis sgrib pa rnam par dag pa'i sa'i gzungs kyi le'u*
6. *Dhāraṇī* of the Most Pure Land	*Zui jingdi tuoluoni pin* (最淨地陀羅尼品)	*Mchog tu rnam par dag pa'i sa'i gzungs kyi le'u*
7. A Lotus-like Eulogy	*Lianhuayu zan pin* (蓮華喻讚品)	*Padma lta bu'i dpes bsngags pa brjod pa'i le'u*
8. *Dhāraṇī* of Golden Victory	*Jin sheng tuoluoni pin* (金勝陀羅尼品)	*Gser rgyal gyi gzungs kyi le'u*
9. Explanation of the Nature of Emptiness	*Zhongxian kongxing pin* (重顯空性品)	*Stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin bstan pa'i le'u*
10. Fulfilling Vows on the Basis of Emptiness	*Yikong manyuan pin* (依空滿願品)	*Stong pa nyid la brten nas smon lam yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur ba'i le'u*
11. The Four Heavenly Kings Watch over Humans and Deities	*Si tianwang guancha rentian pin* (四天王觀察人天品)	*Rgyal po chen po bzhis lha dang mi rnams la blta zhing brtag pa'i le'u*
12. The Four Heavenly Kings Protect the Realm	*Si tianwang hu guo pin* (四天王護國品)	*Rgyal po chen po bzhi po dag gis yul srung ba'i le'u*
13. *Dhāraṇī* of Nonattachment	*Wu ranzhuo tuoluoni pin* (無染著陀羅尼品)	*Mngon par zhen pa med pa'i gzungs kyi le'u*
14. The Wish-Fulfilling Jewel	*Ruyi baozhu pin* (如意寶珠品)	*Yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'i gzungs kyi le'u*
15. The Great Goddess of Eloquence (Sarasvatī)	*Da biancai tiannü pin* (大辯才天女品)	*Lha mo spobs pa chen mo'i le'u*
16. The Great Goddess of Fortune (Śrī)	*Da jixiang tiannü pin* (大吉祥天女品)	*Dpal gyi lha mo chen mo'i le'u*
17. The Great Goddess of Fortune Increases Prosperity	*Da jixiang tiannü zengzhang caiwu pin* (大吉祥天女增長財物品)	*Dpal gyi lha mo chen mos nor 'phel bar byed pa'i le'u*
18. The Earth Goddess Dṛḍhā	*Jianlao dishen pin* (堅牢地神品)	*Sa'i lha mo brtan ma'i le'u*
19. The *Yakṣa* General Saṃjñāya	*Sengshenerye yaocha dajiang pin* (僧慎爾耶藥叉大將品)	*Gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po yang dag shes kyi le'u*
20. Treatise on How to Rule	*Wangfa zhenglun pin* (王法正論品)	*Rgyal po'i chos lugs yang dag pa'i bstan bcos bstan pa'i le'u*
21. King Auspicious Origin	*Shanshengwang pin* (善生王品)	*Rgyal po legs skyes kyi le'u*
22. The Protection of Gods and *Yakṣas*	*Zhutian yaocha huchi pin* (諸天藥叉護持品)	*Lha dang gnod sbyin rnams kyi yongs su srung zhing 'dzin par byed pa'i le'u*
23. The Predictions	*Shouji pin* (授記品)	*Lung bstan pa'i le'u*
24. Healing Illnesses	*Chubing pin* (除病品)	*Nad rab tu zhi bar byas pa'i le'u*
25. Flowing Water, the Son of the Merchant	*Zhangzhe zi liushui pin* (長者子流水品)	*Tshong dpon gyi bu chu 'bebs kyi le'u*
26. Bodily Self-sacrifice	*Sheshen pin* (捨身品)	*Lus yongs su btang ba'i le'u*

English Chapter Title
27. Praise from the Bodhisat the Ten Directions
28. Praise from the Bodhisa Ruciraketu
29. Praise from the Goddes Bodhi Tree
30. Praise from the Great G of Eloquence
31. Entrustment

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Context and Recepti

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Tib. III
Gleng gzhi'i le'u
De bzhin gshegs pa sku tshe'i tshad bstan pa'i le'u
Sku gsum rnam par 'byed pa'i le'u
Rmi lam na 'gyod tshangs byed pa mthong ba'i le'u
Las kyis sgrib pa rnam par dag pa'i sa'i gzungs kyi le'u
Mchog tu rnam par dag pa'i sa'i gzungs kyi le'u
Padma lta bu'i dpes bsngags pa brjod pa'i le'u
Gser rgyal gyi gzungs kyi le'u
Stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin bstan pa'i le'u
Stong pa nyid la brten nas smon lam yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur ba'i le'u
Rgyal po chen po bzhis lha dang mi rnams la blta zhing brtag pa'i le'u
Rgyal po chen po bzhi po dag gis yul srung ba'i le'u
Mngon par zhen pa med pa'i gzungs kyi le'u
Yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'i gzungs kyi le'u
Lha mo spobs pa chen mo'i le'u
Dpal gyi lha mo chen mo'i le'u
Dpal gyi lha mo chen mos nor 'phel bar byed pa'i le'u
Sa'i lha mo brtan ma'i le'u
Gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po yang dag shes kyi le'u
Rgyal po'i chos lugs yang dag pa'i bstan bcos bstan pa'i le'u
Rgyal po legs skyes kyi le'u
Lha dang gnod sbyin rnams kyi yongs su srung zhing 'dzin par byed pa'i le'u
Lung bstan pa'i le'u
Nad rab tu zhi bar byas pa'i le'u
Tshong dpon gyi bu chu 'bebs kyi le'u
Lus yongs su btang ba'i le'u

English Chapter Title	Yijing's translation	Tib. III
27. Praise from the Bodhisattvas in the Ten Directions	*Shifang pusa zan tan pin* (十方菩薩讚歎品)	*Phyogs bcu'i byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyis bsngags pa brjod pa'i le'u*
28. Praise from the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu	*Miaochuang pusa zan tan pin* (妙幢菩薩讚歎品)	*Byang chub sems dpa' mdzes pa'i tog gis bsngags brjod pa'i le'u*
29. Praise from the Goddess of the Bodhi Tree	*Puti shushen zan tan pin* (菩提樹神讚歎品)	*Byang chub kyi shing gi lha mos bsngags pa brjod pa'i le'u*
30. Praise from the Great Goddess of Eloquence	*Da biancai tiannü zan tan pin* (大辯才天女讚歎品)	*Lha mo spobs pa chen mos bsngags pa brjod pa'i le'u*
31. Entrustment	*Fuzhu* (付囑品)	*Yongs su btang ba'i le'u*

chapters 3 and 4 in the Sanskrit *sūtra*, constitute the original core of the *sūtra*, around which other sections, which he sees as bearing little or no relationship to one another, were later arranged. The ongoing augmentation of the *sūtra* might well indicate that its authors, compilers, and translators repeatedly seized the opportunity to make it more appealing to its changing audiences, and perhaps to further their own purposes through its appeal (Radich, 2014, 234). We should note, however, that such a process by no means necessitates that the pieces in question are unrelated; indeed, it is much more likely that they were excerpted and recontextualized with particular aims in mind. The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* may be usefully conceived as an anthology of sorts, but with the recognition that anthologies are not simply random assemblages.

Context and Reception

While little specific evidence exists outside the text itself to suggest the factors that led to its composition or the uses to which it may have been put in the South Asian context, the *sūtra*'s content and probable period of compilation (late Kushana/early Gupta; i.e. late 3rd-early 4th cents.) are suggestive. Suzuki Takayasu (2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012) has interpreted the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*'s collection of various doctrinal ideas and rituals as evidence of Buddhist attempts to assert the viability of Mahāyāna teachings in a context increasingly dominated by Brahmanism. C. Haskett (2010) situates the *Deśanāparivarta* in the context of Indian Buddhist confession practices more broadly.

The centrality of kingship and state protection as themes in the *sūtra* implies that the work was intended for a courtly audience; so, too, might the text's claim to possess a *rasa* (liquid essence/aesthetic flavor) that confers sovereign qualities on listeners (Gummer, 2012b). J. Nobel (1937, xxxviii–xlvii) hypothesizes that the recurring name of Ruciraketu may reference a specific ruler and even constructs a royal genealogy based on the names given in the *sūtra* to the father and sons of this bodhisattva/king, although as C. Ludvik notes (2007, 153), the names used in the *sūtra* are not likely those of any historical personage, if indeed such a royal patron existed.

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama*'s sustained focus on its preacher and his eloquence – a focus it shares with other Mahāyāna *sūtras* like the *Lotus Sūtra* – suggests that the *sūtra* was intended for oral performance, as do some of the rhetorical techniques employed in the text (Gummer, 2000; 2012a). The *sūtra* also shares with the *Lotus Sūtra* the assertion that the lifespan of the Buddha is immeasurable and his body imperishable. The identification of the *sūtra* as the eternal body of the Buddha and the assertion of the preacher's Buddha-like status indicate that one function of such a performance is to make the Buddha present. N. Gummer (2014) argues that in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and related *sūtras*, rituals of recitation substitute for the self-sacrifice of the bodhisattva (itself a substitute for animal sacrifice), offering a bloodless path to buddhahood through the aesthetic consumption of the dharma body.

Various aspects of the *sūtra* have led some scholars to view the text as having esoteric or proto-tantric elements. J. Huntington (1987) has identified the miraculous transformation of Ruciraketu's house when the buddhas of the four directions appear in chapter 2 as an early description of the *maṇḍala* of Mahāvairocana. This argument, coupled with the prominence of the kingship theme in the *sūtra*, is cited by G. Samuel (2008) as evidence for the origins of Tantra. M. Walter (1979) views the text's representation of its own *rasa* as a precursor to later Indo-Tibetan *rasāyana* (alchemical) systems, and Hino Eun (2010) argues for the distinctively esoteric features of the *sūtra*'s rituals and for the role of the *dharmabhāṇaka* (preacher) as ritual specialist.

No commentaries on the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* are known to have been composed in South Asian languages, but the *Deśanāparivarta* is cited at some length in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall, 1897–1902, 160.12–164.7; 216.6–219.9).

The translation of the *sūtra* and its incorporation of material from diverse sources have invited comparative study, illuminating the processes of transmission through which the text came to address new audiences and purposes. In addition to the textual studies mentioned above, several works investigate the translation of specific chapters. R. Hisamitsu (1983) conducts a close comparison of the Sanskrit and the three Chinese versions of the *Tathāgatāyuḥpramāṇaparivarta*. J. Nobel (1951a) examines the bathing ritual in the Sarasvatī chapter comparatively, as do D. Maue and O. Seitkaya (1986; 1991). C. Ludvik's (2007) study of Sarasvatī's transmission from South Asia to East Asia contains extended consideration of the *Sarasvatīparivarta*, including the bathing ritual. The *Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta* has been studied for its illumination of both early Indian medical practices (Nobel, 1951b) and their reception and influence in China (Salguero, 2013; 2014).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama*'s perceived ritual efficacy and emphasis on state protection shaped its reception and use in contexts beyond South Asia. In a number of different polities in China, the *sūtra* played a central role in ceremonies for the protection of the state and the legitimation of its rulers, and was frequently paired with the apocryphal *Renwang jing* (仁王經; *Sūtra* for Humane Kings; T. 245) to serve these ends (Li, 2009, 241–243; Hureau, 2009, 1232–1235; Lewis, 1990, 209–210; Orzech, 1998, 116–117). The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* was also frequently copied and recited as a means of making merit and ensuring protection and prosperity, and inspired the composition of miracle tales recounting its agency and efficacy in the lives of devotees (Lagerwey, 2009, 34; Hou, 2009, 1156–1160; Stevenson, 1995, 427).

Several works focused on the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* – both commentaries and ritual manuals – are ascribed to the Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597 CE), some in collaboration with his disciple Guanding (灌頂; 561–632 CE), including the *Jin guangming jing xuanyi* (金光明經玄義; Profound Meaning of the *Sūtra* of Golden Light; T. 1783) and the *Jin guangming jing wenju* (金光明經文句; Exegesis of the *Sūtra* of Golden Light; T. 1785). Other commentaries are the *Jin guangming jing shu* (金光明經疏; Commentary on the *Sūtra* of Golden Light; T. 1787) attributed to Jizang (吉藏; 549–623 CE) and the *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing shu* (金光明最勝王經疏; Commentary on the Most Victorious King of Golden Light *Sūtra* T. 1788) attributed to Huizhao (慧沼; 648–714 CE). Fragments of a commentary ascribed to Paramārtha are quoted in other texts (see Radich, 2015). Particularly influential in Buddhist practice was Zhiyi's *Jin guangming chanfa* (金光明懺法; Rite for the Golden-Light Repentance) and his development (on the basis of the story of Jalavāhana) of a formal ceremony for releasing animals (*fangsheng hui*; 放生會), especially fish into ponds built for that purpose, and preaching to them (Stevenson, 1986; 1999; records of the rites are preserved in the *Guoqing bailu* [國清百錄; Record of One Hundred Items Regarding Guoqing [Monastery]; T. 1934 XLVI 796a, 801c, 822b–823a]). New versions of these popular rites were produced and promulgated by Song dynasty Tiantai revivalists Zunshi (遵式; 964–1032) and Zhili (知禮; 960–1028), including the *Jin guangming chanfa buzhu yi* (金光明懺法補助儀; Emended Rite for the Golden-Light Repentance; T. 1945), the *Jin guangming zuishengwang chanyi* (金光明最勝懺儀; Ceremony of the Most Victorious King of Golden Light Repentance; T. 1946), the *Fangsheng ciji famen* (放生慈濟法門; Teaching on Compassionate Deliverance through the Release of Living Creatures) in Zunshi's *Jinyuan ji* (金園集; Golden Garden Collection; ZZ 950 [57] 8a), and the *Fangsheng wen* (放生文; Tract on Releasing Living Creatures) in the *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu* (四明尊者教行錄; Record of the Teachings and Career of the Sage Siming; T. 1937 [XLIV] 863a-864a; see Stevenson, 1999). Zhili also composed subcommentaries on Zhiyi's commentaries on the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*: the *Jin guangming jing xuanyi shiyiji* (金光明經玄義拾遺記; A Record of Gleanings from the "Profound Meaning of the *Sūtra* of Golden Light"; T. 1784), and the *Jin guangming jing wenjuji* (金光明經文句記; Notes on the "Exegesis of the *Sūtra* of Golden Light"; T. 1786).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* played a central role in early Japanese state-centered Buddhism and

its founding legends, in partic
Shōtoku (聖徳太子; see Com
140). The network of national
lished by Nara rulers was expli
the *sūtra* and its power to pro
1999, 238–239; Sango, 2015; d
Suvarṇabhāsottama (Jpn. *Kon*
with the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Ren*
ous others, figured prominentl
protection and thus also in stat
ments for monastic ordination
At least two state-sponsored
blies – the Misaie (御斉会)
講) – consisted of lecture and
sūtra and its normative interp
2012; 2015). Partly on the basis
pretation of the *Suvarṇabhās*
Sūtra, the priest Kūkai (空海;
fully argued for the need to est
terparts to these exoteric rite
mishuhō (御修法), an elaborat
took the power of the *Suvarṇa*
mary focus, remained central
of imperial power for several
(Abé, 1999).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* 's
resulted in its classification as
rather than a *sūtra* (Tib. *mdo*
the Tibetan canon, a distincti
instance, with the well-known
not indicate, however, that the
thing distinctively tantric abou
cited in Tibetan scholastic deb
of the Buddha (Makransky, 19
does not seem to have played
In Mongolia, by contrast, the
particular prominence, in no
its lavish promises of protectio
kingdoms. It was widely distri
in the 16th century. The *Suv*
its abridgements are worship
ties and physical embodimen
sūtra is also thought to posse
and is used in rituals to ensure
and prosperity of sheep and g
beings (Wallace, 2010; Bira, 20

The *sūtra* has prompted a
Central Asia to China and Japa
from Bezeklik, Turfan, dated
depicts the central vision of the
beating of a drum from which
symbolizing the Buddha's tea

Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (智顗;
e in collaboration with his disci-
頂; 561–632 CE), including the *Jin*
cuanyi (金光明經玄義; Profound
ūtra of Golden Light; T. 1783) and
g jing wenju (金光明經文句; Exe-
of Golden Light; T. 1785). Other
the *Jin guangming jing shu* (金光
ary on the *Sūtra* of Golden Light;
to Jizang (吉藏; 549–623 CE) and
g zuisheng wang jing shu (金光明
mentary on the Most Victorious
ight *Sūtra* T. 1788) attributed to
48–714 CE). Fragments of a com-
to Paramārtha are quoted in other
2015). Particularly influential in
was Zhiyi's *Jin guangming chanfa*
for the Golden-Light Repentance)
ent (on the basis of the story of
rmal ceremony for releasing ani-
hui; 放生會), especially fish into
t purpose, and preaching to them
1999; records of the rites are pre-
ing bailu [國清百錄; Record of One
garding Guoqing [Monastery]; T.
801c, 822b–823a]). New versions
ites were produced and promul-
asty Tiantai revivalists Zunshi (遵
Zhili (知禮; 960–1028), including
chanfa buzhu yi (金光明懺法補助
for the Golden-Light Repentance;
uangming zuishengwang chanyi
Ceremony of the Most Victori-
n Light Repentance; T. 1946), the
nen (放生慈濟法門; Teaching on
eliverance through the Release
s) in Zunshi's *Jinyuan ji* (金園集;
ollection; ZZ 950 [57] 8a), and the
文生文; Tract on Releasing Living
Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu (四明尊
of the Teachings and Career of the
37 [XLIV] 863a-864a; see Steven-
o composed subcommentaries on
ries on the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*:
jing xuanyi shiyiji (金光明經玄義
of Gleanings from the "Profound
tra of Golden Light"; T. 1784), and
g jing wenjuji (金光明經文句記;
esis of the *Sūtra* of Golden Light";

āsottama played a central role
e state-centered Buddhism and

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its founding legends, in particular that of Prince Shōtoku (聖徳太子; see Como, 2008, 19–20, 137, 140). The network of national monasteries established by Nara rulers was explicitly identified with the *sūtra* and its power to protect the state (Abé, 1999, 238–239; Sango, 2015; de Visser, 1935). The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (Jpn. *Konkōmyōkyō*) together with the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Renwang jing*, and various others, figured prominently in rituals for state protection and thus also in state-controlled requirements for monastic ordination and advancement. At least two state-sponsored annual ritual assemblies – the Misaie (御斉会) and Saishōkō (最勝講) – consisted of lecture and debate related to the *sūtra* and its normative interpretation (Sango, 2011; 2012; 2015). Partly on the basis of his esoteric interpretation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and the *Lotus Sūtra*, the priest Kūkai (空海; 774–835 CE) successfully argued for the need to establish esoteric counterparts to these exoteric rites. One of these, the *mishuhō* (御修法), an elaborate esoteric ritual that took the power of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* as its primary focus, remained central to the establishment of imperial power for several centuries thereafter (Abé, 1999).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* 's ritual emphases have resulted in its classification as a *tantra* (Tib. *rgyud*) rather than a *sūtra* (Tib. *mdo*) in some editions of the Tibetan canon, a distinction that it shares, for instance, with the well-known *Heart Sūtra*. This does not indicate, however, that there is necessarily anything distinctively tantric about the text. The *sūtra* is cited in Tibetan scholastic debates about the bodies of the Buddha (Makransky, 1997, 308–312, 350) but does not seem to have played a role in state ritual. In Mongolia, by contrast, the *sūtra* holds a place of particular prominence, in no small part because of its lavish promises of protection for rulers and their kingdoms. It was widely distributed by Altan Khan in the 16th century. The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and its abridgements are worshipped as tutelary deities and physical embodiments of the Buddha. The *sūtra* is also thought to possess healing properties, and is used in rituals to ensure or restore the health and prosperity of sheep and goats as well as human beings (Wallace, 2010; Bira, 2001).

The *sūtra* has prompted artistic creation, from Central Asia to China and Japan. A wonderful mural from Bezeklik, Turfan, dated to the 11th century, depicts the central vision of the *sūtra*, the Brahman's beating of a drum from which colored rays radiate, symbolizing the Buddha's teachings (see *Expedition Silk Road*, 2014, 152, pl. 66). Ten visual renderings of the *sūtra* have been identified among the murals at Dunhuang (敦煌; see the *Dunhuang shiku neirong zonglu*, 1996), depicting the preaching Buddha surrounded by his assembly of interlocutors; borders often feature episodes from the story of the tigress or Jalavāhana rescuing the fish. Among the most striking works of art are renderings of the text itself. Passages from the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* and related *sūtras* carved in stone in the cave temples at Wofoyuan (臥佛院) in Sichuan province were objects of devotion in their own right, following a visual and doctrinal program of considerable complexity (Lee, 2009). At Hiraizumi (葛巻町) in Japan, the 31-chapter version of the *sūtra* was commissioned by Fujiwara no Hidehira (藤原秀衡) in the late 12th century as he prepared for war, inviting the protection of the *sūtra* and its four great kings. Transcribed in gold on deep blue, its characters are arranged to form ten pagodas, each surrounded by a lush illuminated landscape and images of deities and devotees (Yiengpruksawan, 1998, 165–177; see also Eubanks, 2011).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama* has also attracted interest among contemporary Buddhist communities. Sangharakshita (also known as D. Lingwood), founder of the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, has written about the *sūtra* and its relevance for contemporary practitioners (Sangharakshita, 1996). As noted above, the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition, a contemporary global Buddhist organization, accords the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* a central place in practice and makes available translations for recitation and study. The organization's website keeps a tally of recitations worldwide and catalogues the experiences that practitioners have reported through their engagement with the *sūtra*. The *Suvarṇabhāsottama*'s role in state protection has continued and broadened, as well. One of the foundation's leaders, Lama Zopa Rinpoche (2004), advocates its recitation for the peace and prosperity not only of the nation but also of the world, and he wrote an open letter to then-U.S. President George W. Bush advocating the recitation of the *sūtra* as a means of bringing terrorism to an end (Zopa, 2002). In 2014, Lama Zopa allowed his oral transmission (*lung*) of the *sūtra* to be recorded so that practitioners could receive the transmission via streaming audio or video, apparently the first such transmission sanctioned by a Buddhist teacher (see the website of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition).

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NATALIE GUMMER

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NATALIE GUMMER

Tathāgatagarbha Sūtras

There is no traditional rubric of *tathāgatagarbha* scriptures, though modern scholars (e.g. Takasaki, 1974) have treated several scriptures as belonging to a thematic class, namely the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*, the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, the *Mahāmeghasūtra*, the **Mahābherīhārakasūtra*, and the Mahāyāna *Aṅgulimālīya* (or *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*). This classification is based in the first instance on the use of these and related works as proof texts in the Indian treatise *Ratnagotravibhāga* (*Mahāyānottaratantra*). The category is thus in some sense conceptually coherent even in an Indian context. Moreover, many of these texts take on a very significant role in East Asia where, again, they are often appealed to in various groupings.

The notion of *tathāgatagarbha* (embryo of the tathāgatas), a Mahāyāna innovation, signifies the presence in every sentient being of the innate capacity for buddhahood. Although different traditions interpret it variously, the basic idea is either that all beings are already awakened, but simply do not recognize it, or that all beings possess the capacity, and for some the certainty, of attaining buddhahood, but adventitious defilements (*āgantukakleśa*) for the moment prevent the realization of this potential.

The grouping considered here is confined to works thought to be early (prior to c. 400 CE), and of Indic provenance, thus excluding such texts as the *Wushangyi jing* (無上依經; T. 669), a text almost certainly compiled in China (Takasaki, 1966, 49–53). Also left aside is a small group of texts with possible *tathāgatagarbha* coloring, but less central to the tradition, namely the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*, the *Ratnadārikāsūtra*, the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā*, the *Gaganagañjabodhisattvaparipṛcchā*, and the *Ratnacūḍasūtra*. Other works that are connected with the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine include the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the **Tathāgatotpattisaṃbhavanirdeśa* (originally an independent work which eventually was incorporated into the **Buddhāvataṃsaka* collection).

Tathāgatagarbhasūtra

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (Scripture on the Embryo of the Tathāgatas) is a relatively short text, extant in four versions – two Chinese and two Tibetan:

1. the *Dafangdeng rulaizang jing* (大方等如來藏經; T. 666), ascribed to Buddhabhadra (佛陀跋陀羅; 359–429 CE);
2. the *Dafangguang rulaizang jing* (大方廣如來藏經; T. 667), ascribed to Amoghavajra (不空; 705–774 CE);
3. the *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo* (D 258/Q 924); and
4. a second Tibetan translation, *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, known so far only from the Bathang Kanjur kept in the Newark Museum (Zimmermann, 2002).

Two other Chinese translations that may have existed are no longer extant (Zimmermann, 2002, 69–75). Portions of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* are cited in the above-mentioned *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the only known Sanskrit text to preserve such citations, and several key formulations in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* clearly derive from the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*. In particular, the nine similes at the core of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* comprise the skeleton of portions of both the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and its commentary, the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* (see below).

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* has been translated into English, with extensive annotations, by M. Zimmermann (2002) and earlier (from Chinese) by W. Grosnick (1995). Important studies include those by Takasaki Jikidō (1974, 40–68), Matsumoto Shirō (1994, 411–543), and Nakamura Zuiryū (1963).

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* has long been regarded as the first scripture to propound the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine. However, it is striking that the actual term "*tathāgatagarbha*" is not central to the text but rather appears only in introductory sections, which M. Zimmermann argues were later additions (2002, 29–32, 39–40). Instead (or in addition), the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* refers to the hidden potential for buddhahood by means of a wide variety of terms, most prominent among which

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are **tathāgatatva*, **buddhatva*, **tathāgatakāya* (and other terms denoting special Buddha bodies, in contrast to the ordinary bodies borne by unawakened sentient beings), and terms denoting types of *jñāna* (Zimmermann, 2002, 50–62).

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* opens in Rājagṛha (present-day Rajgir) and describes a miraculous display by the Buddha of a myriad tathāgatas seated in the calyx of each of a copious array of gigantic lotuses floating in the sky, which then blacken and rot away. The body of the scripture follows, giving nine similes for the hidden potential of sentient beings to attain liberation. According to the similes, this hidden potential resembles the following:

1. brightly shining tathāgatas sitting inside withered, rotting lotus flowers;
2. honey inside a hive fiercely guarded by bees;
3. the kernel of a cereal grain, encased in the husk;
4. a gold nugget in a pile of excrement;
5. a hidden treasure buried beneath the house of a poor person;
6. the sprout inside a seed;
7. a statuary image of a tathāgata wrapped in rotten rags and dropped by the wayside in a dangerous wasteland;
8. the embryo of a *cakravartin* (universal monarch) carried in the womb of an unsuspecting and destitute mother; and
9. golden figures within the grubby clay molds that are used to cast them, before the mold is broken.

The *sūtra* closes by describing the merit that accrues to one who propagates the text and deprecates the comparative value of the veneration of the buddhas. As an illustration of the power of the text, there follows a story of a past buddha, Sadāpramutkaraśmi, who always emitted a great and wondrous light from his body; he preached the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* at the request of the bodhisattva *Anantaraśmi, and countless bodhisattvas attained supreme and perfect awakening as a result. The Buddha's disciple Ānanda then asks from how many buddhas one must hear the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, in order to become perfected (*niryāta*) and is told that it varies from a hundred buddhas to a myriad. Brief sections then praise one who holds the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* in his or her hands, and onlookers delight and rejoice.

Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta

The *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* (Scripture on the Absence of Increase or Decrease [in the Extent of the Sphere of Beings]) is preserved only in a single Chinese version, the *Bu zeng bu jian jing* (不增不減經; T. 668), translated by Bodhiruci (菩提流支; ?–527 CE), though portions are cited in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, showing that the text was already in existence by circa 400 CE. The *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* is also cited in the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa* (see below), the date of which is unknown. The relative chronological relation among the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* remains unclear. (For an annotated English translation, see Silk, 2014; important studies are Takasaki, 1965; 1974, 69–96; see also Srisetthaworakul, 2010; Tsai, 2004; Wakiya, 2005; Watanabe, 1984.)

The *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* may be divided into two main parts, with the second, the main body of the text, giving the impression of being quite shastric – doctrinally complex and even somewhat abstruse. The first part of the text discusses a range of "false views" (*dṛṣṭi*), which are, however, difficult to identify or interpret with precision. These false views are, in various ways, said to prevent insight into the correct nature of truth and reality, the topic of the second part.

In accordance with the title of the text, the main burden of the correct view presented in the second part is that there is "neither decrease nor increase" in the "realm (or domain, or element) of (sentient) beings" (*sattvadhātu*; T. 668 [XVI] 467a2–7), which means that the overall number of sentient beings does not increase or decrease, despite all the vicissitudes of transmigration, and despite the fact that some beings may attain liberation or buddhahood. This is because there is in fact only one realm or element (**ekadhātu*), which is identical in both the deluded realm of ordinary sentient beings in saṃsāra and in the liberated state of the buddhas. This leads to a series of other equivalences: *sattvadhātu* is *paramārtha* (ultimate truth); *sattvadhātu* is *tathāgatagarbha; tathāgatagarbha* is *dharmakāya* (the transcendent body); *sattvadhātu* is *dharmakāya*. This bivalent single essence that runs through all things and states of being, both suffering and liberated, is also aligned with the notion of the "originally pure mind" (**prakṛtipariśuddhacitta*, **prakṛtiprabhāsvara*). It is also said to be precisely the *dharmakāya* that, "carried by the flood of saṃsāra," comes and goes through the rounds of birth and death; the feature that distinguishes this state of the *dharmakāya* from its fully realized state in the buddhas is that it is "hidden within a sheath of countless defilements."

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Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra

The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* (Scripture on the Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā) survives in two Chinese versions: the *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing* (勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經; T. 353), translated by Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅; 394–468 CE), the *Shengman furen hui* (勝鬘夫人會) in the *Ratnakūṭa* (大寶積經; T. 310[48]), translated by Bodhiruci (菩提流志; ?–727 CE), and in a Tibetan version, the *Lha mo dpal phreng gi seng ge'i sgra* (D 92/Q 760[48]), translated by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde (9th cent.). The *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* is cited in Sanskrit in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (see Ogawa, 2001), and the Schøyen collection includes Sanskrit manuscript fragments of the text dating to the 5th century CE (Matsuda, 2000; Sander, 2000, 293).

Tsukinowa Kenryū (1940) published an edition of both Chinese versions and the Tibetan translation (with Japanese translation, not containing the Sanskrit materials, which were unknown in his day). English translations are found in A. and H. Wayman (1974), G.C.C. Chang (1983, 363–383), and D. Paul (2004). Key studies are those by Kagawa Takao (1957), Watanabe Shōkō (1968), Tsurumi Ryōdō (1974), Takasaki Jikidō (1974, 97–126), and Matsumoto Shirō (1983). Takasaki Jikidō places the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* after the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* and the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*.

In the frame narrative of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*, young Queen Śrīmālā receives a miraculous visitation from the Buddha, who prophesies that she will attain unexcelled perfect awakening (*anuttarasaṃyaksaṃbodhi*) and preside over her own Buddha land (a perfect heavenlike world created by the power of a Buddha to provide a perfect environment for sentient beings to attain liberation). Śrīmālā makes ten vows to practice various perfections. On the basis of those vows she performs an act of truth, in which the very truth of her words causes physical manifestations in the visible world, and this causes several miracles (flowers from the sky, heavenly sounds, etc.). Śrīmālā expresses three times the aspiration to teach the dharma in numerous lifetimes. The Buddha bestows on her the eloquence to teach, and she preaches the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*. The Buddha approves and levitates back to Śrāvastī (present-day Saheth-Maheth). Śrīmālā returns to Ayodhyā and converts the entire populace.

The doctrinal burden of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* centers on several main themes. Accepting and safeguarding the true doctrine (*saddharma*; typically the doctrine of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* itself, but also that of the Mahāyāna) are of unsurpassed benefit and identical to the six perfections, and all alike aim to promote acceptance of the doctrine of this text by sentient beings. One should renounce even the "body" (life and limb) for the sake of promoting the text, and as a result attain the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha (comp. the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* below). The achievements of the arhat and the pratyekabuddha of the "Hīnayāna" are paltry in comparison to those of the Mahāyāna, and the text subsumes those other vehicles into the Mahāyāna (it advocates *ekayāna*, "one vehicle"). Among other things, Mahāyāna is distinguished by the type of nirvāṇa particular to it, which is a docetic illusion for the benefit of sentient beings as *upāya* (a skillful expedient used by the Buddha to edify sentient beings) and an "inconceivable metamorphosis" (**acintyapariṇāmikī* [*cyuti*]; T. 353 [XII] 219c20–220a2).

Like the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* contains an idiosyncratic, technical, shastric doctrinal exposition. The two types of nirvāṇa and death differ because of a subtle level of defilement. Arhats and pratyekabuddhas overcome only **paryutthānakleśa* (active defilements; see Tsukinowa, 1940, 85 n1) but not the deeper *āvāsakleśas* (defilements as habitation; *zhudifannao* [住地煩惱]), which produce all active defilements. The most fundamental type of defilement is *avidyāvāsabhūmi* (ignorance as the [fundamental] ground of habitation), which exists from time immemorial and is dissociated from thought (**cittaviprayukta*). Only the tathāgatas can destroy this defilement. Because of this, arhats, pratyekabuddhas, and "bodhisattvas who have attained mastery" engender three kinds of "body made of mind" and do not entirely escape saṃsāra; thus, true liberation is possible only for full-fledged tathāgatas and more generally, for adherents of the Mahāyāna.

The *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine is the domain of the tathāgatas alone; for common people, it is an object of faith. It is the equivalent of the *dharmakāya*, but whereas *tathāgatagarbha* is enclosed in the defilements, *dharmakāya* is free of them. The *dharmakāya* is originally pure (*prakṛtipariśuddha*), unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), unborn (*ajāta*), unarisen (*anutpanna*), eternal (*nitya*), changeless (*dhruva*), and permanent (*śāśvata*), and it is characterized by eternity, bliss, (true) self, and purity (*nitya, sukha, ātman,* and *śuddha*). The mind is also intrinsically pure (**prakṛtipariśuddhacitta*, **prakṛtiprabhāsvaracitta*) but obscured by adventitious defilements (*āgantukakleśa*).

Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra

The (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (The Great Scripture of the Great, Perfect Nirvāṇa) must be distinguished from the almost identically entitled "mainstream" *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Pal. *Mahāparinibbānasutta*). Study of Sanskrit fragments shows that the correct title of the text is *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (Habata, 2007, xliii–xliv), although it is obvious that the authors of this text were fully aware of the earlier scripture of (almost) the same title and purposely referred to it.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* survives in four main independent versions:

1. 35 identified Central Asian Sanskrit fragments (Habata, 2007, xxvi, xxxi);
2. the *Dabannihuan jing* (大般泥洹經; T. 376), translated circa 416–418 CE by Buddhabhadra and Faxian (法顯; 320?–420? CE);
3. the *Dabanniepan jing* (大般涅槃經; T. 374), translated circa 421–432 CE by *Dharmakṣema (曇無讖; 385–433 CE); and
4. the *Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i theg pa chen po'i mdo* (D 120/Q 788), translated by Jinamitra, Jñānagarbha, and Devacandra (9th cent. CE).

Dharmakṣema's version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is four times as long as all the other independent versions.

Two additional versions are based in turn on Dharmakṣema's *Dabanniepan jing*. The *Dabanniepan jing* (大般涅槃經 T. 375), by Zhiyan 慧嚴 *et al.*, is not an independent translation at all but a revision of Dharmakṣema's text. D 119/Q 787 is a Tibetan translation from Dharmakṣema's Chinese version.

H. Habata (2007) has collected, edited, and studied the Sanskrit fragments, and critically edited the Tibetan translation (2013); a second volume of Sanskrit fragments is forthcoming. The first English translation by K. Yamamoto (1973–1975) – rough, sometimes incomprehensible, and often inaccurate – is presented as a translation of Dharmakṣema's text (T. 374), but it was actually produced from Shimaji's *Kokuyaku issaikyō* translation of T. 375, itself a mere recasting of the Chinese text in Japanese grammatical order (see Yuyama, 1981, 14). Shimoda Masahiro (1993) has published a Japanese translation of the first three chapters of the Tibetan text. M. Blum (2013) has published the first volume of a planned four-volume translation of Dharmakṣema's *Dabanniepan jing* (T. 374). S. Hodge is preparing an English translation based on all four independent versions, while M. Radich (2015) has prepared a monograph on the relative dating of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and aspects of its *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine.

The most significant study of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* to date is by Shimoda (1997). Other significant scholarship includes works by Mochizuki Ryōkō (1988) and Qu Dacheng (1994). S. Karashima (2007) studied the key term *icchantika*. The main English-language studies are by M.-W. Liu (1982; 1984), Takasaki Jikidō (1971), and S. Hodge (2010; 2012). The history of interpretation of this text in China and East Asia generally is a vital and crucial chapter in the history of East Asian Buddhism, which requires its own treatment. Numerous commentaries were written and debates conducted about this scripture; particularly important in this regard is the *Dabanniepan jing ji jie* (大般涅槃經集解; T. 1763), compiled in 509 CE by Baoliang (寶亮; see also Fuse, 1942).

As in the latter parts of the mainstream *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, on which it is based, the *mise-en-scène* is the final hours of the Buddha's (apparent) life, as a last chance to ask questions. A vast cosmic congregation assembles, bewailing the Buddha's imminent death. After much competition for the honor, the Buddha deigns to accept the offering of the smith Cunda as his final meal. Against the mainstream text, the disciple Ānanda is depicted as entirely absent (he only reappears at the very end of the text, and then only in Dharmakṣema's version), and against his traditional role as the best keeper of the Buddha's teaching, the text stresses that Ānanda is in fact unworthy to be entrusted with safeguarding the dharma. Instead, the dharma is entrusted to the bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa. Remarkably, the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (with the exception of the Dharmakṣema version) ends with the Buddha lying down upon his right side in the "lion's pose" as if to die, but stops short of his actual *parinirvāṇa*, his cremation, the division of relics, and so forth.

The central claim of the first part of the text is that the Buddha's impending *parinirvāṇa* is only a docetic show. In fact, in this text, his life is inordinately long, and his body (termed both *dharmakāya* and *abhedavajrakāya* [indivisible adamantine body]) is indestructible and made of adamant (Radich, 2011a). The second part of the text (excluding portions unique to the version of Dharmakṣema), which probably belongs to a different stratum of compositional history (Shimoda, 1997), concerns itself with a somewhat miscellaneous sequence of topics, including the following:

- the docetic reinterpretation
existence of the Buddha, both befo
of buddhahood (when he is a bodh
- a secret teaching centering on
- creative reinterpretations of
four fruits of the monastic voca
[stream enterer], *sakṛdāgāmin*
anāgāmin [nonreturner], and arh
- how best to observe the mon
- doctrines of the end-time
(times in which the true dharma
world, attended by various calami
false monks, and false teachings;
- the "four inversions," by whi
classical Buddhist doctrine, whic
sibility of such things – the Tathā
(*nitya*), blissful (*sukha*), (true) self
(*śuddha*; comp. the *Śrīmālādevīs*
- the magical virtues of Sansk
- various parables about
tathāgatagarbha/buddha natur
parinirvāṇa.

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇamah*
garbha is also frequently refer
nature" (this is by now the
translation of Chinese *foxing*
Masahiro (1997) contends tha
synonym for *tathāgatagarbha*
to supersede worship of phys
(*buddhadhātu*) by the realizatio
buddhahood within the sentient
underlying Chinese *foxing* (i.e
gyi khams) is thought also to
exploiting an alternate sense
"element" or "raw material."
the word *dhātu*, the focus
shifted from the remnant of
dhahood in the external world
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The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahā*
ing extra parts found in the D
tion) can be divided into two
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g of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*
its *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine.
significant study of the *Mahā-*
ahāsūtra to date is by Shimoda (1997).
ant scholarship includes works by
ōkō (1988) and Qu Dacheng (1994).
2007) studied the key term *icchantika*.
glish-language studies are by M.-W.
), Takasaki Jikidō (1971), and S. Hodge
e history of interpretation of this text
East Asia generally is a vital and cru-
the history of East Asian Buddhism,
s its own treatment. Numerous com-
re written and debates conducted
pture; particularly important in this
abanniepan jing ji jie (大般涅槃經集
mpiled in 509 CE by Baoliang (寶亮;
942).

latter parts of the mainstream
ṇasūtra, on which it is based, the
is the final hours of the Buddha's
, as a last chance to ask questions. A
ngregation assembles, bewailing the
inent death. After much competi-
ior, the Buddha deigns to accept the
mith Cunda as his final meal. Against
n text, the disciple Ānanda is depicted
ent (he only reappears at the very
, and then only in Dharmakṣema's
gainst his traditional role as the best
Buddha's teaching, the text stresses
s in fact unworthy to be entrusted
ing the dharma. Instead, the dharma
o the bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa.
e *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (with
of the Dharmakṣema version) ends
a lying down upon his right side in
" as if to die, but stops short of his
ṇa, his cremation, the division of rel-
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claim of the first part of the text is
a's impending *parinirvāṇa* is only a
n fact, in this text, his life is inordi-
his body (termed both *dharmakāya*
jrakāya [indivisible adamantine
structible and made of adamant
The second part of the text (exclud-
que to the version of Dharmakṣema),
belongs to a different stratum of
history (Shimoda, 1997), concerns
newhat miscellaneous sequence of
g the following:

- the docetic reinterpretation of the worldly existence of the Buddha, both before his attainment of buddhahood (when he is a bodhisattva) and after;
- a secret teaching centering on *tathāgatagarbha*;
- creative reinterpretations of liberation and the four fruits of the monastic vocation (*śrotāpanna* [stream enterer], *sakṛdāgāmin* [once-returner], *anāgāmin* [nonreturner], and arhat);
- how best to observe the monastic rule (*vinaya*);
- doctrines of the end-times of the dharma (times in which the true dharma will fade from the world, attended by various calamities; Nattier, 1991), false monks, and false teachings;
- the "four inversions," by which – in contrast to classical Buddhist doctrine, which denies the possibility of such things – the Tathāgata is permanent (*nitya*), blissful (*sukha*), (true) self (*ātman*), and pure (*śuddha*; comp. the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*);
- the magical virtues of Sanskrit letters; and
- various parables about the realization of *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature and the docetic *parinirvāṇa*.

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra, tathāgatagarbha* is also frequently referred to as "buddha nature" (this is by now the standard English translation of Chinese *foxing* [佛性]). Shimoda Masahiro (1997) contends that the use of this synonym for *tathāgatagarbha* buttresses efforts to supersede worship of physical Buddha relics (*buddhadhātu*) by the realization of an element of buddhahood within the sentient being. The Sanskrit underlying Chinese *foxing* (i.e. Tib. *sangs rgyas gyi khams*) is thought also to be **buddhadhātu*, exploiting an alternate sense of *dhātu* to mean "element" or "raw material." Thus, by a play on the word *dhātu*, the focus of cultic activity is shifted from the remnant of past, physical buddhahood in the external world (*dhātu* [relic]) to a nascent, future buddhahood within the sentient being itself (*dhātu* [element, raw material]). This hypothesis is among several that have displaced A. Hirakawa's (1963) hypothesis that the Mahāyāna began as a lay movement centered on the worship of Buddha relics in stūpas (see also Sasaki, 1999) and constitutes an attempt to provide a more accurate account of the relation between nascent Mahāyāna movements and the cult of the Buddha's relics.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (again, excepting extra parts found in the Dharmakṣema translation) can be divided into two main chronological strata. The earliest layer reflects the practices and ideas of itinerant dharma preachers, who were semimonastic and engaged in frequent pilgrimages to stūpas through dangerous regions, accompanied by laypeople who did not observe the traditional five precepts and armed themselves to protect the preacher. In Shimoda Masahiro's view, this layer is apparently opposed to relic worship and proposes that the Buddha's *dharmakāya* is adamantine (*vajrakāya*; see Radich, 2011a); it also propounds the eternity of the Buddha, the docetic view of the *parinirvāṇa*, and the aforementioned four inversions (eternity, bliss, self, and purity); it separately propounds the idea that the Tathāgata is "self" (*ātman*).

Only in the second layer does the term bodhisattva come to be used for proponents of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*. Moreover, with few exceptions, *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine is only introduced in this second layer, which also propounds the idea that the true teachings are secret, types of *samādhi* (meditative states), docetism (*lokānuvartanā*; "conformity with the world"), the three jewels (the Buddha, the dharma, and the saṅgha, taken as "refuges"), and criticism of *śrāvakas* (adherents of "mainstream," non-Mahāyāna doctrine); mentions *sūtras* as written books (as opposed to oral teachings); and teaches about *icchantikas*, beings who are forever unable to attain buddhahood. Shimoda Masahiro also sees here a renewed rigor in monastic discipline, corresponding to a shift to sedentary cenobiticism, linked to a new concern for the purity of the saṅgha, and vehement criticism of corrupt monks. The later very important and influential ban on eating meat also appears here.

As mentioned earlier, Dharmakṣema's version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* is much longer than the other independent versions. Yijing (義淨; 635–713 CE) searched in India and Southeast Asia for Sanskrit texts corresponding to this large unique portion, without success (T. 2066 [LI] 4a8–12). Modern scholarship has paid surprisingly little attention to the question of the origin of the remaining unique three quarters of Dharmakṣema's text (but see Chen, 2004; Hodge, 2010; 2012). However, it is clear that authors of parts of it must have known Indic texts otherwise unknown in China (Radich, 2011b, 49–50, 160–163; Granoff, 2012). These unique portions of Dharmakṣema's text played a key role in the massive impact of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* on Chinese Buddhism, including the controversy surrounding the *icchantika* doctrine, in which the important cleric Daosheng (道生; 355–434 CE) played a celebrated role.

Mahāmeghasūtra

The *Mahāmeghasūtra* (Scripture on the Great Cloud) is extant in two versions:

1. the *Dafangdeng wuxiang jing* (大方等無想經; T. 387; **Mahāvaipulyāsaṃjñikasūtra* in the Korean; but *Dafangdeng dayun jing* [大方等大雲經] = **Mahāvaipulyamahāmeghasūtra* in the Song, Yuan, Ming, and "Palace" editions), translated circa 421–433 CE by Dharmakṣema; and
2. the *Sprin chen po* (D 232/Q 898), translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde (9th cent. CE).

Although the text has apparently otherwise been lost in its original form, a Sanskrit passage has been preserved as an interpolation into the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (Suzuki, 1996), itself extant in Sanskrit.

No full translation of the *Mahāmeghasūtra* exists in a Western language, but a detailed English summary is given by A. Forte (1976, app. A). Western scholarship has mainly focused on a peculiar prophecy contained in the text (see below), which was used by the Chinese Empress Wu Zetian (武則天; r. 690–705 CE) to legitimate the rule of her Zhou (周) dynasty (Chavannes, 1902, 235–236; Demiéville, 1924, 218–230; Tucci, 1930, 217; Forte, 1976). Apart from Takasaki Jikidō (1974, 276–301), the most important studies are by Suzuki Takayasu (1996b; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; 1999a; 2001; 2003a; 2003b).

The title reflects a conceit of the dharma as rain from the cloud of a Tathāgatagarbha *sūtra*, in the drought of the end-times (comp. also the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* and *Mahābherīhārakasūtra*). In both versions, the structure of the *Mahāmeghasūtra* is odd: of the 37 chapters, only chapters 1, 2, 36, and 37 are fully elaborated. Chapters 3 to 35, by contrast, seem merely to be skeletal outlines of topics. The following summary focuses on chapters 1, 2, 36, and 37.

In keeping with Mahāyāna convention, the frame narrative describes a vast congregation assembled to listen to the Buddha's sermon, and various wonders performed by the Buddha, or occurring spontaneously, to mark the occasion. The bodhisattva *Mahāmeghagarbha (大雲密藏) asks the Buddha a hundred questions. The Buddha responds by teaching on themes already encountered above – the docetic *parinirvāṇa*, the four inversions, the fact that sentient beings are in truth not distinct from *dharmadhātu* (the realm/element of the dharma; comp. the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* teaching of *ekadhātu* [the one realm/element]), the inferior merits of *śrāvaka*s and pratyekabuddhas, and *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature. Chapter 2 is largely taken up with four hundred *samādhi*s, which secure for the practitioner a long list of benefits.

Chapter 36 picks out a couple of *samādhis* for special discussion. In answer to the Brahman Shande (善德; later identified with the Indian emperor Aśoka), the Buddha explains that the Buddha's cousin and "rival" Devadatta was not as evil as he appeared. Rather, he was a *mahāpuruṣa* (great being), acting as part of the Buddha's salvific plan. A person called *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana (一切眾生樂見) then begins speaking in the Buddha's stead. Shande declares the doctrines of the *Mahāmeghasūtra* to be beyond him; instead, he says, he would like to venerate a relic of the Buddha. *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana proclaims a series of verses declaring that there is in fact no such thing as a Buddha relic (echoing similar ideas in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*). A goddess (**devī*) called *Vimalaprabhā (淨光) asks the Buddha how Shande and *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana can have such insight. The Buddha explains that in a past life, they had a similar exchange, in the presence of a buddha who also preached the *Mahāmeghasūtra*. He also explains that in a future life, Shande will be Aśoka. The *devī* *Vimalaprabhā, moreover, was the queen in the past narrative, and will reign in the future over a kingdom of her own as a kind of "one-quarter *cakravartin*." The Buddha also gives another prophecy of an end-times scenario in which the *Mahāmeghasūtra* will circulate. The chapter closes with another iteration of the docetic *parinirvāṇa*.

Chapter 37 returns to the end-times prophecy. During the end-times, another person who also goes by the name of *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana (一切眾生樂見) will be the guardian of the true dharma. The chapter expounds at length the virtues of one specific *samādhi* – that is, the ability of bodhisattvas to manifest themselves in many different apparent bodies to save sentient beings. This exposition is interwoven with a reprise of the eternity of the *dharmakāya* and the docetic *parinirvāṇa*. *Vimalaprabhā again comes to the fore, and bests *Mahāmeghagarbha in her grasp of doctrine. The Buddha then prophesies an illustrious future for her. *Mahāmeghagarbha foolishly assumes that this future must involve changing into a male, as traditional Buddhist doctrine all but universally

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(*lokānuvartanā*) into a practice
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miracles, etc.). The *Mahāmeghas*
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fake teachings (*buddhavacana*).
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dharmakāya/*vajrakāya*. Suzuki
2001) has proposed that Shimoda
layer in the *Mahāparinirvāṇam*
mark of recomposition under th
Mahāmeghasūtra.

**Mahābherīhārakasūtr*

The **Mahābherīhārakasūtra* (Scr
of the Great Kettledrum) is exta
1. the *Da fagu jing* (大法鼓經
by Guṇabhadra; and

ntient beings are in truth not dis-
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ne Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta
lhātu [the one realm/element]), the
of śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas,
arbha/buddha nature. Chapter 2 is
with four hundred samādhis, which
actitioner a long list of benefits.
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a kingdom of her own as a kind of
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with another iteration of the docetic

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nifest themselves in many different
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kāya and the docetic parinirvāṇa.
again comes to the fore, and bests
arbha in her grasp of doctrine. The
prophesies an illustrious future for
ghagarbha foolishly assumes that
st involve changing into a male, as
ddhist doctrine all but universally

asserts, but the Buddha scolds *Mahāmeghagarbha for making this assumption; in fact, he reveals, *Vimalaprabhā deliberately assumes the body of a woman through countless aeons for the sake of sentient beings (although the female body that she assumes is apparently not real but merely a body of skillful means [*upāyakāya; 方便之身]). A further very detailed prophecy expands on the promise of the previous chapter that the *devī* will become a powerful queen – this being the prophecy so useful to Wu Zetian. This queen will be a powerful sponsor of the cult of Buddha relics in stūpas (seemingly contradicting the earlier denigration and docetic denial of relics). Many lifetimes later, the *devī* will preside over her own buddha world. This theme of spiritually powerful women prophesied to buddhahood echoes the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*.

The exposition of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine in the *Mahāmeghasūtra* echoes that of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (especially the hypothesized second layer, mentioned above). It preaches the theme of secret teachings, the idea that *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature is to be "seen," and the fact that sentient beings have *tathāgatagarbha* within them like a separate entity. The *Mahāmeghasūtra* is also concerned with docetism, and, indeed, one of its *samādhi*s converts the notion of conformity to the [expectations of the] world (*lokānuvartanā*) into a practice of meditation on the production of the docetic appearance of all the typical acts of a buddha (dwelling in Tuṣita heaven, conception and birth attended by a set of stock miracles, etc.). The *Mahāmeghasūtra* also preaches a docetic *parinirvāṇa*; and it discusses the danger that people will accuse its proponents of peddling fake teachings (*buddhavacana*). Both texts teach the four inversions, the ban on meat eating, and the *dharmakāya*/*vajrakāya*. Suzuki Takayasu (1998b; 2001) has proposed that Shimoda Masahiro's second layer in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* bears the mark of recomposition under the influence of the *Mahāmeghasūtra*.

Mahābherīhārakasūtra

The *Mahābherīhārakasūtra* (Scripture on the Beater of the Great Kettledrum) is extant in two versions:

1. the *Da fagu jing* (大法鼓經; T. 270), translated by Guṇabhadra; and
2. the *Rnga bo che chen po'i le'u* (D 222/Q 888), translated by Vidyākaraprabha, Dpal gyi lhun po, and Dpal brtsegs (9th cent. CE).

Apart from Takasaki Jidikō (1974, 234–253), the main studies are by Suzuki Takayasu (1996a; 1997; 2000; 2002), who suggests that the *Mahābherīhārakasūtra* is linked to the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (see below), because of the reference to its preachers as *hitopadeṣṭṛ* (Chn. *anweishuozhe* [安慰說者]; Tib. *phan par ston pa*, "those who teach what is beneficial [for sentient beings]").

King Prasenajit goes to hear the Buddha preaching the dharma, accompanied by a great fanfare of beating drums and blasting conches. In response, the Buddha "beats the great kettledrum of the dharma" (hence the title) and "blasts the great conch of the dharma" (T. 270 [IX] 290c15, 291c14–15). Later, we learn that Prasenajit smears his war drum with a magical ointment, and when the drum is beaten, poisoned arrows fall from his soldiers' wounds; similarly, the *Mahābherīhārakasūtra* has the power to extract the arrows of the so-called three poisons (i.e. lust, hatred, and delusion), the elements which, according to Buddhist doctrine, cause the entire wheel of transmigration to revolve and bind beings to saṃsāra.

The *Mahābherīhārakasūtra* proposes that existence (*bhava*) is at the root of all pleasure and pain (*sukhaduḥkha*), so that nirvāṇa, which is freedom from the very conditions of existence, is the supreme bliss. This apparently simple teaching (which echoes the bliss of the four inversions) is not known to all tathāgatas, and bodhisattvas from other buddha worlds come to hear it taught by Śākyamuni. This teaching is thus a "secret dharma store of the tathāgatas," a "concealed teaching" (T. 270 [IX] 291a13–14, 291a26–29). After the (apparent) *parinirvāṇa*, this secret is to be entrusted to the bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa, whom the Buddha likens to King Prasenajit, beating his drums and sounding his conches, defeating enemies, and bringing peace.

However, toward the end of the text, it is dramatically revealed that various phantoms created by Māra, the embodiment of evil, are hidden among the congregation. A series of powerful disciples and bodhisattvas – including Mahākāśyapa – prove incapable of rooting them out. This sets the scene for *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana, despite histrionic protest that he is a mere layman, to best even Mahākāśyapa by unmasking and capturing Māra's minions. The Buddha reveals that *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana only gives the appearance of being a common person (*pṛthagjana*). In fact, his true level of spiritual development is more advanced; in the end-times, he will be reborn as a monk "bearing the same name as myself" (i.e. as the Buddha, who is speaking; T. 270 [IX] 299a17–18), the main proponent of the true teachings (of the *Mahābherīhārakasūtra*); and in the very remote future, *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana will become a buddha.

The heart of the teaching of the **Mahābherīhārakasūtra* is twofold. First, the Buddha is truly eternal and does not really enter *parinirvāṇa*. Second, all sentient beings have *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature – clearly and explicitly identified with the self (*wo* [我]; ātman). The fact that sentient beings at first do not perceive this pure essence within themselves, but can nonetheless realize it with practice, is explained by the metaphor of gold tainted by impurities and then refined. The **Mahābherīhārakasūtra* also uses other metaphors, later commonplace, like the moon obscured by clouds, or the eye obscured by cataracts, and speaks explicitly of the covering of the *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature/*ātman* by adventitious defilements (**āgantukakleśa*).

The **Mahābherīhārakasūtra* shares a number of themes with other texts in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group: the eternity of the Tathāgata; the docetic *parinirvāṇa* secret teachings; the identification of the Tathāgata with *ātman*; deprecation of *śrāvaka*s and pratyekabuddhas; the identification of Mahākāśyapa as the true heritor of the dharma; and end-times prophecies. It speaks of "the great rain of the dharma" (e.g. T. 270, [IX] 299c9; comp. also the *Mahāmeghasūtra*). The **Mahābherīhārakasūtra* also includes a version of the parable, better known from the *Lotus Sūtra*, of the phantom city conjured up by a guide to encourage travelers to continue a long and arduous journey, used as a figure for the Buddha's teaching of intermediate "vehicles" (*yāna*) as way stations on the path to the Mahāyāna as the "one" (true) vehicle.

Mahāyāna *Aṅgulimālīya*/*Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*

The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (Scripture on Aṅgulimālīya) is extant in two versions:

1. the *Yangjuemoluo jing* (央掘魔羅經; T. 120), translated by Guṇabhadra; and
2. the *Sor mo'i phreng ba la phan pa* (D 213/Q 879), translated by Śākyaprabha, Dharmatāśīla, and Tong Ācārya (9th cent.).

The main studies on this text are by Takasaki Jikidō (1974, 191–233), Ogawa Ichijō (1999; 2001, 7–15), Kanō Kazuo (2006), Suzuki Takayasu (1999a; 1999b; 2000), and L. Schmithausen (2003). Suzuki Takayasu notes that the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, like the **Mahābherīhārakasūtra*, refers to its preachers as **hitopadeṣṭṛ* (teachers for the benefit [of others]).

Like the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* reworks a scenario from mainstream canonical scripture – this time, the conversion of the bandit and murderer Aṅgulimāl(īy)a (see *Theragāthā* vv. 866–891; *Majjhimanikāya*, 86). The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* thus betrays a concern with the power of the dharma to save even hopeless sinners, also seen in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (the portions found in the Dharmakṣema translation) on the salvation of Ajātaśatru (famed for killing his father, Bimbisāra, in order to usurp his throne), the *Mahāmeghasūtra*'s docetic reinterpretation of Devadatta, and *icchantika* doctrine.

Aṅgulimālīya is originally a Brahman youth named *Sarvalokapriyadarśana, connecting him to the central protagonist of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group. He is accused by the wife of his teacher of sexually molesting her, and the teacher convinces Aṅgulimālīya to expiate his guilt by killing a thousand people and making a trophy garland of their severed fingers (the source of his grisly soubriquet - Aṅgulimālīya ["Finger Garland"]). Having killed 999 people, Aṅgulimālīya prepares to kill his mother. The Buddha intervenes, and Aṅgulimālīya wants to kill him, too. Instead, the Buddha manages to convert him. Various deities and advanced disciples express their admiration at the conversion, and Aṅgulimālīya defeats each in battles of Buddhist wit (often versified) and mastery of the dharma. Aṅgulimālīya takes precepts and is ordained by the Buddha. When Prasenajit comes to arrest Aṅgulimālīya, the Buddha declares that he has already become a tathāgata in a distant Buddha world, and that the teacher, the teacher's wife, Aṅgulimālīya's mother, and Aṅgulimālīya's murders were all merely expedient phantoms to teach sentient beings.

The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* is elaborately concerned with the Buddha's body (or, more accurately, the various special bodies that buddhas have or appear to have). The Buddha dwells "at the limit of the unproduced" (*zhu wusheng ji* [住無生際]; T. 120 [II] 533b6) in this ordinary world of ours (the Sahāloka), without

really entering *parinirvāṇa*, ar
also dwells in other buddha w
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[生不生身]; 533b15–16). All the
quarters of the cosmos are in f
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a reality-limit body" (*sheng shij*
533b7–9), and he dwells in a "
"countless bodies"; *shenwubian*
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and quiescent; and so on. The Bu
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The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* emp
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leading to moral lassitude or
ism. The text also contains an a
ing to naked *tīrthaka* ascetics,
Digambara Jaina practice. This s
with the ban on meat eating an
"pure" (presumably strained) wa
avoid harming tiny bugs. This may
practices were instituted to "keep
(Nattier, 1991, 21).

The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* shares
parinirvāṇamahāsūtra group *tath*
dha nature preached as explicit
ātman* (ātmadhātu* [*wojie* (我界
by defilements, the eternity of t
secret teachings, the promotion
toward the teaching of *tathāgat*
cern with the worst sinners, includ

Conclusion

A number of doctrinal themes
parinirvāṇamahāsūtra, the *Mah*
**Mahābherīhārakasūtra*, and t

ɪo'i phreng ba la phan pa (D 213/
ted by Śākyaprabha, Dharmatāśīla,
a (9th cent.).
udies on this text are by Takasaki
91–233), Ogawa Ichijō (1999; 2001,
zuo (2006), Suzuki Takayasu (1999a;
nd L. Schmithausen (2003). Suzuki
that the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, like the
akasūtra, refers to its preachers as
achers for the benefit [of others]).
Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra, the
ıtra reworks a scenario from main-
al scripture – this time, the conver-
ndit and murderer Aṅgulimāl(īy)a
ā vv. 866–891; *Majjhimanikāya*, 86).
īyasūtra thus betrays a concern with
e dharma to save even hopeless sin-
in the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*
ound in the Dharmakṣema transla-
vation of Ajātaśatru (famed for killing
bisāra, in order to usurp his throne),
hasūtra's docetic reinterpretation of
icchantika doctrine.
a is originally a Brahman youth named
adarśana, connecting him to the cen-
st of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*
ccused by the wife of his teacher of
sting her, and the teacher convinces
to expiate his guilt by killing a thou-
nd making a trophy garland of their
s (the source of his grisly soubriquet –
["Finger Garland"]). Having killed 999
mālīya prepares to kill his mother. The
enes, and Aṅgulimālīya wants to kill
ead, the Buddha manages to convert
eities and advanced disciples express
on at the conversion, and Aṅgulimālīya
n battles of Buddhist wit (often versi-
tery of the dharma. Aṅgulimālīya takes
is ordained by the Buddha. When Pra-
s to arrest Aṅgulimālīya, the Buddha
he has already become a tathāgata
Buddha world, and that the teacher,
wife, Aṅgulimālīya's mother, and
's murders were all merely expedient
teach sentient beings.
imālīyasūtra is elaborately concerned
ha's body (or, more accurately, the var-
odies that buddhas have or appear to
ddha dwells "at the limit of the unpro-
ushengji [住無生際]; T. 120 [II] 533b6) in
world of ours (the Sahāloka), without

---

really entering *parinirvāṇa*, and simultaneously also dwells in other buddha worlds. This is possible because he "is born in an unborn body" (or "arises in an unproduced body"; *sheng busheng shen* [生不生身]; 533b15–16). All the tathāgatas in all quarters of the cosmos are in fact doppelgängers of Śākyamuni. The Buddha also has other types of extraordinary body (or his body is described using other extraordinary epithets): he is "born in a reality-limit body" (*sheng shiji shen* [生實際身]; 533b7–9), and he dwells in a "limitless body" (or "countless bodies"; *shenwubian* [身無邊]; c1). This body is the *dharmakāya* – unconditioned; free of old age, sickness, death, and defilements; permanent and quiescent; and so on. The Buddha has attained this body, paradoxically, by giving up his (physical) body in countless incarnations. This lengthy exposition is linked in part to the prophecy complex common to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group. The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* emphasizes the hardship to be endured by promulgators of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine during the end-times; bodhisattvas have to be prepared to give up their bodies and their lives. Presumably, they too are promised the reward of the *dharmakāya* in exchange for such sacrifice.

The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* emphasizes strenuous practice and incorporates long discussion to ward off interpretations of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine leading to moral lassitude or even antinomianism. The text also contains an amusing story relating to naked *tīrthaka* ascetics, clearly satirizing Digambara Jaina practice. This story is juxtaposed with the ban on meat eating and with the use of "pure" (presumably strained) water for cooking, to avoid harming tiny bugs. This may suggest that these practices were instituted to "keep up with the Jainas" (Nattier, 1991, 21).

The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* shares with the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature preached as explicitly connected with *ātman* (**ātmadhātu* [*wojie* (我界)]) and concealed by defilements, the eternity of the Tathāgata, the secret teachings, the promotion of faith (*xin* [信]) toward the teaching of *tathāgatagarbha*, and concern with the worst sinners, including the *icchantika*.

Conclusion

A number of doctrinal themes unite the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, the *Mahāmeghasūtra*, the **Mahābherīhārakasūtra*, and the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, allowing us to speak of them as a single *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group (following Takasaki Jikidō, 1974, 127, 182). In addition to various elements of doctrinal content, these texts are bound together by a highly unusual prophecy tradition, set 700 years after the *parinirvāṇa* (a very unusual timetable; see Nattier, 1991, 37–41; Radich, 2015). The text(s) containing the prophecy (i.e. the teaching of the *tathāgatagarbha*/buddha nature) will first flourish for 40 years after the *parinirvāṇa* but will then disappear. In the 80 years leading up to the 700-year mark, the text(s) will flourish again for 40 years in a southern region, apparently under the Satavahanas. Elements of the prophecy are variously distributed over the four texts, but taken as a whole, this prophecy complex mentions the Kashmir and Andhra regions, the Kṛṣṇā River, perhaps the Satavahana capital of Dhānyakaṭaka (depending on the interpretation of Tibetan and Chinese translation terms), and the Satavahana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. This period will also be the cusp of the end-times of the dharma. As part of the calamity of these times, the texts will become unpopular, and their preachers will face hard times and move to Kashmir, where the dharma will be neglected. The figure of *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana plays various roles, and the figure of the bodhisattva Mahākāśyapa is also central. Both are said to have the same name as the Buddha or be of the same clan.

This prophecy complex has been studied most closely by Suzuki Takayasu (1999b; 2000) and S. Hodge (2006; 2012; see also Lévi, 1936; Demiéville, 1924; Tucci, 1930; Takasaki, 1974; de Jong, 1978; Mabbett, 1993; Forte, 1976; Ogawa, 2001). S. Hodge has argued that this prophecy complex allows us to locate part of the compositional history of these texts in specific historical contexts (esp. the oldest strata of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*) and to date it to approximately the 1st or 2nd century CE.

If the texts of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group are thus bound together more closely than the other *tathāgatagarbha* scriptures treated here, the question naturally arises as to what their relation is with the remaining three texts – the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* – and how those three texts are related with one another.

Certain ideas and themes are shared between the two groups of texts, though fewer than are common to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group alone:

- end-times (*Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group, *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*, and briefly in the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*);
- **sattvadhātu* (*Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśa, Mahābherīhārakasūtra*, and *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*);
- *ekadhātu* (*Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta* and *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*);
- *ekayāna* (*Mahābherīhārakasūtra* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*);
- *prakṛtipariśuddhacitta* (the original purity of mind), concealed by adventitious defilements (*āgantukakleśa; Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*); and
- *āgantukaklésa* (alone, briefly in the *Mahābherīhārakasūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*).

Scholars to date, with Takasaki as the most influential, have tended to regard the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* as falling in a single line of development, probably in that order. This line is seen as mainstream or quasi-orthodox, while the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group is seen as a kind of – probably later – offshoot. This ostensible side branch is also often seen as propounding maverick doctrines, an understanding particularly pronounced in scholarly attitudes to "buddha nature," which is understood as a new spin on the *tathāgatagarbha* ideas of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra, Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, and *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*. However, this understanding is possibly governed by the retrospective viewpoint of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśaparivarta*, and the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra* are in fact quite heterogeneous, but one of the strongest features binding them together is the fact that the *Ratnagotravibhāga* quotes them copiously. In contrast, of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* group, the *Ratnagotravibhāga* cites only the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* itself, and that just once. If we set aside the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, relations between these two supposed strands of the *tathāgatagarbha* corpus may not be so straightforward. This is an area in which much work remains for future scholarship.

None of the scriptures discussed above has been preserved in its entirety in the original Sanskrit. In addition to the fragments of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* recovered from Central Asian manuscripts, however, some fragments have been preserved as citations (or interpolations) in other Sanskrit works. More than any other single source, the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, a work in terse verses, and its accompanying expansive prose commentary, the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*, preserve portions of these texts in Sanskrit. The *Ratnagotravibhāga* also takes the nine similes of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* as a major structuring device. Furthermore, the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* is certainly the most significant shastric work treating *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine. In fact, it is peculiar insofar as it is almost the only known Indic treatise to attempt to systematize this doctrine (setting aside the virtually unknown **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, for which see below). The numerous Tibetan commentaries on the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (Kanō, 2006b, 593–600; Burchardi, 2006) refer to the scriptures quoted by the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* only indirectly, and thus fall outside the scope of this article.

The *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* has survived in Sanskrit (Johnston, 1950; see below), in a Chinese translation, the *Jiujing yisheng baoxing lun* (究竟一乘寶性論; T. 1611), completed by Ratnamati (勒那摩提; or by Ratnamati and Bodhiruci) in around 511 CE, and in separate Tibetan translations of the root verses and of the entire text including commentary: the *Theg pa chen po rgyu bla ma'i bstan bcos* (D 4024/Q 5525) and the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos rnam par bshad pa* (D 4025/Q 5526), both completed by Blo ldan shes rab (*Matiprajña; 11th cent.; see Takasaki, 1966, 6–7). The Chinese tradition ascribes the text to an otherwise almost unknown *Sāramati (賢慧), while the Tibetan tradition ascribes the *Ratnagotravibhāga* to (the future buddha?) Maitreya and the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* to the Yogācāra philosopher Asaṅga.

The *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* was first studied by modern scholars through the Tibetan version, which was translated in full into English by E. Obermiller (1931). The Sanskrit was rediscovered in the 20th century in two manuscripts in Tibet by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana and edited by E.H. Johnston (1950). The latter remains the standard edition but should be supplemented by the detailed philological work of L. Schmithausen (1971). Other important contributions on textual matters have been made by J.W. de Jong (1968) and D.S. Ruegg (1976). The *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* was fully translated into English by Takasaki Jikidō (1966), whose introduction to the text provides an important overview of the contents and sources. Takasaki Jikidō also translated the text into Japanese (1999).

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Another *tathāgatagarbha* treatise, thus far little studied, is the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa*, ascribed, as is the *Ratnagotravibhāga* in some traditions, to *Sāramati (堅慧, 娑囉末底; see Silk, forthcoming), which is preserved only in two closely related Chinese translations (大乘法界無差別論; T. 1626, 1627). The first of these versions has been given a Japanese gloss and an introductory study by Takasaki Jikidō (1999).

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MICHAEL RADICH

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa

The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Teaching of Vimalakīrti) is a mid-length Mahāyāna text composed conceivably by around 100 CE, certainly by the early 3rd century. Its central protagonist is Vimalakīrti, a bodhisattva from the world Abhirati (lit. delight; the joyous buddha field of Buddha Akṣobhya), who has made himself present in our Sahā world (the painful buddha field of Buddha Śākyamuni) in the city of Vaiśālī as a wealthy householder in order to teach beings such themes as nonduality (*advaya*), nonarising of dharmas (*anutpāda*), emptiness (*śūnyatā*), and the inconceivable (*acintya*). He delivers his teaching through brilliant dialogue, displays of supernatural powers, and apophatic silence. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* had limited impact on the Buddhisms of India and Tibet but exerted profound influence on Sinitic religious, artistic, and literary culture. It has also been enthusiastically received in modernist Buddhism and appreciated for its literary quality, its antinomian tendencies, and its perceived embrace of lay Buddhism and gender equality.

Translations and Studies

The most specialized scholarly translation is É. Lamotte's (1962), which is based on the Tibetan version with references to Xuanzang's (玄奘) Chinese version (T. 476) – it comes with an extensive introduction that remains the most comprehensive study of the text in a Western language. R. Thurman (1976) likewise represents the Tibetan version. B. Watson (1997) renders the Chinese version of Kumārajīva (T. 474), as does J. McRae (2004). A comparative study of the main English translations is found in J. Nattier (2000). Other English translations include those by H. Idzumi (1923–1928), Ōhara (1898), Robinson (n.d.), C. Luk (1972), Sangharakshita (1995), and T. Cleary (2013). J. Fischer and T. Yokota (1944) translated the Chinese into German. Translations into modern Japanese include those by S. Mushanokōji (1934), M. Ishida (1966), J. Takasaki and K. Kawamura (1993), G. Nagao (1983), and – from the Sanskrit – M. Nishino and H. Takahashi (2011) and M. Ueki (2011).

Important studies have come from P. Demiéville (1962), G. Fussman (2009), É. Lamotte (1962), R. Mather (1968), J. Ōshika (1970a; 1988), G. Shi (1998), J.A. Silk (2014), and J.D. Whitehead (1976).

Text and Versions

Sanskrit

A complete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, dated to the 12th century, was discovered at Potala Palace in Lhasa in 1999. Facsimiles of the manuscript, which also includes the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, a sūtra associated with Tathāgatagarbha literature, were published in 2004 by the Taishō University Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, along with a synoptic presentation (Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese), followed by an edition of the Sanskrit by the same group in 2006. The colophons indicate that the manuscript was produced at the request of the Tibetan monk Śīladhvaja, who had traveled to Vikramaśīla around 1150 (Fussman, 2009, 644). With the exception of verse passages in chapters 1 and 7 (the Sanskrit meter of which is explored in Iwamatsu, 2007; see also Iwamatsu, 2009), the text is entirely in prose. G. Fussman (2009, 646) sees in the sūtra the work of three editorial hands and speculates, agreeing with É. Lamotte's earlier opinion, that the Sanskrit *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* must have reached a more or less complete form by about 100 CE. The terminus ad quem is the Zhi Qian (支謙) translation (see below; for information about the manuscript and its discovery, see K. Tada, 2004). The availability of this Sanskrit manuscript has led to a resurgence of scholarly interest in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, with several English translations of the text currently in progress.

Tibetan

A complete Tibetan translation by Dharmatāśīla (Chos nyid tshul khrims) from the early 9th century is preserved in the Kanjur under the title *'Phags pa Dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa* (D 176/P 843). J. Ōshika (1970a) edited a romanized transcription

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of the Kanjur version, taking acc
editions of Derge, Peking, and N
published an index of the Tibetan
corresponding Chinese equivalen
cal Sanskrit terms (Ōshika, 1975).
On the basis of a study of T
from Dunhuang in the Fond Pell
Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,
xlii) concluded that the Tibetan tr
two other translations of the
slightly earlier than Dharmatāś
time from each other by the c
Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary *Mah*
time in the 9th century. J. Nattier
of only one such translation.

Chinese

Chinese sources list seven trans
extant, two are not, while two a
titles given below follow the Tais
Extant Chinese translations:
1. *Weimojie jing* (維摩詰經;
cles; trans. Zhi Qian; dated 222–
6th-century CE catalogue *Zhon*
目錄; T. 2146 [LV] 119a9]). É. Lam
opines that the *Weimojie jing* r
est stratum of the *Vimalakīrtin*
G. Fussman (2009, 644) thinks tha
from a more or less fully develo
S. Karashima (2014) argues,
grounds, that *Weimojie jing* was
original in Gandhari, or at least
elements. Some passages fou
absent, including most of the ver
ter 1 and Vimalakīrti's silence at
8 (for a full list, see Lamotte, 197
(僧祐) catalogue lists this transla
[LV] 6c14), which has led to specul
jing may actually be the wor
hitherto regarded as not extant (
Nattier [2008, 140n78] and Tu [2
2. *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (維
three fascicles; trans. Kumārajīva i
(1976, xxxiii) opines that it wa
extensive "Sanskrit" original
jing. Some information about th
procedures that Kumārajīva use
Weimojie suoshuo jing, can be gle
mentary *Zhu Weimojie jing* (注維
below). It is concise in style, a
central passages are rendered w
The translation borrows heavily
jing, while revising its technic

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studies have come from P. Demiéville
ussman (2009), É. Lamotte (1962),
968), J. Ōshika (1970a; 1988), G. Shi
k (2014), and J.D. Whitehead (1976).

ersions

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l khrims) from the early 9th century
the Kanjur under the title *'Phags pa*
r grags pas bstan pa (D 176/P 843).
a) edited a romanized transcription

of the Kanjur version, taking account only of the editions of Derge, Peking, and Narthang. He also published an index of the Tibetan translation, with corresponding Chinese equivalents and hypothetical Sanskrit terms (Ōshika, 1975).

On the basis of a study of Tibetan fragments from Dunhuang in the Fond Pelliot chinois in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, É. Lamotte (1976, xlii) concluded that the Tibetan tradition produced two other translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* slightly earlier than Dharmatāśīla's, separated in time from each other by the compilation of the Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti*, some time in the 9th century. J. Nattier (2000, 236) speaks of only one such translation.

Chinese

Chinese sources list seven translations. Three are extant, two are not, while two are spurious – the titles given below follow the Taishō edition.

Extant Chinese translations:

1. *Weimojie jing* (維摩詰經; T. 474; two fascicles; trans. Zhi Qian; dated 222–229 CE by the late 6th-century CE catalogue *Zhongjing mulu* [眾經目錄; T. 2146 [LV] 119a9]). É. Lamotte (1976, xxviii) opines that the *Weimojie jing* represents the oldest stratum of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*; by contrast G. Fussman (2009, 644) thinks that Zhi Qian worked from a more or less fully developed Sanskrit text. S. Karashima (2014) argues, on phonological grounds, that *Weimojie jing* was likely based on an original in Gandhari, or at least one with Gandhari elements. Some passages found elsewhere are absent, including most of the verse section in chapter 1 and Vimalakīrti's silence at the end of chapter 8 (for a full list, see Lamotte, 1976, xxviii). Sengyou's (僧祐) catalogue lists this translation as lost (T. 2145 [LV] 6c14), which has led to speculation that *Weimojie jing* may actually be the work of Dharmarakṣa, hitherto regarded as not extant (Shi, 1998; however, Nattier [2008, 140n78] and Tu [2013] disagree).

2. *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (維摩詰所說經; T. 475; three fascicles; trans. Kumārajīva in 406 CE). É. Lamotte (1976, xxxiii) opines that it was based on a more extensive "Sanskrit" original than the *Weimojie jing*. Some information about that original, and the procedures that Kumārajīva used in producing the *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, can be gleamed from the commentary *Zhu Weimojie jing* (注維摩詰經; T. 1775; see below). It is concise in style, and philosophically central passages are rendered without abridgment. The translation borrows heavily from the *Weimojie jing*, while revising its technical vocabulary (Harrison, 2008). In the Sinitic context, this translation was by far the most influential, inspiring most of the commentarial literature. It is also the basis of most modern translations.

3. *Shuo wugoucheng jing* (說無垢稱經; T. 476; six fascicles; trans. Xuanzang [玄奘] in 650 CE). It shows many cases of verbatim correspondence with the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* but is greatly enlarged. According to É. Lamotte (1976, xxxv), Xuanzang likely worked from an original much more developed than those used by his predecessors; G. Fussman (2009, 645) observes that the *Shuo wugoucheng jing* stays very close to the surviving Sanskrit. It is the basis for only one commentary, by Kuiji (窺基; *Shuo wugoucheng jing shu* [說無垢稱經疏]; T. 1782).

Nonextant Chinese translations:

1. *Yi Weimojie jing* (異維摩詰經) or *Yi Pimoluojie jing* (異毘摩羅詰經; trans. in 291 or 296 CE by Zhu Shulan (竺叔蘭; earliest mention in T. 2145 [LV] 9c12–15]).

2. *Weimojie jing* (維摩詰經), *Weimojie mingjie* (維摩詰名解), or *Weimojie suoshuo famen jing* (維摩詰所說法門經; trans. in 303 CE by Dharmarakṣa; earliest mention in T. 2145 [LV] 7c1). An abridged version (*shan* [刪]) is also attributed to Dharmarakṣa (T. 2145 [LV] 8c16).

Spurious translations include those attributed to Yan Fotiao (嚴佛調; earliest mention in T. 2034 [XLIX] 54a14; see Lamotte, 1976, lxxxix–xci) and to Gītamitra (Qiduomi [祇多密]; earliest mention in T. 2034 [XLIX] 71c1).

Other Translations

A fragment in the Stein collection represents a Sogdian translation, no longer extant *in extenso*, based on Kumārajīva's Chinese version (see Weller, 1937). The late Khotanese text known as *Book of Vimalakīrti* may contain a number of free quotations from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in Khotanese, as argued by M. Maggi (2007), among others.

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa in Context

The textual sources of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* remain a topic of debate. The lack in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* of the ten-*bhūmi*s (stages of spiritual progress of a bodhisattva) concept is taken by É. Lamotte (1976, xcviii) as an indication that the text belongs to the oldest stratum of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, while its philosophic orientation indicates links with the earliest *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. É. Lamotte also considers a possible connection to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, which shares with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* the subtitle *Acintyavimokṣa*, to some texts in the Mahāsaṃnipāta collection that feature a character by the name of Vimalakīrti (see also Hashimoto, 1983), and to two texts in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection, including – in view of the role in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* of the buddha Akṣobhya – the *Akṣobhyatathāgatasyavyūha* (Lamotte, 1976, lxxxi ff.; for a critical overview of Lamotte's method and findings, see J.A. Silk, 2014, 165ff.). Some scholars (Lamotte, 1976; Fussman, 2009) highlight the emptiness angle of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and speculate on a possible link between the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and Nāgārjuna, although the question of relative chronology poses problems.

Some of the most acclaimed scenes of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* have parallels in other texts, mainly those in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection (Silk, 2014, 168n41). The scene of the protagonist defeating in debate a number of *śrāvakas* and bodhisattvas and reducing them to silence (ch. 3) and the episode of miraculous gender change (ch. 6, § 15) are both present, with slight variation, in the *Vimaladattāparipṛcchā*, the *Sumatidārikāparipṛcchā*, and the *Aśokadattavyākaraṇa*. The *Gaṅgottarāparipṛcchā* and *Strīvivartavyākaraṇa* also belong in this category. These parallels are perhaps best seen as cases not of influence but of drawing on a common pool of tropes and images.

In the context of mainstream Buddhist literature, the possibility that the character Vimalakīrti is textually related to the *nikāya* character Citra was first explored by B. Watanabe (1956) and later by J.A. Silk (2014, 181–182; two other possible models are Dharmodgata and Ugra [see Taki, 2007]).

Two texts of Indian origin may be considered "sequels" to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (for a discussion, see Silk, 2014, 166ff.): the *Candrottarādārikāvyākaraṇa*, which focuses on Vimalakīrti's daughter (see also Ōshika, 1970b), and the **Mahāvaipulyamūrdharāja*, which centers on Vimalakīrti's son.

A handful of Sanskrit quotations from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* are preserved in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and *Madhyamakavṛtti* (7th cent. CE), Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (7th cent. CE; Mochizuki, 1962), and Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* (8th cent. CE), whence they make their way to Tsong kha pa's *Lamrim chenmo* (Langelaar, 2011). R. Soeda (1978) sees a quotation in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgrahasūtra*. A listing of quotations is in B. Watanabe (1956, 134–136, n3).

Synopsis of Chapters

The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions divide the text into 12 chapters. The extant Chinese translations split chapters 3 and 12 in two, resulting in a total of 14. A handy synoptic table of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese is published by Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (2004, iv).

Chapter 1

The scene is set in Āmrapālī's garden in the outskirts of Vaiśālī. The Buddha is addressing a vast assembly. A group of five hundred youths from the Licchavi clan, led by Ratnākara, offer to the Buddha adorned parasols, which he transforms into one enormous canopy that covers and reflects the entire universe. The youths ask the Buddha how to purify the buddha field (*buddhakṣetra*); the Buddha responds that when the bodhisattva's mind is pure, the buddha field is pure. Śāriputra is unable to see the purity of Śākyamuni's world. The Buddha performs a miracle, displaying this purity briefly.

Chapter 2

The scene shifts to Vimalakīrti's house in the center of Vaiśālī. There is a lengthy description of Vimalakīrti: a merchant, eloquent and wealthy, a husband, and a father, for the sake of maturing beings, he enters the most mundane of places – gambling venues, houses of pleasure, schools of heterodox teachers – while fully retaining his *tathāgata*-like qualities. He pretends to be sick, so that the citizens of Vaiśālī will be moved to call on him and thus give him an opportunity to teach. When a large group of them arrives, Vimalakīrti speaks to them about the impermanent material body and then about the body of a tathāgata.

Chapter 3

The Buddha tries unsuccessfully to convince ten *śrāvakas*, three bodhisattvas, and one householder to visit the "ailing" Vimalakīrti. One by one, they excuse themselves of the task, as they ruefully recall prior encounters with Vimalakīrti in which he trumped them in their own particular areas of expertise.

Chapter 4

Mañjuśrī reluctantly agrees to call on Vimalakīrti. The latter miraculously empties his small house (the image of which later becomes iconic as a term for a Chan master's dwelling [Chn. *fangzhang*; Jpn. *hōjō* (方丈)]) to make room for Mañjuśrī and his

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entourage. Vimalakīrti explains th
beings are ill due to ignorance (
for existence (*bhavatṛṣṇā*). The
exchange on the nature of emp
"emancipation of buddhas." Vi
that illness is best cured by a
(*ahaṃkāra*) and "mine" (*mam*
forms of dualism.

Chapter 5

Vimalakīrti fetches from the dis
Merudhvajā into his sickroom 32
for Mañjuśrī and his entourage,
bed, and without enlarging the
the thrones. He explains to the
that actions like these are possib
who practice *acintyavimokṣa* (in
tion). Mahākāśyapa declares th
like "scorched seeds," are incapa
ing this profound liberation.

Chapter 6

Beings are to be viewed as
Vimalakīrti, and this enables c
them. A goddess (*devatā*) appea
scatters flowers, which slide off
bodhisattvas but stick to the bod
Śāriputra tries to shake off the fl
goddess explains that this is bec
discriminating perception (*vikal*
quence (*pratibhāna*) is due to her
(*prāpta*) anything. Śāriputra ask
not change out of her female
uses her powers to exchange gen
and explains that the distinction
female, like all dharmas, is unre
and like an illusion (*māyānirmit*

Chapter 7

Mañjuśrī asks Vimalakīrti wha
bodhisattva must follow in order
ties of the Buddha (*buddhadha*
responds that the path to follow
wrong path (*agatigamanaṃ gacc*
that the family (*gotra*) of the tat
62 erroneous views, from which
that *śrāvakas*, who have eliminat
cannot join the family of the tath
gives an allegorical account of th
"family," identifying its member
tues, attainments, and points of

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ibetan versions divide the text
he extant Chinese translations
12 in two, resulting in a total of
ic table of the Sanskrit, Tibetan,
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iterature (2004, iv).

mrapālī's garden in the outskirts
dha is addressing a vast assembly.
ndred youths from the Licchavi
ara, offer to the Buddha adorned
transforms into one enormous
rs and reflects the entire uni-
ask the Buddha how to purify the
dhakṣetra); the Buddha responds
hisattva's mind is pure, the bud-
āriputra is unable to see the purity
rld. The Buddha performs a mira-
purity briefly.

Vimalakīrti's house in the center of
lengthy description of Vimalakīrti:
uent and wealthy, a husband, and
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o make room for Mañjuśrī and his

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entourage. Vimalakīrti explains that he is ill because beings are ill due to ignorance (*avidyā*) and thirst for existence (*bhavatṛṣṇā*). There follows a swift exchange on the nature of emptiness and on the "emancipation of buddhas." Vimalakīrti explains that illness is best cured by a discarding of "me" (*ahaṃkāra*) and "mine" (*mamakāra*), and other forms of dualism.

Chapter 5

Vimalakīrti fetches from the distant buddha field Merudhvajā into his sickroom 32,000 giant thrones for Mañjuśrī and his entourage, without leaving his bed, and without enlarging the room or shrinking the thrones. He explains to the stunned Śāriputra that actions like these are possible for bodhisattvas who practice *acintyavimokṣa* (inconceivable liberation). Mahākāśyapa declares that *śrāvakas*, being like "scorched seeds," are incapable of understanding this profound liberation.

Chapter 6

Beings are to be viewed as empty, proclaims Vimalakīrti, and this enables compassion toward them. A goddess (*devatā*) appears in the room. She scatters flowers, which slide off the bodies of the bodhisattvas but stick to the bodies of the *śrāvakas*. Śāriputra tries to shake off the flowers but fails: the goddess explains that this is because he clings to a discriminating perception (*vikalpana*). Her own eloquence (*pratibhāna*) is due to her not having attained (*prāpta*) anything. Śāriputra asks her why she will not change out of her female body. The goddess uses her powers to exchange gender with Śāriputra and explains that the distinction between male and female, like all dharmas, is unreal (*aparinişpanna*) and like an illusion (*māyānirmitasvabhāva*).

Chapter 7

Mañjuśrī asks Vimalakīrti what path (*gati*) the bodhisattva must follow in order to attain the qualities of the Buddha (*buddhadharmāḥ*); Vimalakīrti responds that the path to follow is the non-path or wrong path (*agatigamanaṃ gacchati*). Mañjuśrī says that the family (*gotra*) of the tathāgatas consists of 62 erroneous views, from which Mahākāśyapa infers that *śrāvakas*, who have eliminated erroneous views, cannot join the family of the tathāgatas. Vimalakīrti gives an allegorical account of the true nature of his "family," identifying its members with various virtues, attainments, and points of doctrine.

Chapter 8

Vimalakīrti asks the bodhisattvas in Mañjuśrī's retinue how to enter the gate of nonduality (*advaya-dharma*). They reply in a series of some 30 ways, in each case erasing a pair of dualities (e.g. arising-passing, me-mine, and affliction-purification). Mañjuśrī turns to Vimalakīrti for an answer, and he responds with silence, generally understood to signify that truth is in some sense beyond language.

Chapter 9

The buddha Gandhottamakūṭa, presiding over that world, gives to the conjured bodhisattva one vessel of food. On his way back, the bodhisattva is joined by 90 thousand bodhisattvas from that world, eager to see Buddha Śākyamuni teach those of inferior resolve (*hīnādhimuktikāḥ*). A large group from Vaiśālī joins the gathering. The one vessel miraculously feeds all in attendance without its contents being depleted. Vimalakīrti describes to the visiting bodhisattvas Śākyamuni Buddha's methods of teaching: since beings in the Sahā world are undisciplined, they must be restrained by means of teachings on all kinds of suffering (*sarvaduḥkhaparibhāṣaṇakathāḥ*).

Chapter 10

Vimalakīrti picks up the entire assembly in his hand and takes it to Āmrapālī's garden, where the Buddha is staying. Ānanda is perplexed by the aroma. He is told that it emanates from the food from Sarvagandhasugandhā and that this food accomplishes the Buddha's work (*buddhakṛtya*), that is, helps beings progress toward buddhahood. The Buddha lists many other ways in which the buddhas, endowed with inconceivable (*acintya*) wisdom and eloquence, can accomplish their work. Impressed, Ānanda concedes the inferiority of *śrāvakas*. Before returning to Sarvagandhasugandhā, the visiting bodhisattvas ask Vimalakīrti for a teaching, and he speaks of a liberation (*vimokṣa*) of bodhisattvas that consists in not destroying (*kṣaya*) the conditioned and not preserving (*akṣaya*) the unconditioned.

Chapter 11

In a series of negations, Vimalakīrti describes how he views the Tathāgata. The Buddha tells Śāriputra that Vimalakīrti came from the world Abhirati of Buddha Akṣobhya. The assembly wants to see that world, and Vimalakīrti, without getting up from his seat, miraculously brings the entire Abhirati into Āmrapālī's gardens. The assembly sees Abhirati, and Śākyamuni gives to all present a prediction that they will be reborn in that world. Abhirati returns to its original location. The chapter closes with an exhortation to protect and propagate this teaching.

Chapter 12

Finally come the customary exhortations to protect and propagate the dharma. The Buddha entrusts this teaching to Maitreya.

Titles

The main title in the Sanskrit version – *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* – does not include the term *sūtra*, nor is its equivalent *mdo* found in the Tibetan version. All Chinese translations use the term *jing* (經).

A secondary title is *Acintyavimokṣa* (*dharmaparyāya*); among the various Chinese translations, it appears in up to seven variants. It may have been inspired by the title and content of chapter 5, a large part of which deals with the inconceivable (*acintya*) liberations (*vimokṣa*) of the bodhisattva, and which, in a move reminiscent of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, contains an indication that the teaching presented therein is a summary of an "unthinkably" larger teaching. Further, the 6th-century CE Chinese catalogue *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀) introduces for Zhi Qian's translation the title *Fofa puru daomen jing* (佛法普入道門經; T. 2034, 57a21), which likely reflects the Sanskrit *Sarvabuddhadharmapraveśa* from chapter 10, § 11.

Yet another title – unattested in the Chinese tradition – is mentioned in the Sanskrit version (ch. 12, § 23): *Yamakapuṭavyatyastanihāra*. M. Ueki renders this as "presentation of paired phrases and paradoxical expressions" (see Ueki, 2011, 619–620n75). The corresponding Tibetan is *Phrugs su sbyar ba snrel zhir mngon par bsgrubs pa*, which É. Lamotte reconstructs as *Yamakavyatyastābhinirhāra* and translates as "production of paired and inverted sounds" (Lamotte, 1976, lvi–lvii, 272–273; comp. Thurman, 1976, 42: "reconciliation of dichotomies"), suggesting that the paired inversion refers to the contradictory or paradoxical way in which the text portrays the bodhisattva.

Commentarial Traditions

No evidence exists of any Indian or Tibetan commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. By contrast, Sinitic Buddhism produced an extensive commentarial literature on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (for an overview, see J. Ōshika, 1982).

The earliest surviving quasi-commentarial work in Chinese is the 4th-century CE Zhi Mindu's (支敏度) preface (T. 2145, 58b21) to his synoptic edition (*heben* [合本]; being a kind of exegetical work; see Zürcher, 2007, 99–100), no longer extant, of the three early translations: those by Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, and Zhu Shulan.

Roughly from the same time is a commentary of unclear authorship partially preserved in the Fonds Pelliot chinois (P. 3006) from Dunhuang, which G. Shi (1998) suggests may be the only available work of this sort targeting the Zhi Qian translation. Another important early commentary is the *Zhu Weimojie jing*, traditionally considered a work of Sengzhao but compiled likely in the early 6th century CE (Hanazuka, 1982). It collects glosses and longer interpretive passages attributed by name to Kumārajīva, Sengzhao, Daosheng (道生), and Daorong (道融; for studies on *Zhu Weimojie jing*, see Usuda, 1977; Kimura, 1987; for translations, see Carré, 2004; Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism of Taishō University, 2000). A modified version of this group commentary, the *Jingming jing jijie Guanzhong shu* (淨名經集解 關中疏; T. 2777) compiled in 760 CE by Daoye (道液), containing also sections of an otherwise lost commentary by Sengrui (僧叡), and a manuscript with Sengzhao's commentary edited independently (Kudara, 2002), are among the many *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*-related textual finds from Dunhuang. The Dunhuang site yielded about 770 scrolls (*juan* [卷]) of the Chinese *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (mainly *Weimojie suoshuo jing*) as well as over 150 scrolls of related material – commentaries and popular texts in prose and verse (for overviews of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* commentaries from Dunhuang, see Fang & Xu, 1994; Shi, 1998, 53ff.).

Other commentaries from the early period up to the Tang dynasty include those by Jingying Huiyuan (淨影慧遠; T. 1776), Zhiyi (智顗; T. 1777), Jizang (吉藏; T. 1780; T. 1781), Zhanran (湛然; T. 1778), Kuiji (窺基; T. 1782), and Daoye (道液; T. 2778). In addition, two commentaries were written in the Song, five in the Ming, and three in the Qing dynasties; the dates of three others have not been determined. The Japanese tradition preserves the *Yuimagyō gisho* (維摩經義疏), a work attributed to Prince Shōtoku but one whose authorship remains contested (Hubbard, 2012).

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Vimalakīrtinirdeśa in V

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Exegetical works aside, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in China exerted considerable impact on secular literature and visual culture. Its influence on literature has been sketched out admirably by P. Demiéville (1962).

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa in Visual Culture

The earliest known visual representation of Vimalakīrti was a mural by Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之), produced, for public display, between 363 and 365 CE in the Waguan Temple (瓦官寺) in Jiankang (建康), the capital of the Eastern Jin Kingdom (Soper, 1959, 36). Lost at an early date, this acclaimed painting is reported to have inspired the production in southern China of many others on the same topic through the 5th and 6th centuries CE, but none has survived. The earliest surviving painting comes from the north: dated to 420 CE, it is preserved in cave 169 in the Bingling temple (炳靈寺) complex in modern-day Gansu province and depicts Vimalakīrti reclining on a bed-like structure, with a halo behind his head and shoulders, accompanied only by an attendant (He, 1982, 63). In the north in the 5th and early 6th centuries CE, themes from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* were represented mainly in stone sculpture, first at the Yungang (雲崗) complex (mid-5th cent. CE) and then at Longmen (龍門; from the late 5th cent. CE). Over 70 related works from this period have been identified (Bunker, 1968, 30). The most common motif is that of the encounter between Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī: the two are often shown facing each other, with a buddha in between as a judge-like figure. Vimalakīrti's robes come in a variety of styles (from a Persian fur coat to free-flowing Han-style attire), as do his accoutrements: the bed or armrest and the fan (for details, see Bunker, 1968 and Ning, 2004, 50ff.). Starting with the Sui period (589–618 CE), illustrations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* appear in the Mogao (莫高) cave complex at Dunhuang, which preserves some 68 works of this type (He, 1982). The composition in cave 220 (mid-7th cent. CE) stands out on account of its large size (two panels 2 m wide and 3.42 m high) and of its inclusion of the Tang emperor and his officials among the witnesses of the Vimalakīrti-Mañjuśrī exchange. Three miracles are also represented: the giant-thrones scene from chapter 5, the Sarvagandhasugandhā scene from chapter 9, and the Abhirati scene from chapter 11 (for cave 220, see Ning, 2004, 55ff.). Models established by the Tang remained influential in later epochs throughout East Asia. For an overview of the earliest wooden statues of Vimalakīrti from Japan, see J.M. Rosenfield (1966). No visual representation of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* themes has been found in India.

Themes in Scholarship

It has been argued that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* stands out among other Mahāyāna *sūtras* on account of its merit as a work of literature. E. Zürcher (2007, 131) highlights the "dramatic" features of the text. J.A. Silk (2014) applies a theory of narrativity to propose that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is not only a story or a number of stories strung together but also a plot on the level of the text as a whole, a feature very uncommon in Buddhist *sūtra* literature. The narrative aspects of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* were earlier explored in E. Hamlin (1988).

J.G. Williams (1990) sees the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as accomplishing its serious religious goals through a humor of incongruity, to which the real or apparent paradoxicality of Vimalakīrti's teaching lends itself especially well. Other scholars (Kontler, 1988; Fiordalis, 2012) attempt to make sense of the rhetoric of the magical in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*; a question arises about the relation between the magical and the doctrinal. A. Cole (2005, 236ff.) sees the narrative strategy of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as one of rhetorical "humiliation" that displaces "old-style" Buddhism with Vimalakīrti as embodiment of the new authoritative tradition.

The scene of gender change from chapter 6 (§ 15) has been pointed to as evidence of a liberal attitude in some Mahāyāna circles toward gender equality (e.g. Gross, 2004; Paul, 1985). P. Demiéville (1962, 180) opines that, in its original context, this episode was meant to "scandalize the orthodox." Such distinctly modern interpretations notwithstanding, in premodern contexts the gender-change scene may have functioned as yet another expression of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*'s central teaching that while ultimately dualities are "empty," conventionally they remain very real: emptiness does not obliterate dualities but is their defining nature. J.A. Silk (2014, 176n68) speculates that, in the monastic context defined by Vinaya regulations, Śāriputra's transformation into a woman would likely be read as an indication of his karmic inferiority.

Much scholarship on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* attempts to account for the text's great popularity, in relative terms, in Sinitic Buddhism. According to a common argument, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*'s treatment of subtle metaphysics through the medium of lively dialogue, paradox, and brief enigmatic statements, as well as its sensitivity to the problem of the limits of language, was a key factor in its success among the southern elites in China in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, steeped in the practices of *qingtan* (清談; pure conversation) and *xuanxue* (玄學; dark learning; Zürcher, 2007, 132; Mather, 1968, 67). The early reception of the text in the north has not been studied in equal depth.

On a related topic, R. Mather (1968, 66–67) suggests that *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*'s integration into the Sinitic literary patrimony was facilitated by "the flexibility of the *sūtra*'s outlook," established through its description of the Buddha as teaching the dharma with a single voice (ch. 1, §§ 10–11). However, at least early on, the single-voice passage could not have played any role as it is missing from the Zhi Qian translation. Moreover, its frequent assertions of the superiority of the bodhisattva path over the *śrāvakayāna* (*śrāvaka* path) prompted some Chinese exegetes to see the text as anything but conciliatory: for instance, in the earliest system of doctrinal classification (*panjiao* [判教]), Huiguan (慧觀) in the 5th century CE classified the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as *yiyang jiao* (抑揚教: "teaching that disparages [the *śrāvakayāna*] and extols [the *bodhisattvayāna* (bodhisattva path)]"; see e.g. T. 1736 [XXXVI] 43a5–8), an evaluation that was taken up later in Tiantai (天台) dogmatics.

Another factor in the success of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in East Asia is often said to have been its embrace of the ideal of the householder bodhisattva (see esp. Whitehead, 1976; 1978; Nakamura, 1962). On this reading, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* endorses a mode of withdrawal from the world enacted not through retreat into the monastery but through the cultivation of a special frame of mind. In this connection, scholars note Zhi Qian's and Kumārajīva's translation of *araṇyavāsa* (ascetic wilderness-dwelling) as *xianju* (閑居; leisure-dwelling) and *kongxianchu* (空閑處; empty leisurely place), respectively, both terms that likely appealed to the cultivated gentry (comp. Nattier, 2008, 245–246). However, any reading of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* must account for the robustly pro-monastic thrust of the text as a whole. Furthermore, to view Vimalakīrti simply as a householder is problematic (see Silk, 2014, 173ff.). As a corrective to this view, some scholars insist that "really" Vimalakīrti is an advanced bodhisattva from Abhirati (Sangharakshita, 1995, 57) or even a tathāgata (Fussman, 2009, 647–648), his identity as a layman from Vaiśālī being nothing but a display of *upāya*, the extraordinary teaching skill of bodhisattvas that allows them to manifest in any form that they deem best suited to the needs and capacities of beings. J.A. Silk (2014) opines that even this does not go far enough: instead of trying to explain away the tension between Vimalakīrti's two identities, we should take it seriously as a concretization of the paradoxical philosophy of emptiness that defines the text in both its doctrinal and its magical dimensions.

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Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha

The term "Chinese Buddhist apocrypha" refers to those scriptures, or the genre of such scriptures, that while appearing in form to be purely the Chinese translation of a scripture (or *sūtra*) originating in India were in fact composed in China. These texts follow the style of authentic translations of Indian Buddhist scriptures, usually beginning with the formula "Thus have I heard" (Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*; Chn. *rushi wo wen* [如是我聞] or *wen rushi* [聞如是] as an earlier form). Scholars thus generally use the term Chinese Buddhist apocrypha to mean "*sūtras* composed in China." The use of the word "apocrypha" is merely conventional, and it does not exactly match the original meaning in the Judeo-Christian context.

There are various types of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, as discussed below. It is difficult to know precisely how many Chinese Buddhist apocrypha once existed. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教録; Record of Buddhist Teachings in Kaiyuan Era), compiled by Zhisheng (智昇) in 730 CE, lists as many as 406 such texts in 1,074 fascicles (Makita, 1976, 27; see also Cao, 2011). Some of these may be duplicates, so the true number of such texts in existence by 730 CE may have been somewhat smaller than this, but we can safely say that a large number of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were composed and spread widely in medieval China. Indeed this same catalogue records the number of authentic translations extant in Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) as only 1,076 texts in 5,048 fascicles (T. 2154 [LV] 680a27–b02; 700c27–29), so it would seem that Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were a substantial portion of the total number of medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

Traditional and Modern Appellations for Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha

What modern scholars writing in English refer to as Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were traditionally called either *wei jing* (僞經; spurious scripture) or *yi jing* (疑經; suspicious/doubtful scripture). These words were used in contrast to *zhen jing* (眞經; authentic scriptures), signifying genuine translations of texts from India or the subordinate areas. The word *jing* has a double meaning: primarily it signifies *sūtra* among the three baskets (Tripiṭaka) of Buddhist canonical texts; more broadly, *jing* can also mean any text of the Tripiṭaka and can thus refer to Vinaya (monastic code) and *śāstra* (treatises) as well. The term Chinese Buddhist apocrypha can also be used in both senses.

The terms *wei jing* and *yi jing* sometimes expressed different meanings but were also occasionally used as synonyms. When differentiated, *wei jing* means a certifiably inauthentic or spurious scripture, while *yi jing* was used to refer to a scripture whose authenticity was merely highly questionable. Another term, *yi wei jing* (疑僞經; suspicious and spurious scriptures), combines the meaning of both *yi* and *wei* and was also sometimes used in traditional Buddhist catalogues. The relationship between these various terms can be summarized as follows:

1. a. *zhen jing* (眞經) ←→ b. *wei jing* (偽經; = *yi jing* [疑經] as synonyms)
2. a. *zhen jing* (眞經) ←→ b1. *wei jing* (僞經) + b2. *yi jing* (疑經; b1+ b2 = *yi wei jing* [疑僞經])

Some scholars writing in Chinese and Japanese intentionally avoid the usage of *wei*, because it is based on the value judgment that Indian Buddhist texts, and only Indian Buddhist texts, are authentic and that anything else is spurious and therefore insignificant. Accordingly, those scholars who seek to use Chinese Buddhist apocrypha as historical sources for clarifying the history of Chinese Buddhism often prefer to use value-neutral terms, such as "indigenous Chinese scriptures" (中國撰述經典; Jpn. *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten*; Chn. *Zhongguo zhuanshu jingdian*).

In traditional catalogues of Chinese Buddhist texts, another related term is *shiyi* (失譯; lit. translator's [name] lost, i.e. anonymous translation). Since authors of spurious scriptures usually sought to conceal the true origins of such texts, they often composed an apocryphon without specifying the translator's name. As a result, such a text was treated as *shiyi* in later catalogues. Alternatively, Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were attributed to well-known and prolific translators such as Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什) or Dharmarakṣa (竺法護). Many Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were also attributed to An

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Shigao (安世高), the earliest translator of Chinese Buddhist texts, who worked during the late Eastern Han. Use of the label *shiyi* was thus a common way of disseminating Chinese Buddhist apocrypha without arousing suspicion about inauthentic origins. Sengyou's (僧祐; 445–518 CE) list of *shiyi sūtras* in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集; Collection of the Records on Issuing the Three Storehouses; T. 2145) includes such Chinese Buddhist apocrypha as *Pusa yingluo benye jing* (菩薩瓔珞本業經; Scripture of the Original Acts that Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas; T. 1485; see Mochizuki, 1946, 471–484), *Yijiao sanmei jing* (遺教三昧經; Scripture of the *Samādhi* on the Bequeathed Teaching; Funayama, 2007), *Jingdu sanmei jing* (淨度三昧經; Scripture of the *Samādhi* on the Pure Land; Mochizuki, 1946, 404–407; Fang, vol. VII, 2000, 226–347; Ziegler, 2001; Chen, 2013), and numerous other spurious and suspicious scriptures.

Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha Defined as Scriptures Containing Sinitic Elements

One of the most significant characteristics of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha is seen clearly in a passage of the well-known *Tiwei Poli jing* (提謂波利經; Scripture of Trapuṣa [Tiwei] and Bhallika [Poli]; Tsukamoto, 1974; Makita, 1976, 148–211; Tokuno, 1994). This text was composed in the second half of the 5th century CE by the *bhikṣu* Tanjing (曇靖) of the Northern Wei (北魏). During this dynasty, Emperor Taiwu (太武; r. 423–452 CE), who supported Daoism, enacted a persecution of Buddhism in 446 CE. Buddhism was then restored in 452 CE when the next emperor, Wencheng (文成; r. 452–465 CE), ascended the throne. During the persecution, however, many Buddhist texts were lost, and in order to help restore Buddhism within society, basic texts were needed, especially those that were accessible to the lay community. It was in this situation that the *Tiwei Poli jing* was composed.

This scripture was heavily based on Chinese traditional ideas such as the notion of *wu xing* (五行; five phases), which explains the cycle of phenomena in the world by using the five elements wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, as we see in the following passage:

> Trapuṣa and Bhallika asked the Buddha, "Why do you preach neither the four nor the six precepts to us, [but only the five precepts]?" The Buddha answered, "Five is the great categorical number of the world (*tianxia zhi da shu* [天下之大數]). In heaven it appears as the five stars; on the earth, it appears as the five major mountains; in the case of humans, it functions as the five viscera; in *yin-yang* (陰陽), it becomes the five phases; in the case of sovereigns, it appears as the five primeval emperors; in this world, it works as the five virtues; in color it becomes the five colors; and in Buddhist teaching, it becomes the five precepts. (T. 1705 [XXXIII], 260c22–25; trans. by author)

The presence of clear Chinese elements such as the five phases and *yin* and *yang* here reveals that this text must have been composed in China. A similar case is seen in the *Qingjing faxing jing* (清淨法行經; Scripture of the Clean and Purified Behaviors [Fit] for the Law), composed during the Six Dynasties period. This *sūtra* contains a reference to three Chinese sages as the disciples of the Buddha - namely Laozi (老子), Zhongni (仲尼 = Kongzi [孔子] = Confucius), and Yanyuan (顏淵; Makita & Ochiai, vol. III, 1995, 13–14). These three are depicted as sages sent to China by Śākyamuni Buddha in order to prepare the Chinese people for the later arrival of the Buddha's own teachings. Similarly, the scripture makes references to Chinese classics such as Laozi's *Daodejing* (道德經) and the five scriptures of Confucianism: *Shi* (詩; Songs), *Chunqiu* (春秋; Spring and Autumn Annals), *Yi* (易; Changes), *Li* (禮; Rites), and *Shu* (書; Documents).

It goes without saying that these kinds of references do not, and indeed could not, appear in pure Chinese translations of Indic texts.

Various Purposes of Composition

In his pioneering study, T. Makita (1976, 40–84) enumerates the following six aims behind the composition of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha.

1. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha were written so as to glorify particular Chinese sovereigns; an example is the *Da yun jing* (大雲經; Scripture of Great Clouds; see Forte, 2005), which was composed during the reign of Empress Wu (武則天; 624–705), and which effectively implied that she was Maitreya Buddha.

2. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha serve as platforms for the criticism of the contemporaneous political situation, such as we find in the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* (仁王護國般若波羅蜜經; Perfection of Wisdom Scripture of Benevolent [or Humane] Kings Who Protect Their Country; T. 245

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Orzech, 1998) and the fundamental scripture for the Sanjie jiao ("Three Stages") school (三階教) entitled *Xiangfa jueyi jing* (像法決疑經; Scripture of the Resolution of Doubts in the Time of the Counterfeit Doctrine; T. 2870).

3. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha serve to assert connections between Buddhism and traditional Chinese thought. For example, the *Fumu en zhong jing* (父母恩重經; Scripture on Profound Parental Kindness; T. 2887), a well-known *sūtra* of filial piety, states that the most important filial piety is that directed to the Buddha. T. Makita also classifies the abovementioned *Qingjing faxing jing* and the *Tiwei boli jing* under this category.

4. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha seem to be based on specific doctrines. For example, the *Da tong fangguang jing* (大通方廣經; Extensive Scripture of Great Penetration; T. 2871) is mostly concerned to explain how one can eliminate bad karma through confession (*chanhui* [懺悔]). The *Guanshiyin sanmei jing* (觀世音三昧經; Scripture of the *Samādhi* of Guanshiyin [i.e. Avalokiteśvara]) and the *Jiu ku guanshiyin jing* (救苦觀世音經; Scripture of Guanshiyin Who Saves [Sentient Beings] from Sufferings) both pertain to the state of Guanshiyin (觀世音; also known as Guanyin [觀音]) worship in medieval China. A small piece entitled *Ban nihuang hou biqiu shi bian jing* (般泥洹後比丘十變經; Scripture of the Ten Changes of *Bhikṣus* after the Buddha's Perfect Nirvāṇa) discusses the prophecy of the gradual decline of the Buddhist dharma in the 1,300 years after the Buddha's extinction. It is closely related in contents with the *Fa miejin jing* (法滅盡經; Scripture of the Annihilation of the Law; T. 396) and the *Yueguang tongzi jing* (月光童子經; Scripture of Prince Moonlight; T. 534–536; Zürcher, 1982).

5. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha have certain personal names in their title. For example, the *Gao wang guanshiyin jing* (高王觀世音經; Scripture of Guanshiyin Manifesting as King Gao; Kiriya, 1990), which refers to Gao Huan (高歡) of the Northern Wei dynasty (later enthroned as Emperor Shenwu [神武] of the Northern Qi [北齊] dynasty), describes Guanyin's miraculous powers.

6. Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha are based on superstitious practices, such as how to obtain relief from disease, how to accumulate merits for the future, and so on. Typical examples are the *Yan shouming jing* (延壽命經; Scripture of Longevity; T. 2888) and the *Tiandi ba yang shenzhou jing* (天地八陽神呪經; Scripture of Mystic Spells of Eight *Yang* on Heaven and Earth; T. 2897), both of which are closely related with folk beliefs and Daoism.

The above-listed six types are far from an exhaustive or complete classification of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, in part because T. Makita only discussed those texts known to scholars in 1976. Still, his typology is useful for understanding the basic kinds and major examples of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha.

Because the contents of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha reflect the actual state of religious beliefs in China, they are important as concrete cases of the so-called Sinification of Buddhism. They reveal, for example, those points on which Chinese Buddhists could not take recourse to the authority of authentic translations. They also show how and when Chinese Buddhists may have been dissatisfied with what was found within genuine translations from Indic texts. In other words, when Chinese Buddhists were committed to certain ideas or practices that do not clearly appear in translations of Indian Buddhist texts, one solution was to compose new *sūtras* that could be used to justify the inclusion of such ideas in Buddhism. In this sense, Chinese Buddhist apocrypha worked as an authority to justify novel Chinese Buddhist activities. Among cataloguers and other clerical authorities, however, scriptures such as these should be, and indeed often were, classified as "spurious." From the point of view of the modern scholar, however, these texts are so abundant in number and so rich in contents that we cannot simply deny their value or ignore their existence. The existence of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, and their repeated production over the centuries, is an important part of the history of Chinese Buddhism. Indeed, in as much as Chinese Buddhist apocrypha sometimes served as the basis of "apocryphal" Chinese Buddhist practices that cannot be traced back to Indian Buddhism (see Benn, 2007), they are a remarkable and unique source for learning about the concrete forms in which Chinese Buddhism was understood and practiced.

Yet, these texts were scorned throughout the history of Buddhism in China, and the compilers of Chinese Buddhist catalogues were determined to purge the canon of apocryphal texts. The reason was simple: they viewed Chinese Buddhist apocrypha as not the Buddha's actual words and the spread of such texts as confusing true and false teachings. Sengyou, the compiler of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, was a typical figure in this regard. With respect to the text entitled *Fofa you liu yi di yi ying zhi* (佛法有六義第一應知; The Buddhist Teachings as Possessed of Six

Senses to Be Primarily Understood) and the *Liutong wuai liugen jingye yimen* (六通無礙六根淨業義門; Entrance Gate for the Doctrine of the Unimpeded Six Supernormal Powers and the Purified Actions through the Six Sense Organs), neither of which is extant, Sengyou states the following:

> During the reign of Emperor Wu (武帝) of the [Southern] Qi, the *bhikṣu* Shi Fayuan (釋法願) compiled the two texts, by excerpting and arranging the contents of various *sūtras*. They are certainly different from forgery in that they propagate the meanings of *sūtras*, yet I [i.e. Sengyou] am afraid that they will incur any suspicion and confusion in the future because they are compiled in the form of a separate text. This is why I make an explicit note here in the present record. (T. 2145 [LV] 39b3–7; trans. by author)

Thus Sengyou tried to keep the Buddha's teachings as they were without any change or alteration. His conservative attitude led him to criticize a compilation of *chaojing* (抄經; abridgment/excerpts of *sūtra*), which was produced by Xiao Ziliang (蕭子良; 460–494 CE) in the Southern Qi dynasty.

It is important to note a political aspect of the question. By composing a text and attributing it to the Buddha's authority, it would be possible to clothe the political statements of contemporary significance in an aura of legitimacy under the umbrella of the Buddha's charisma. Although they could not altogether prevent the application of scripture to contemporary situations, by suppressing such compositions, political authorities sought to limit the potential danger from such works. Examples include works of millenarian authority by which, for instance, "rebels" sought divine sanction for themselves, sometimes as the future buddha Maitreya, while from the opposite point of view, we have the fascinating case of an interpolation in the otherwise genuinely Indian *Ratnameghasūtra* (*Baoyun jing* [寶雨經]; T. 660 [XVI] 284a; Forte, 2005) made at the behest of the Empress Wu in order to "prophecy" her ascendancy as ruler of China.

How to Prove Apocryphal Character: Historical Testimony

Roughly speaking, two main criteria can be used to prove that a given text is apocryphal. The first is evidence given by people or texts contemporary with the *sūtra* in question – in other words, historical testimony. A typical case is the description in Chinese Buddhist catalogues (*jinglu* [經録]) compiled by contemporary or slightly later scholar-monks. For example, the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* (仁王護國般若波羅蜜經; Scripture of Benevolent Kings; T. 245) is described as Kumārajīva's translation in numerous later catalogues and canons, but in the earlier *Chu sanzang ji ji*, written during the Liang dynasty, this text is included in the list of the scriptures whose translators are unknown (*shiyi*). Thus, during the Liang dynasty, this text was not yet considered Kumārajīva's translation. Moreover, Liang emperor Wu's *Zhujie dapin xu* (注解大品序; Preface to the Exegesis of the Longer Wisdom *Sūtra*) contains a noteworthy passage to the effect that the emperor avoided a reference to the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing*, because it was regarded as apocryphal by the emperor's contemporaries (T. 2145 [LV] 54b17–20). This statement, though not from a catalogue, is important as historical testimony from the early 6th century.

Apocryphal Texts with Explicit Authorship and/or Place of Composition

On a few occasions, historical sources actually say who wrote a given apocryphon. For example, Sengyou's list of suspicious *sūtras* contained within the *Chu sanzang ji ji* enumerates some apocryphal texts whose authorship was known in Sengyou's time. With regard to the *Tiwei Poli jing*, Sengyou states that it "was compiled by *bhikṣu* Tanjing (曇靖) from the north in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu (孝武) of the Song dynasty" (T. 2145 [LV] 39a25). Likewise, the same list states that the *Baoche pusa jing* (寶車菩薩經; Scripture of Bodhisattva Baoche) "was compiled by *bhikṣu* Tanbian (曇辯) from the Huai region (淮州) of the north and revised by *bhikṣu* Daoshi (道侍) from the Qing region (青州)" (T. 2145 [LV] 39a27–28; see Lin, 2005). While these are Chinese scriptures composed in the north, there are other scriptures composed in the south. They include the *Puti fuzang fahua sanmei jing* (菩提福藏法化三昧經; Scripture on the *Samādhi* of the Dharma Transformation of the Store of Merits for *Bodhi*). Though details are totally unknown, Sengyou states that "it was compiled by *bhikṣu* Daobei (道備) during the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 of the (southern) Qi," with the interlinear note "Daobei changed his name to Daohuan (道歡)" (T. 2145 [LV] 39b02). Sengyou also claims that the *Guanding jing* (灌頂經; Conse-

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In addition to naming their authors, catalogues and other texts sometimes mention where a certain apocryphon was composed. For example, in his *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳; Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks), Daoxuan (道宣) states that the *Datong fangguang jing* (大通方廣經; Extensive Scripture of Great Penetration; T. 2871), which became popular in the early Liang dynasty, originated in the Jing (荊) and Xiang (襄) regions (T. 2060 [L] 699c15). This strongly suggests the possibility that the *sūtra* in question was composed in early Liang times in the midstream area of the Yangtze River or a little north of it.

How to Prove Apocryphal Character: Analyses of the Contents

While information from Chinese Buddhist catalogues and the like can serve as strong evidence that a given *sūtra* is apocryphal, this information is not always correct. Even in the absence of evidence from catalogues, internal evidence from the text itself sometimes reveals a clear Chinese origin. Concretely, if we find clear Chinese elements within a text, that text may be taken as apocryphal, because it becomes impossible to assume that it is a translation from an Indic original. As discussed above, this is the case for the *Tiwei boli jing* and the *Qingjing faxing jing*, wherein we find reference to the Chinese system of the five phases, Chinese proper names such as Laozi, and reference to classical Chinese texts.

Sinitic elements can be not only proper names but also Buddhist doctrines that developed exclusively in Chinese Buddhism. Furthermore, within some texts, we find passages that seem to have been borrowed verbatim from other genuine translations, and the presence of such passages can also work as evidence for the apocryphal character of the text in question. For example, S. Mochizuki (1946, 441–471; see also Funayama, 2011) persuasively demonstrated that the *Fanwang jing* (梵網經; Scripture of Brahma's Net; T. 1484; de Groot, 1893) contains passages directly borrowed from the *Da banniepan jing* (大般涅槃經), which is a Mahāyāna version of the *Nirvāṇasūtra*, and the *Pusa dichi jing* (菩薩地持經; Scripture of the Bodhisattva's Stages; T. 1581), which is a version of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, both of which were translated by Tanwuchen (385–433 CE), from the *Pusa shanjie jing* (菩薩善戒經; T. 1582), which is a different version of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* translated by Guṇavarman (367–431 CE), and from Nāgārjuna's *Zhong lun* (中論; Middle Treatise; Skt. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*; T. 1564) translated by Kumārajīva (c. 350–409 CE) . The *Fanwang jing* even seems to have borrowed a passage from the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* (see above), which itself is almost certainly an apocryphon (Mochizuki, 1946, 425–441).

It should be noted here that the presence of identical passages shared with another translation does not necessarily prove the apocryphal character of the text in question. Even genuine translations occasionally borrowed entire passages verbatim from other translations, as in the case of the beginning section of the *Shi di* (十地品) chapter of Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Huayan jing* (華嚴經; Flower Garland *Sūtra*; T. 278), which is almost identical to the opening section of the later *Shizhu jing* (十住經; Ten-Stages *Sūtra*; T. 286), Kumārajīva's translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* . There are also several passages in which Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Zheng fa hua jing* (正法華經; T. 262), is nearly identical copied in Kumārajīva's translation, the *Miao fa lianhua jing* (妙法蓮華經). In both of these two cases, the translator of a text borrowed passages from an earlier translation of that same text. Situations such as this, in which translations of the same or similar Indian texts share passages, are quite different from the case of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha. In the latter case, the translated scriptures utilized in the apocryphon in question cannot be arranged in a single line of development in the history of Indian Buddhist *sūtras*.

Ultimately, to judge whether a scripture is an authentic translation or a Chinese composition, we must use all of the above criteria, most especially historical testimony and internal analyses. But even after this kind of multi-angled examination, for many texts, it is not possible to reach a definitive conclusion as to whether they are authentic translations.

Esoteric Buddhism and Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha

Many translations of Mahāyāna esoteric Buddhism were produced in China, especially during the Tang dynasty. The Tang translators of tantric texts include Amoghavajra (or Bukong [不空]; 705–774 CE) and Śubhākarasiṃha (Shan wuwei [善無畏]; 637–735 CE). In addition, it seems that many apocryphal texts associated with esoteric Buddhism were also composed.

For example, the text entitled *Dasheng yuqie jingang xing hai manshushili qian bi qian bo da jiao wang jing* (大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經; Mahāyāna Yoga Scripture of Mañjuśrī, the King of Great Teaching with a Thousand Arms and a Thousand Bowls, of Adamantine, Ocean-like Essence) in ten fascicles, which is usually recorded as a text translated either by Amoghavajra or by Vajrabodhi, is apocryphal. Its preface is also of an apocryphal character (Ono, 1920; Mochizuki, 1946, 519–531; Osabe, 1971, 115–118). For example, the first fascicle of the text expounds a particular twofold classification of the Buddha's bodies: Pilushena (毘盧舍那) as *dharmakāya* (truth body), on the one hand, and Lushena (盧舍那) as *saṃbhogikakāya* (enjoyment body), on the other. This is an understanding that cannot come from Indian Buddhism, because Pilushena and Lushana are just two different Chinese transcriptions of the same Indian name (Vairocana). The fourfold epistemic enumeration of *jian fen* (見分; seer), *xiang fen* (相分; object), *zizheng fen* (自證分; self-cognition), and *zheng zizheng fen* (證自證分; cognition of self-cognition) found in the seventh fascicle, is undoubtedly based on Dharmapāla's (護法) view as introduced by Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE), and it is unlikely that such an idea would have been found presented as the Buddha's own teaching in an Indian text (Gonda, 1925, 157–162). Furthermore, fascicles five, seven, eight, and nine include passages that seem to be directly borrowed from the *Fanwang jing*. There are also other tantric *sūtras* that scholars consider to be apocryphal, such as the *Wenshushili baozang tuoluoni jing* (文殊師利法寶藏陀羅尼經; Scripture of *Dhāraṇī* on Mañjuśrī's Gemlike Dharma; T. 1185A), purportedly translated by Dharmaruci (Osabe, 1971, 118–119). The *Beidou qixing yanming jing* (北斗七星延命經; Scripture of Longevity regarding the Septentrions; T. 1307), can also be judged apocryphal, because it discusses the power of (Daoistic) talismans as well as popular beliefs concerning the relationship between one's birth year and the *ganzhi* (干支) cycle, a system drawn from Chinese cosmology.

Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha as the Transformation of a Text with a Different Original Purpose

Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha seem to be texts that were originally authentic but which were later transformed into apocrypha. A typical example is the *Mulian wen jielü zhong wubai qingzhong shi jing* (目連問戒律中五百輕重事經; Book of Five Hundred Heavy and Light Offenses of the *Vinaya* Inquired by Maudgalyāyana; T. 1483). It is an apocryphon based on an earlier version entitled *Wubai wen shi* (五百問事; Book of Five Hundred Questions). Though this earlier text was excluded from the later woodblock print canons, it is extant in Japanese and Dunhuang manuscripts, and through these, we can see that the original text was not framed as a *sūtra*; it was, rather, a record (or transcription) of the lecture delivered by Vimalākṣa (Pimoluocha [毘摩羅叉]), Kumārajīva's master of Vinaya, in a monastery in the Jing region in the early 5th century (Funayama, 1998; 2006, 41–44).

Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha as New Chapters Added to Authentic *Sūtras*

Sometimes new chapters were forged and added to an authentic *sūtra*. For example, new chapters such as *Maming pusa pin* (馬鳴菩薩品; Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa; T. 2899) and *Duliang tiandi pin* (度量天地品; Measurement of Heaven and Earth; T. 2872; Fang, vol. XVI, 2011, 309–367) were forged and added to the *Lotus Sūtra*. For the *Huayan jing* (see above), a new chapter entitled *Shi e pin* (十惡品; Ten Evil Actions) was similarly forged (Fang, vol. I, 1995, 359–368).

Chinese Buddhist Apocryp
Revealed Scriptures

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Chinese Buddhist Apocryp
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Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha as Revealed Scriptures

Some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha are recorded to have resulted from a kind of revelation. In his *Chu sanzang ji ji*, Sengyou records the story of a 16-year-old nun named Sengfa (僧法), who experienced a supernormal state of meditation in which she fluently recited new scriptures (T. 2145 [LV] 40a9–b23). These texts were written down by someone else, resulting in a total of 21 texts in 35 fascicles. Sengyou, who recorded this strange phenomenon, states that while this kind of revelation had sometimes taken place in China, in the present case, the texts in question did not seem to be the words of the Buddha, and that furthermore this text was not officially translated by a certified master. Accordingly, Sengyou felt that it must be recorded as a suspicious case (Fang, 2003; Campany, 1991; 1993).

Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha and Popular Religions

As stated above, some Chinese Buddhist apocrypha discuss ideas drawn from traditional Chinese thought. A similar type of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha as based on folk beliefs includes the *Shi wang jing* (十王經; Scripture of the Ten Kings; Teiser, 1994), which describes how to perform rituals, while one is still alive, in order to be reborn in the Pure Land, avoiding tortures of hell. It also describes a Sinicized figure of King Yama (*Yanmo* [閻魔]) and a distinctly Chinese version of hell.

Further, the worship of Dizang (地藏; Skt. Kṣitigarbha) also became popular during the Tang dynasty, as a result of which apocryphal texts were composed such as *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* (地藏菩薩本願經; Scripture of Bodhisattva Dizang's Past Vows; T. 412; Matsumoto, 1927) and the *Dizang pusa shi zhai ri* (地藏菩薩十齋日; The Ten Fasting Days of Bodhisattva Dizang; T. 2850; Zhang, 2000; 2003, 112–116). Some of these popular Chinese Buddhist apocrypha are also intermingled with Daoist belief and practice.

An Apocryphon Unveiled to the Public

As mentioned above, though Chinese Buddhist apocrypha are by and large anonymous, in some cases, the authors were known. How were such authors treated in Buddhist society? Sengyou's *Chu sanzang ji ji* discusses the interesting case of the *Saporuotuo juanshu zhuangyan jing* (薩婆若陀眷屬莊嚴經), a lost apocryphon that was popular in Liang times (Liu, 2010, 249–251; Funayama, 2013, 142–144). Sengyou's account of this text can be summarized as follows:

> In the ninth year of Tianjian (天監; i.e. 510 CE), there was an ascetic monk whose name was Miaoguang (妙光). He was originally from the Ying region (郢州) and in the seventh year after full ordination. Many nuns and laywomen were attracted by his good-looking countenance. Monk-administrators of the region, after reflecting on his behavior, decided to expel him from the area. As a result, he concealed himself in Jiankang (present-day Nanjing), the capital of the Liang. Staying at Puhong Temple (普弘寺), he composed the *Saporuotuo juanshu zhuangyan jing*, whose length was over ten sheets. It was written down in an exquisite manner on a folding screen, to which a large number of people from outside gave offerings of flowers and incense. A multitude of people – men and women, monastics and lay – gathered in the temple and donated to it. It drew so much attention that the origin of the scripture was eventually uncovered, and Miaoguang was sent to the imperial jail of Jiankang county. He was sentenced to death for having deceived the people. After this judgment, however, Emperor Wu issued an imperial edict, and some 20 monks from the capital were instructed to reexamine Miaoguang's case. Their final decision was that he should be banned from the Buddhist community according to the treatment prescribed in the monastic code (*vinaya*). In this way, he was saved from death by the emperor's mercy. However, monastics feared that if he moved to a remote place, he might deceive people as before. Therefore it was finally decided that he should be imprisoned at Dongye (東冶), the public metallurgical factory of the capital, for punitive labor. After this decision, the rest of the copies of the apocryphal *sūtra* were confiscated. More than 20 copies were found and burned immediately. In the scripture, the householder Saporuotuo had Miaoguang's father name. His younger brother appeared in the *sūtra* by the name of Jingang deti (金剛德體; "Adamantine Merit Body"); likewise, Miaoguang's disciple had the name Shizi (師子; Lion). (T. 2145 [LV] 40b25–c12; trans. by author)

After providing this account, Sengyou explained that his reason for recording it was to prevent any remnants of Miaoguang's party from confusing people in the future.

Concluding Remarks

Chinese Buddhist apocrypha are rich sources for the history of Chinese Buddhism (note that apocryphal *sūtras* were composed also in Japan; Ochiai, 2000). More often than not, they were composed in order to supplement what had been lacking in authentic translations. However, they were often excluded from the canon, because it was felt that the official canon should include only authentic scriptures. Compilers of catalogues such as Sengyou and Zhisheng typically held such views and attempted to exclude Chinese Buddhist apocrypha from official records, so that there would not be any confusion about the true *dharma*, in both their contemporary world and the future.

However, from a modern perspective, the traditional idea of distinguishing *sūtras* as *zhen* (authentic) and *wei* (spurious) has fundamental problems. First, Chinese people believed that all *sūtras* from India, including Mahāyāna *sūtras*, were teachings spoken by the Buddha through his golden mouth (*jinkou* [金口]), and therefore that translations of Buddhist texts, in contrast to texts composed in China, were always authentic. However, most scholars now agree that Indian Mahāyāna *sūtras* cannot be the Buddha's true words as Chinese Buddhists naively believed, at least not in the sense of the Buddha as the historical Śākyamuni Buddha. So, the traditional distinction between "true" and "false" scriptures in China is clearly not suitable for modern research.

Equally importantly, it is also the case that even authentic translations sometimes contain elements that are not strict, word-for-word translations, such as abridgement or rearrangement of the original contents. In this sense, a strict distinction between *zhen* and *wei*, not to mention a value judgment as to which of these represent true Buddhism, masks what in practice was a more complicated state of affairs, both in regard to Chinese translation practices and the production of so-called apocrypha. For this reason, it may be more helpful to think of Chinese Buddhist texts in terms of a threefold classification of Chinese Buddhist translations (*hanyi jingdian* [漢譯經典]), Chinese Buddhist apocrypha (*yizuo jingdian* [僞作經典] or *yijing* [僞經]; one may even call them *hanhua jingdian* [漢化經典; "sinicized scriptures"), and Chinese Buddhist compilation scriptures (*bianji jingdian* [編輯經典]) as mediating the former two categories (Funayama, 2013, 149–176).

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TORU FUNAYAMA

Sūtra Anthologies

According to traditional accounts of early Buddhism, after the death of the Buddha, his teachings were assembled by his disciples, who gathered together for this purpose in the so-called First Council, these materials being memorized by at least some of those present, since writing remained unknown. Assuming for a moment the historicity of these accounts, it is plain that command of the entirety of the Buddhist canonical literature was beyond the ability of all but a very few. Therefore, even from the very beginnings of the tradition the need for anthologies by means of which monks could easily access the essence of the Budddha's teachings becomes clear. At least early on, however, selections were probably made on the basis of complete, although relatively short, texts. As scriptures grew longer, especially with the advent of the Mahāyāna literature, however, collections were forced to become more selective. In the present usage, an anthology consists in principle of a collection of citations from several Buddhist scriptures. Compilers collected passages from the scriptures in order to explain the Buddhist teaching from their own points of view, for ritual uses and for other reasons, some of which remain obscure to us. Furthermore, there are various styles of anthologies in different Buddhist traditions. There are also various ways in which one might categorize scripture anthologies; here they are presented primarily in terms of their places of origin, although there remain ambiguities in this approach.

Indian Literature

The Pali *Suttanipāta* (Group of Discourses; trans. Norman, 1992), thought to be one of the oldest Buddhist works, consists of a collection of short scriptures, and in this sense the history of Buddhist literature may be said to start with an anthology. Likewise, however, it might equally be claimed that all canonical collections are de facto anthologies since they are certainly collections of originally disparate sermons, preached at different times and places, just as Buddhist tradition maintains. The same might be said for several collections of Mahāyāna *sūtras*. When, around the beginning of the Common Era, the new movement began which ultimately was termed the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle, many new scriptures were composed. At unknown times, some of these were further compiled into great collections, including the *Mahāsaṃnipāta* (17 texts in 60 fascicules in Chinese; T. 397), the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (49 texts in 120 fascicules in Chinese; T. 310), and the *Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka* (among others the 80 fascicule; T. 279). Another example, not canonized and until recently unknown, is found in a manuscript which, as we have it, collects 20 *sūtras*, but originally no doubt had more (Vinītā, 2010). Such collections too are, formally speaking, anthologies, but for the present purposes the focus is rather on collections of excerpts from larger textual units, rather than collections of complete texts (but compare below the case of the Pali *Suttasaṅgaha*).

Mahāyāna Anthologies

There can be little doubt that among the earliest, if not indeed the very earliest, of anthologies of Mahāyāna *sūtras* is the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (Compendium of Scriptures). Although it is attributed to Nāgārjuna, there are significant problems with this attribution (Ichishima, 1968; Harrison, 2007a). No complete Indic version is known, although portions of the text are found, cited by name, in Sanskrit in quotations from Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* III (Tucci, 1971, 22.15, 25.9–10, 27.8; Ichishima, 1972; 1986a), and in a small manuscript fragment (Karashima, 2009). The text as a whole is found in translation in Tibetan, by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde (D 3934/P 5330; ed. Pāsādika, 1989; trans. Pāsādika, 1978–1982; Driessens, 2003) and Chinese, by *Dharmapāla (Fahu [法護]; titled *Dasheng baoyaoyi lun* [大乘寶要義論]; T. 1635). The Tibetan Tanjur contains two commentaries, the *Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣya Ratnālokālaṃkāra* of Ratnākaraśānti, a larger commentary with detailed explanation (D 3935/P 5331; ed. Mochizuki, 1993; 1994; 1995; trans. Mochizuki, 2005–2010; see Mochizuki, 2013, on the philosophers cited by the commentator), and the *Sūtrasamuccaya-*

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sañcayārtha of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna
summary (D 3937/P 5333). While
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1. a buddha's appearance;
2. being born a human;
3. obtaining an auspicious rebi
4. having faith;
5. aspiring to buddhahood;
6. great compassion (see Ichis
7. eliminating obstructive con
8. serious dharma practice as a
9. having faith in (the true
   tathāgatas' complete nirvāṇ
10. having faith in the one vehic
11. taking on a buddha's and
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sañcayārtha of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa), a shorter summary (D 3937/P 5333). While the work is attributed in its translation colophon to Nāgārjuna, the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the main work of the Madhyamaka school, and later scholars of this school such as Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, and Kamalaśīla believed that Nāgārjuna compiled this anthology, this attribution is doubtful, among other reasons since the work cites the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which refers to the teachings of the Yogācāra school, the development of which postdates the period in which the Madhyamaka Nāgārjuna lived. The text consists of citations from approximately 72 scriptures (for a total of 174 citations), though aside from several cursory remarks summarizing particular points, we encounter the compiler's own words only in the 11 topics on utmost rarenesses (for a summary of the text see, Ichishima, 1990). The topics are the utmost rareness of:

1. a buddha's appearance;
2. being born a human;
3. obtaining an auspicious rebirth;
4. having faith;
5. aspiring to buddhahood;
6. great compassion (see Ichishima, 1997);
7. eliminating obstructive conditions;
8. serious dharma practice as a householder;
9. having faith in (the true nature of) the tathāgatas' complete nirvāṇa;
10. having faith in the one vehicle;
11. taking on a buddha's and bodhisattva's sublime and exalted position.

These topics form a logical progression of increasing rarity, culminating in the attainment of buddhahood. The author rarely comments himself, letting the citations and their arrangement do the work. The text in fact lacks even the (otherwise expected in a Buddhist treatise) statement of its purpose: it simply begins with the statement that the appearance of a buddha is rare, which it then illustrates with a citation from the *Lotus Sūtra* saying precisely this. Among the topics of the text, the teaching of the one vehicle (*ekayāna*) is characteristic, as Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648–1721) cites this anthology in his *Grub mtha' chen mo* (Great Exposition of Tenets; Hopkins, 1983, 604–610) in order to explain the Madhyamaka interpretation.

The only anthology of Mahāyāna *sūtras* to exist wholly in Sanskrit is the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Compendium of Training) of Śāntideva, the author of the highly influential *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*. This work is arranged around the author's own verses, 27 in number, in which the "vital points" (*marmasthāna*; see Sasaki, 2001) of the text are expounded (Bendall, 1897–1902, xxxix–xlvii; transmitted independently in Tibetan; D 3939/P 5335), illustrated with extensive quotations (the author says he will give an introduction to the vows of the bodhisattva "using an anthology of meaningful passages" [*samuccitārthavākya*], Bendall, 1897–1902, 1.10). The vital points are summarized in a verse as follows (Harrison, 2007, 235 [root verse 4]; trans. Harrison, 2009, 90):

> The sacrifice for the sake of all living beings of one's person, one's possessions, and one's merit accrued in the past, present and future, and the preservation, purification and increase of these things.

One of the first Mahāyāna Buddhist texts edited by modern scholars, it is known in Sanskrit (ed. Bendall, 1897–1902; trans. Bendall and Rouse, 1922; on the unique manuscript, Cambridge University Library collection 1478, see Sasaki Kazunori, 2007 [aside from copies of Wright, 1478, other manuscripts are known to exist in Tibet, but are not yet accessible]), in a Tibetan translation by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde, revised by Tilakakalaśa and Blo ldan shes rab (D 3940/P 5336), and in a Chinese version by *Dharmapāla (Fahu [法護]), titled *Dasheng ji pusaxue lun* (大乘集菩薩學論; T. 1636), where the authorship is attributed instead to *Dharmakīrti (Facheng [法 稱]). In addition to the sources identified by the editor C. Bendall, by making use of the Chinese canon Wogihara (1904) was able to identify many more sources. The Tibetan canon preserves two commentaries, the *Śikṣāsamuccayābhisamaya* of Dharmakīrti (Gser gling pa; D 3942, 4550/P 5338, 5464) and the *Śikṣākusumamañjarī* of Vairocanarakṣita (D 3943/P 5339; Sasaki, 2004). The text has attracted attention not only as a reservoir of scriptural materials in Sanskrit, but for its program and approach (e.g. Hedinger, 1984; Clayton, 2006; Mrozik, 2007). Recent research has significantly changed our picture of this anthology, however, which was for long viewed as a mere collection of scriptural passages. It has now been made clear (Harrison, 2007b; 2009) that a much larger portion of the text than once thought is from the pen of the compiler, who should then rather be thought of more actively as an author. In particular, in addition to prose comments (some of which in the past were confused with citations), the author contributed at least 133 additional verses (ed. Harrison, 2007; trans. Harrison, 2009). The close though complex relation of this work with the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* is suggested by the overlap of 33 of these 133 verses (Harrison, 2007b, 220). The situation is complicated by the history of the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*. According to Saito (2010, 18), when the original unrevised version of the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* (attributed to *Akṣayamati, another appelation of Śāntideva) appeared in India, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* had not yet been composed. The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* was then composed in accord with the central motives of the unrevised *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*, which however, in its turn, under the influence of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, was revised (Saito, 2010, 22). The revised *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* contains much discussed verses in which reference by the reader to both the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the/a *Sūtrasamuccaya* is recommended. One likely possibility is that the author intended to refer to the former, much longer text, for material covered at length, and the latter, shorter work, for a more condensed summary (Harrison, 2007b, 225–226; the same already in Filliozat, 1964).

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is classified into the basic text in verses and the citations from 88 scriptures (a total of 359 citations is listed in Mochizuki, 2006) with the author's commentaries. The text is divided into 19 chapters (18 in Chinese):

1. Perfection of Generosity;
2. Embrace of the Sacred Teaching through the Perfection of Morality;
3. Protection of Exponents of the Teaching and Others;
4. Avoiding Sin;
5. Renouncing Damage to the Perfection of Morality;
6. Protection of One's Person;
7. Care of One's Possessions;
8. Purification from Sin;
9. Perfection of Patience;
10. The Perfection of Effort;
11. Praise of Forest Seclusion;
12. Preparation of the Aspiration to Awakening;
13. The Topics of Intent Contemplation;
14. Purification of One's Person;
15. Purity in Enjoyment and Religious Actions;
16. Increase of Good Practice;
17. Praise of Worship and the Rest;
18. Recollection of the Three Jewels; and
19. Increase of Holiness (included in ch. 18 in Chinese).

It begins with the perfection of generosity (*dāna*), the second to the eighth concern the perfection of keeping the precepts (*śīla*), the ninth and the tenth engage the perfection of patience (*kṣānti*) and the perfection of effort (*vīrya*), the eleventh to the fourteenth concern the perfection of meditation (*dhyāna*), while the perfection of wisdon (*prajñā*) comes at the end of the fourteenth. Therefore the text was basically compiled on the basis of the teaching of the six perfections (*pāramitā*), just as was the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*. This anthology was widely accepted in later Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, and Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, for instance, seems to depend on it when he cites scriptures in his *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā*. Likewise the commentary on the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* by Prajñākaramati, the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (La Vallée Poussin, 1901–1914), draws heavily for its supporting scriptural citations from the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*; since the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* survives in Sanskrit, this parallelism provides us additional Sanskrit materials which also allow us to verify the wording of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya's* quotations.

Of the debt of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* to the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, it has been said that it "amounts in places to what we would nowadays call plagiarism, with entire sequences of sūtra citations lifted from the earlier commentary, in one case with the linking prose comments of the author." (Harrison, 2009, 89). A significant number of citations are identical in the two works (Sasaki, 1965; Asano, 1995), but what is even more revealing are the identical sequences of citations (Harrison, 2007a).

Another anthology, extant only in Chinese, is the *Dasheng xiuxing pusaxingmen zhujing yaoji* (大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集; A Collection of Key Passages from the Sūtras on the Practices of the Conduct of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Practitioners; T. 847), translated in 721 CE by Zhiyan (智嚴). The text consists of 42 sections of quotations, but its relationship, if any, to the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* remains to be clarified (*pace* Asano, 1998, 2003, 116–121).

The quite sizable *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* (Great Compendium of Scriptures) of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna exists only in a Tibetan translation by Nyi ma grags pa and Mdo sde 'bar (D 3961/P 5358; ed. Mochizuki, 2004; on the cited *sūtras*, Mochizuki, 1995b). Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is well known as an Indian scholar invited to Tibet to introduce Buddhist teachings; his most important work is the massively influential *Bodhipathapradīpa*. The *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* consists of citations from 83 scriptures (a total of 273 citations is listed in Mochizuki, 2006) and has 37 chapters:

1. Generosity toward Those W
World;
2. Envy with regard to Those
3. Deceit and False Living;
4. Slander of Preachers of the
5. Rejection of the Teaching;
6. Those Who Injure Bodhi
Adversaries;
7. Monastic Supervision;
8. Grasping the Teaching;
9. A Light Livelihood;
10. Purification of Livelihood;
11. Profit and Honor;
12. What Is Spoken by Demon
13. Commerce;
14. Indication of Immorality;
15. Despising Those Who Hav
16. Praising Those Who Have
17. Purified Qualities;
18. The Improper Range of the
19. Destructive Companions;
20. Good Companions;
21. Honor and Worship of the
22. Grasping the True Teachin
23. Decay of the True Teachin
24. The Virtue of Listening (to
25. Rejection of Those Who A
26. The Fault of Not Asking;
27. Embracing the True Teach
28. Praising Oneself and Blam
29. Statement on the Virtue o
Awakening;
30. Rejecting the Aspiration to
31. Forgetting the Aspiration
32. Prohibition of Medical Tre
33. Rejection of Astrology for
34. Despising Those Who Dep
35. Generosity toward Those
36. The Tendency Away from
37. The Virtue of Generosity.

This anthology begins with the
towards those who have left the w
three topics on generosity, notab
chapter on generosity of the *Bo*
chapter 36. The author also refers t
chapters, important also in his *B*
and *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa*. More
negative topics for Buddhist pr
prohibition of medical treatmen
of astrology, which are never refe
anthologies. At the same time, t
this large anthology remains unc

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t (*vīrya*), the eleventh to the
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it when he cites scriptures in his
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)caryāvatāra by Prajñākaramati,
ārapañjikā (La Vallée Poussin,
heavily for its supporting scrip-
the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*; since the
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w us to verify the wording of the
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the author." (Harrison, 2009, 89).
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usaxingmen zhujing yaoji (大乘修
集; A Collection of Key Passages
the Practices of the Conduct of
attva Practitioners; T. 847), trans-
Zhiyan (智嚴). The text consists
quotations, but its relationship, if
muccaya and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*
arified (*pace* Asano, 1998, 2003,

ble *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya* (Great
Scriptures) of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna
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on the cited *sūtras*, Mochizuki,
raśrījñāna is well known as an
vited to Tibet to introduce Bud-
his most important work is the
ntial *Bodhipathapradīpa*. The
caya consists of citations from
total of 273 citations is listed in
and has 37 chapters:

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1. Generosity toward Those Who Have Left the World;
2. Envy with regard to Those Who Live at Home;
3. Deceit and False Living;
4. Slander of Preachers of the Teaching;
5. Rejection of the Teaching;
6. Those Who Injure Bodhisattvas and Their Adversaries;
7. Monastic Supervision;
8. Grasping the Teaching;
9. A Light Livelihood;
10. Purification of Livelihood;
11. Profit and Honor;
12. What Is Spoken by Demons;
13. Commerce;
14. Indication of Immorality;
15. Despising Those Who Have Morality;
16. Praising Those Who Have Left the World;
17. Purified Qualities;
18. The Improper Range of the Monk;
19. Destructive Companions;
20. Good Companions;
21. Honor and Worship of the Tathāgata;
22. Grasping the True Teaching;
23. Decay of the True Teaching;
24. The Virtue of Listening (to the Teaching);
25. Rejection of Those Who Are Not Learned;
26. The Fault of Not Asking;
27. Embracing the True Teaching;
28. Praising Oneself and Blaming Others;
29. Statement on the Virtue of the Aspiration to Awakening;
30. Rejecting the Aspiration to Awakening;
31. Forgetting the Aspiration to Awakening;
32. Prohibition of Medical Treatment to Monks;
33. Rejection of Astrology for Monks;
34. Despising Those Who Depend on the King;
35. Generosity toward Those Who Live at Home;
36. The Tendency Away from Generosity; and
37. The Virtue of Generosity.

This anthology begins with the topic of generosity towards those who have left the world and ends with three topics on generosity, notably citing the whole chapter on generosity of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in chapter 36. The author also refers to *bodhicitta* in three chapters, important also in his *Bodhipathapradīpa* and *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa*. Moreover, he refers to negative topics for Buddhist practices, especially prohibition of medical treatment and the rejection of astrology, which are never referred in other Indic anthologies. At the same time, the overall plan of this large anthology remains unclear.

The *Bhāvanākramasūtrasamuccaya* (Compendium of Scriptures on Practice Steps) exists only in Tibetan (D 3933/P 5329); there is no information on its compiler or translator in its colophon. Its title, given also in Sanskrit in the text itself, suggests a relationship with the *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla, but it is virtually certain that it is in fact a Tibetan compilation rather than a rendering of a work composed in India and translated into Tibetan. The opening verse of the text enumerates its eightfold contents: (1) the difficulty of finding freedom and favorable conditions; (2) following a spiritual friend; (3) remembrance of the teacher; (4) practices of impermanence; (5) dispassion; (6) the noble truths; (7) the irreversible wheel; and (8) the perfect purity of the three fields, though the compiler later explains the seventh as love, compassion and the awakening mind and the eighth as the six perfections. The first five belong to the superior condition, the remaining three each form a proper division. As the first topic and the contents of the seventh are the same as those of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, the compiler may had some knowledge of the earlier anthology, but this is not certain. The text contains a total of 135 citations from 46 works, with a noticeable number of citations from the scriptures compiled in the *Mahāratnakūṭa* 86 of the citations are in prose, 41 in verse, and 8 mixed; thus the text quotes a significant amount of verse.

We should also take note of the existence of a number of Sanskrit manuscripts which proclaim themselves to be *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (Collection of *Dhāraṇī*). These may also be considered as anthologies of *dhāraṇī*.

Pali Literature

A number of anthologies were composed in Pali, in Sri Lanka or Southeast Asia. In some sense the *Dhammapada* (which exists in multiple versions such as the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*) may be considered an anthology, but since it was not compiled on the basis of preexisting Buddhist texts we do not consider it here. The earliest proper anthology is the *Suttasaṅgaha* (Compilation of Scriptures; Chaudhuri & Guha, 1957; comp. Piyaratna & Ratanasara, 1929), which was added to the *Khuddhakanikāya* in Burma though it was excluded from the Burmese Chaṭṭasaṅgāyana edition because it cites the commentaries on the scriptures (*aṭṭhakathā*). According to the Burmese tradition, the compiler is said to have been Ariyavaṃsa who lived in Sri Lanka at Anurādhapura. The text consists of 85 citations mainly from the Pali *nikāya*, but also some pieces from the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, and the commentaries. It has seven chapters:

1. Generosity;
2. Moral Conduct;
3. Heaven;
4. The Dangers to Be Found in Sensual Pleasures;
5. Householders (or Life as a Human Being);
6. Miscellaneous; and
7. Ways of Gaining Thanks.

In contrast to the Mahāyāna anthologies mentioned above, this collection generally cites entire *sutta*s which are, however, relatively short works to begin with. Though it begins with the teaching of generosity, as do most Mahāyāna anthologies, it does not develop the theme toward the teachings of the six perfections, and its content is quite simple.

The *Sārasaṅgaha* (Collection of the Essence; ed. Sasaki, 1992; studied in Naniwa, 1998; Neri, forthcoming) was compiled by Siddhattha (13th–14th cent.), a disciple of Buddhappiya in Sri Lanka. It consists of 40 chapters on the various teachings with many stories on the virtues of pious behavior and generosity. Citations (797, listed in Yoshimoto, 1995; but Neri, forthcoming, identifies 818 quotations from 47 texts) come from not only the *nikāya*s but also from their commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*). The contents are:

1. The Aspiration for Buddhahood;
2. The Marvels (of the Buddha);
3. Five Disappearances (of the Teachings);
4. Explanation of the *Cakkavattin*;
5. The Shrines of the *Muni* and *Cakkavattin*;
6. The Fruit of Sweeping;
7. The Marvels of the Teaching;
8. The Marvels of the Assembly;
9. Explanation of Sleep;
10. Explanation of Dreams;
11. Exchange of Property of the Two Jewels; (*buddhadharma*)
12. Classification of Taking Refuge;
13. Classification of Morality;
14. Actions;
15. Explanation of Nirvāṇa;
16. Discourse of Disrespect for the Three Jewels;
17. Classification of Producing Actions;
18. Explanation of Actions Bringing Retribution in the Immediately Following Existence;
19. Explanation of Wrong Views;
20. Explanation of Speaking Ill of the Noble Ones;
21. Discourse on the Disadvantages of Deceitfulness;
22. Discourses on Avarice;
23. The Three Fires;
24. Good Actions of Generosity and the Rest;
25. Classification of Food of Living Beings;
26. Place of Birth;
27. Transformation of Male and Female;
28. Young Women;
29. Eunuchs;
30. *Nāga*s;
31. *Garuḍa*s;
32. *Preta*s;
33. Demons;
34. Gods;
35. Increasing the Earth;
36. Shaking the Earth;
37. Rain and Wind;
38. Miscellaneous;
39. Supernatural Powers; and
40. Stability of the World.

This anthology especially refers to future existences in transmigration which are not frequently referred to in the Mahāyāna anthologies.

The *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (Ornament of Laypeople; ed. Saddhātissa, 1965; Naniwa, 1987; trans. Agostini, 2015), a work explicitly addressing Buddhist laypeople composed by the Sri Lankan Ānanda between 1150–1200, is said to be a kind of anthology (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 386–388), perhaps because it frequently cites from the commentaries. Another style of anthology is the *paritta* (book of protection). These are small collection of texts from the scriptures, which chanted for protection from snakes, and so forth (Skilling, 1992).

Tibetan Literature

On the whole, *sūtras* were relatively speaking not as important in Tibet as they seem to have been in many other Buddhist cultures. Tibetan Buddhist authors, for instance, prefer treatises (*śāstra*) to scriptures (*sūtra*) when they cite scriptural proofs in their doctrinal discussions. Therefore the style of Tibetan anthologies is different from that of Indian anthologies. But Tibetan authors of course know the anthologies compiled in India, and some Buddhist treatises are obviously written under their influence. For example, in the *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā* of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, a commentary on his *Bodhipathapradīpa* written in Tibet, the author

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cites scriptures which are als
Śikṣāsamuccaya.

The *Gsung rab rin po che'i gta*
rabs rgyud (with several variants
first anthology compiled by Ska
(Śrīkūṭarakṣita), one of the firs
ordained by Śāntarakṣita (*sad mi n*
translator and credited with the c
Lhan dkar ma catalogue and one o
credited with the compilation of t
glossary. The *Gsung rab rin po*
shākya'i rabs rgyud is easily over
contained in the Tanjur in a sect
Tibetan works (*ngo mtshar bst*
P 5844). According to G. Tucci (19

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The *Gsung rab rin po che'i gtam rgyud shākya'i rabs rgyud* (with several variants on the title) is the first anthology compiled by Ska ba Dpal brtsegs (Śrīkūṭarakṣita), one of the first seven Tibetans ordained by Śāntarakṣita (*sad mi mi bdun*), a prolific translator and credited with the compilation of the *Lhan dkar ma* catalogue and one of the team of three credited with the compilation of the *Mahāvyutpatti* glossary. The *Gsung rab rin po che'i gtam rgyud shākya'i rabs rgyud* is easily overlooked, since it is contained in the Tanjur in a section of indigenous Tibetan works (*ngo mtshar bstan bcos*; D 4357/P 5844). According to G. Tucci (1958, 139):

> This is an anthology from many Mahāyāna-sūtras intended to explain the *pāramitās*, the various forms of existence, passage from death to rebirth (*saṃkrānti*), the qualities and attributes of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, the vow to attain Enlightenment, the practice to be followed by the Bodhisattva on his way to Enlightenment, the body of the Buddha (= a non-body). Doctrinally the treatise follows the point of view expounded in the various texts.

G. Tucci offers a list of titles (1958, 139–140), but these are only a selection, and the order of his list does not at all follow the original. The text contains approximately 285 citations from about 190 texts, of which only a handful are other than Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The compiler adds very little of his own commentary.

The *Rnal 'byor chen po bsgom pa* (The [Meaning of the] Practice Consisting in the *Mahāyoga*), attributed to Spug Ye shes dbyangs (?–838/850), is preserved as several fragments in the collection of Dunhuang manuscripts (PT 818; Stein 705) and among the Tabo manuscripts (Tabo 36, 89; Otokawa, 1999; Tauscher, 2007). It was written in a new style of question and answer form and refers to 76 scriptures in 88 topics. It begins with an initial question asking how the perfection of wisdom, which is equal by nature and unique, is differentiated, and ends with a question asking how pure the Buddha field is. Especially in the first six questions the author refers to obtaining the human body and having trust which are referred to also in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. But in the later part of the text he refers to dogmatic teachings such as the two types of selflessness, two truths, five doctrines and three natures, union of means and knowledge, stillness and insight, and three Buddha bodies, all of which are also discussed by later Indian masters.

In Tibetan Buddhism scriptures are often cited in order to explain practical teachings. Therefore anthologies seem to have been compiled as collections of practical teachings on the basis of authority from the scriptures. One prime example is the *Dam chos yid bzhin gyi nor bu Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* (Jewel Ornament of Liberation; trans. Guenther, 1959; Konchog, 1998; Tshul khrims & Fujinaka, 2007) of Sgam po pa (or Bsod nams rin chen; 1079–1153). While not a formal anthology, the themes of the first three chapters are the same as those of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and Sgam po pa cites many scriptures. The work consists of 21 chapters in which the author explains the steps to enlightenment and their result. The contents are:

1. The Motive;
2. The Working Basis;
3. Meeting Spiritual Friends;
4. Instruction in the Transitoriness of the Composite;
5. The Vicious State of Saṃsāra;
6. Karma and Its Result;
7. Benevolence and Compassion;
8. Taking Refuge;
9. The Acquisition of an Enlightened Attitude;
10. The Training in an Enlightened Attitude;
11. The Six Perfections;
12. The Perfection of Liberality;
13. The Perfection of Ethics and Manners;
14. The Perfection of Patience;
15. The Perfection of Strenuousness;
16. The Perfection of Meditative Concentration;
17. The Perfection of Awareness;
18. The Five Paths;
19. The Spiritual Levels;
20. Perfect Buddhahood; and
21. Buddha Activity.

The author explains the contents of the text under six headings:

1. motive (ch. 1);
2. working basis (ch. 2);
3. contributory cause (ch. 3);
4. method (chs. 4–19);
5. result (ch. 20); and
6. ensuing activity (ch. 21).

The method is further classified into four, namely concentrated attention to transitoriness (ch. 4); to the vicious state of saṃsāra (chs. 5–6); development of benevolence and compassion (ch. 7); and the formation of *bodhicitta* (after ch. 8).

Two kinds of *bodhicitta* which are taught by Śāntideva are also referred to here, namely the *bodhicitta* of aspiration (ch. 10) and the *bodhicitta* of engagement (ch. 11). Forming *bodhicitta* based on the three kinds of practice, namely higher ethics, higher thought, and higher understanding, is explained as the six perfections in the following chapters. The author concludes with the stages of practice (ch. 19) and its results (chs. 20 and 21). This structure is based on the teaching of stages of the path (*lam rim*) of the *Bodhipathapradīpa*. For citations from the scriptures as well the author seems to depend on the *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā*, demonstrating the great if indirect influence of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po (1110–1170), one of the main disciples of the above-mentioned Sgam po pa, compiled an anthology entitled *Mdo lung rin chen dpungs pa* (The Collection of Jewel Scriptures; Tenzin & Namgyal, 2003; TBRC W23891.3, 585–660). It is written in the orthodox style of Tibetan philosophical texts with a complex synopsis, and the number of citations reaches over 150. It was compiled in order to summarize the definitive meaning of the scriptures into five meanings:

1. purpose of abbreviated meaning;
2. meaning without contradiction;
3. meaning of the occasion of emergence of a false view;
4. meaning of the true path; and
5. meaning of the one vehicle (*ekayāna*).

The scriptures of this vehicle are cited in four categories: (1) (seven) names of (tantric) teaching; (2) individual person; (3) purpose of teaching; and (4) not transmitted/descended.

The third section, purpose of teaching, is the main part of the text and is classified into six divisions:

1. favorable conditions;
2. cause and result;
3. dependence on the teacher;
4. instructions;
5. practice to be carried out; and
6. how the result arises.

The topic of practice is further classified into ten divisions:

1. purpose;
2. weariness;
3. compassion;
4. producing the *bodhicitta*;
5. taking refuge;
6. preparations;
7. views;
8. meditative practice;
9. behavior; and
10. result.

In the seventh topic the author discusses emptiness in terms similar to those used by later Mādhyamika masters. In the tenth topic, he discusses the teaching of the five wisdoms of the Yogācāra schools. Therefore this text seems to be written in order to express his own philosophical position backed by citations from scriptures.

As one use of anthologies is as sources of proof texts for authors arguing doctrinal positions, it is important to note that such authors draw not only on anthologies such as those discussed above but also on works such as Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, which quotes extensively from a variety of *sūtras*. No systematic study has yet been undertaken of patterns of citation of proof texts and to what extent authors simply reuse passages; a study of the first third of the Tibetan author Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, for example, found that almost all his citations could be traced in the works of earlier authors, especially the 11th–12th century Dge bshes Gro lung pa's *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa rin po che la 'jug pa'i lam gyi rim pa rnam par bshad pa*, but also the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, often in patterns which demonstrate Tsong kha pa's dependence upon them (Langelaar, 2011). It is highly likely that many if not most authors, at least in Tibet, did not directly access in their entirely the texts they cite, but rather relied either on anthologies of citations or on the citations of previous authors, whose works they used at least in part as, therefore, de facto anthologies.

Chinese Literature

Anthologies are among the very earliest texts found in Chinese Buddhism. Notable in this respect are An Shigao's (安世高; *fl.* c. 147–168 CE) *Ekottarikāgama* anthology *Foshuo qi chu san guan jing* (佛說七處三觀經; T. 150A; Harrison, 1997), and a *Saṃyuktāgama* anthology, the *Za ahan jing* (雜阿含經; T. 101; Harrison, 2002: 24–25). According to P. Harrison, it is not unlikely that these works are translations of existing anthologies. P. Harrison (2002, 25) sees T. 101 "as a kind of 'greatest hits' collection, or at the very least an effective 'sampler' of the Saṃyuktāgama as a whole."

In later Chinese Buddhism, on the whole compilers focused primarily upon a single scripture, on which they depended to build their doctrinal structures. For example, the Huayan (華嚴; Flower Garland) School focused on the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, and the Tiantai (天台)

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school the *Lotus Sūtra*. However, for a Tiantai author such as Zhiyi (智顗), for instance, the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* had the same value and authority as did the *Lotus Sūtra*, and he quoted it constantly.

Most Chinese anthologies belong to a particular period around the 6th century.

> The production of compilations was related to the fear of the disappearance of the Dharma in a future age … It was probably also a way of compensation for the obstacles to the circulation of manuscripts separation of China into North and South. Moreover, encyclopedic compilations have a practical utility when manuscripts (or books) become too abundant. (Durt, 2006, 53n3)

Another type of anthology is typified by the *Shijia pu* (釋迦譜; T. 2040) of Sengyou (僧祐; 445–518 CE), a 34 chapter anthology of passages concerning the life of the Buddha (a detailed introduction is Durt, 2006). The source of each citation is given by the compiler. Although originally a 5 fascicule work (preserved in the Koryŏ canon), relatively early on it was expanded to 10 fascicules (found in the Song, Yuan, and Ming canons). The work is an attempt to offer a comprehensive "biography" of the Buddha, fully based on scriptural sources.

Among the anthologies proper compiled in China perhaps the most prominent are Baozhang's (寶唱; *fl.* 495–516 CE) *Jinglu yixiang* (經律異相; Strange Tales from the Scriptures and the Monastic Codes; T. 2121; on the title Durt, 2008, 120n2) and two works compiled by Daoshi (道世; 591?–683 CE), the *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林; The Pearl Forest in the Dharma Park; T. 2122) and the *Zhujing yaoji* (諸經要集; Collection of Key Passages from Scripture; T. 2123). We might say, to oversimplify, that while the Indic and Tibetan anthologies were compiled to explain the Buddhist teaching of practices, the Chinese anthologies were compiled to explain Buddhist terms in the manner of a Buddhist encyclopedia.

The *Jinglu yixiang* was composed in 516 CE. One way of dividing the text, probably due to later editors is into:

1. heaven and earth;
2. buddhas;
3. bodhisattvas;
4. *śrāvakas*;
5. kings;
6. eminent people;
7. *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*;
8. heretics and hermits;
9. landlords and common people;
10. ghosts;
11. animals; and
12. hells.

Each of these is further subdivided, for a total of 782 sections, the entire collection taking 50 fascicules. The largest part of the text is devoted to human destinies, beginning with the section on buddhas. It is noteworthy that the compiler, concentrating on the "strange tales," removed doctrinal content from the quotations (Durt, 2008, 121n5). (The text is partially translated in Chavannes, 1911, 207–284; 1934, 229–240 for identifications and further discussion.)

The *Fayuan zhulin* was composed in 668 CE. It has one hundred chapters (and 100 fascicules [in some accountings 120]) classified into 668 topics. It begins with topics like units of time (劫量), the three realms (三界), sun and moon (日月), and so on, and ends with diseases (病苦), religious suicide (捨身), mortuary practices (送終), the end of the teaching (法滅), miscellaneous essentials (雜要), and finally traditions and records (傳記). Each chapter begins with a narrative introduction. Then follow extracts from sources, usually cited by name, these being mostly Indic sources, but also Chinese canonical and noncanonical works, historical records, hearsay, and the author's own first-hand testimony. Finally come tales of the karmic relations of miraculous events (*ganying yuan* [感應緣]), which provide evidence (*yan* [驗]) for the law of karma. Here the compiler also cites Chinese historical records and Chinese narratives. A discussion and a complete table of contents in Chinese and English are given in S. Teiser, 1985.

The *Zhujing yaoji* has 30 sections, further classified into 185 topics. Its contents are:

1. (Homage to) the Three Jewels;
2. Homage to the Stūpa;
3. Mindfulness;
4. Enteringthe Path;
5. Songs of Praise;
6. Incense and Lamps;
7. (Monks) Receiving Invitations (from Laypersons);
8. Keeping the Fast;
9. Breaking the Fast;
10. Riches and Honors;
11. Poverty and Lowness;
12. Guidance of Beings;
13. Repaying Karmic Debt;
14. Releasing Living Creatures;
15. Promoting Merit;
16. Selecting Friends;
17. Careful Thought;

18. The Six Perfections;
19. Karmic Cause and Result;
20. The Obstacle of Desires;
21. Four Kinds of Birth;
22. Retribution;
23. The Ten Evil Deeds;
24. Deceit;
25. Laziness;
26. Drinking Alcohol and Eating Meat;
27. Astrology;
28. Hells;
29. Mortuary Practices; and
30. Miscellaneous Items.

Each section begins, as in the *Fayuan zhulin*, with a narrative, in which the general point is stated. Then the sources of a karmic story are given, again citing the sources by name. Most sections end with a short hymn (*song* [頌]; Teiser, 1985).

There are also now incomplete anthologies found in Dunhuang, such as the *Zhujing yao chao* (諸經要抄; Fragment of the Collection of Scriptures; T. 2819), and others. Such anthologies continued to be compiled. The *Changuan cejin* (禪關策進; Whip for Spurring Students Onward through the Chan Barrier Checkpoints; T. 2024; trans. Broughton, 2015) was composed in 1600 by the famous monk Yunqi Zhuhong (雲棲袾宏; 1535–1615). In addition to many citations of Chan authors, it contains in its third section a collection of 33 *sūtra* quotations in support of Chan practice.

Japanese Literature

In Japanese Buddhist literature there are no genuine anthologies. However, many, if not most, Japanese scholastic texts record passages from a number of scriptures and canonical works in support of their arguments, and the results often appear as de facto anthologies. In addition, of course, the Japanese inherited the Chinese Buddhist canon, and had access to the works already compiled therein.

A typical and in no way unique example might be the *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* (辨顯密二教論; On the Differences between the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings; T. 2427; trans. Giebel, 2004) of Kūkai (空海; 774–835 CE). The author compared two streams of the Buddhist teaching by means of citations from scriptures in his attempt to demonstrate that the esoteric was deeper and more excellent than the exoteric. He cites not only Indian scriptures but also Chinese treatises to express the superiority of the esoteric teachings.

The *Ōjōyōshū* (往生要集; Essentials of Birth in Pure Land; T. 2682; Andrews, 1973) was composed in 985 CE by Genshin (源信; 942–1017), a Tendai monk. It was compiled to demonstrate how to attain the Pure Land by means of *nembutsu*, and cites 160 scriptures in over 960 citations (Andrews, 1990, 2). The contents are divided into:

1. Despising the Defiled Realms;
2. Longing for the Pure Land;
3. Authorities for the Pure Land;
4. The Proper Practice of *Nembutsu*;
5. Aids to *Nembutsu*;
6. *Nembutsu* for Special Occasions;
7. Benefits of *Nembutsu*;
8. Authorities for *Nembutsu*;
9. Sundry Practices for Rebirth; and
10. Interpretation of Problems.

For a detailed analysis of the quotations see A.A. Andrews, 1990. Few (or no) comparable corpus studies aimed at evaluating the sources of proof texts have yet been carried out on other Buddhist scripture collections.

Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1262), retrospectively seen as the founder of the Jōdo Shinshū (浄土真宗), wrote the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (教行信證) or *Ken jōdo shinjitsu kyō gyō shōmon rui* (顯淨土眞實教行信證文類; A Collection of Passages Revealing the True Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Enlightenment of the Pure Land Way; T. 2646; trans. Inagaki, 2003), completed around 1224. He demonstrates the teaching of going forth to the Pure Land and returning from the Pure Land on the basis of extensive citations from the scriptures: he offers 376 quotations from 62 texts, including *sūtras*, treatises, and a few non-Buddhist sources. The contents are:

1. Revealing the True Teaching;
2. Revealing the True Practice;
3. Revealing the True Faith;
4. Revealing True Enlightenment;
5. Revealing the True Buddha and His Land; and
6. Revealing the Transformed Buddha Bodies and Lands.

The true teaching is the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* (Larger Pure Land *Sūtra*) and the practice of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*'s title comes from its 17th vow of the bodhisattva Dharmākara (who will become Buddha Amitābha) in this *sūtra*, the faith from the 18th, and the enlightenment from the 11th.

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Modern Anthologies

In modern times many anthologies have been produced, which again, as with traditional anthologies, demonstrate the ideological aims of the compilers. One of the first in a Western language was S. Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* (1871), a collection selected by the translator and

> arranged so far as is possible in a chronological order, with a view to exhibit the origin and gradual expansion of the system and to point out in what particulars it demands our candid consideration, and in what particulars it fails to deserve either attention or inquiry … The works here translated are mostly standard ones, and if not strictly speaking in the Canon, are yet of great authority and are found in the libraries of most of the monasteries in the south of China. (Beal, 1871, 9)

Somewhat later appeared the much more eclectic *Buddhist Bible* of Dwight Goddard (privately published in 1932, more formally 1938), a work which remains in print. Already in 1905 two Japanese Buddhist priests and scholars, Maeda Eun (前田慧雲) and Nanjō Bun'yū (南條文雄), published an anthology of Buddhist scriptures in Japanese, the *Bukkyō Seiten* (佛教聖典; Buddhist Bible; Maeda & Nanjō, 1905), and since then there are a great many comparable anthologies published in Japanese (such as Tōkyō Daigaku Bukkyō Seinenkai, 1934). They are compiled in an expressly nonsectarian manner, or at least aim to be so. Among the most often encountered is probably the work that began in 1925 as the *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten* (新譯佛教聖典; Newly Translated Buddhist Bible; Bukkyō Kyōkai, 1925), eventually becoming *The Teaching of Buddha*, published by the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai today in more than 44 languages. Such collections are interesting among other reasons for their willingness to draw widely from Buddhist literary sources seemingly regardless of tradition.

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Tantric Literature

Tantric Literature: Overview South Asia

Tantras are scriptures, in that they purport to be the teachings of a buddha, whether the "historical" buddha Śākyamuni, or a *sambhogakāya*, or, sometimes, the teachings of a "cosmic" or transcendent buddha that are supposed to be taught also by all buddhas including Śākyamuni. It might be said that *tantras* give more importance than other Buddhist scriptures to the use of mantras that are regarded as a form of a deity for a number of goals, both in this world and beyond it. However, for the purpose of this overview *tantras* are defined as scriptures that label themselves *tantras* or that have come to be classified as such by Indian Buddhist authors, starting from at the latest about the 8th century CE, even though some of those scriptures no doubt were not originally conceived of as *tantras*.

Some scholars prefer to distinguish "Tantric Buddhism" and "Esoteric/esoteric Buddhism," a question concerning which there is an already rather considerable body of discussions (e.g. Orzech *et al.*, 2011, 4–18). While there are strong continuities between these texts and earlier literature, such as *Dhāraṇī* texts or the so-called *Yoga-Lehrbuch* (see Schlingloff, 2006), we will not address this issue here. Of recent literature that investigates some of these continuities, and contributes to our understanding of the processes by which early "Tantric" or "Esoteric/esoteric" scriptures developed, see especially Copp, 2014; Davidson, 2009; 2010; 2014; Shinohara, 2010; 2014.

The category or idea of a *tantra* emerged gradually, most probably in part under the influence of the rise in importance of Śaiva scriptures called *tantras*. Some of the Buddhist *tantras* were also called (probably before they became known as such) *sūtras*; thus the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, for instance, which came to be regarded as the main or "root" *tantra* of the *yogatantra* class (see below), and which is often cited or referred to by Indian authors as *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra*, is called a *Mahāyānasūtra* in the colophon of the surviving Sanskrit manuscript, which dates to the 9th or 10th century.

It should perhaps be noted that the Buddhist tantric traditions, at least from the time of the composition of the 18th chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (which was originally an independent text, a "continuation *tantra*" [*uttaratantra*, see below] of the *Guhyasamājatantra*), claim that the word *tantra* means, first of all, "continuity" (*prabandha*), and that there are three continuities: that of "cause" (*hetutantra*); that of "fruit" (*phalatantra*); and that of "means" (*upāyatantra*). Cause, fruit, and means are soteriological categories, all called continuities because they function not just at one moment but throughout time: the cause since beginningless time, the fruit from the moment of its accomplishment, and the means throughout the period during which a practitioner is on the path. The scriptures are then to be understood to be called *tantras* in a secondary sense, because they teach these three continuities.

In their form, the Buddhist *tantras* show an evolution that begins from a structure which is indistinguishable from that of a *sūtra*, especially a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, with a mixture of prose and verse, and with a preamble in prose beginning with the words *evaṃ mayā śrutam* ("Thus have I heard") and describing the place and the occasion of the teaching. Later, some *tantras* began to be written entirely or almost entirely in verse, and without such a prose preamble; it has been suggested that the first Buddhist *tantra* to have this form may have been the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (Sanderson, 2009, 154). Still later, such verse *tantras* come to resemble Śaiva *tantras* also in that they come to consist of a dialogue between a questioner or questioners and a/the Buddha as teacher; in some Buddhist *tantras* the questioner is a female consort of the Buddha, recalling the common form in Śaiva *tantras* of a dialogue between the Goddess (who may be conceived of as Pārvatī or as Kālī) and the God (Śiva or Bhairava). However the two forms (mixed prose and verse with a preamble on the one hand and verse without a preamble on the other hand) continued to exist side by side; the former was not entirely supplanted by the latter.

Classification

The ever growing mass of Buddhist *tantras* (nearly 500 scriptures are classified as *tantras* in the Tibetan

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canon) came to be classified, already in India, in a large number of different ways. Instead of attempting to list and discuss all of these, we will touch only on what we regard as the central points.

First of all, we suggest that within the diversity of classification schemes, there is a consistent central dichotomy: that between *kriyātantras* and *yogatantras* (for the meanings of these names see below). Most of the other classes that have been enumerated in various schemes can be seen as special subcategories of *yogatantras*, with the term *yogatantra* acquiring a second, more limited sense of *yogatantras* – in the broader sense – which do not belong to such a special subcategory and which are therefore lower than those which do.

These two compounds are evidently parallel in their formation/analysis, and different from some of the other names of *tantra* classes, for example, *yoginītantra*. They may be naturally understood as compounds with an elided member (*madhyapadalopin/madhyamapadalopin*), in this case the word *pradhāna*, which means "main," "principal": *kriyātantras* are *tantras* in which (external) action or ritual (*kriyā*) is the main matter taught, while *yogatantras* teach mainly yoga. The analysis of the compound *yogatantra* as equivalent to *yogapradhānaṃ tantram*, with an implication that *kriyātantra* is equivalent to *kriyāpradhānaṃ tantram*, is found in Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on *Hevajratantra* 1.2.19 (see also a passage from *Buddhaguhya's commentary on the *Vairocanābhisambodhitantra* that is discussed in Sanderson, 2009, 146–147n337).

Most of the other names of *tantra* classes fall into two groups. The first consists of *caryātantra* ("observance *tantra*") and some rarer terms, such as *ubhayatantra* ("both *tantra*"), which have been used to refer, usually, to the same (very small) group of scriptures that are regarded as in the middle between *kriyātantra* and *yogatantra*, teaching both external ritual and yoga, more or less in equal measure. The second consists of names for *tantras* that are placed above *yogatantras* but could also be called *yogatantras*, in the literal sense discussed above of *tantras* that mainly teach yoga; the different name serves in this case to differentiate them from other, "ordinary," *yogatantras* as being superior. That *yoginītantras*, or *yoganiruttaratantras* – terms that probably were used in India to refer to the same group of scriptures – are *yogatantras* in the wider sense of being *tantras* that primarily teach yoga rather than external ritual is implied by the same passage in Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on *Hevajratantra* (1.2.19).

The name of *caryātantra* for the category placed always between *kriyātantra* and *yogatantra* is a less than obvious one; A. Sanderson has suggested the possibility that it may have been influenced by the common classification of the subject matter of Śaiva *tantras* into *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga*, and *jñāna/vidyā* (knowledge/doctrine; Sanderson, 2009, 147n337).

With this understood, the otherwise bewildering diversity of taxonomies of *tantras* becomes less daunting. Of that diversity, we will now present and briefly discuss only a few classification schemes, the ones that seem to be of particular historical interest.

Firstly, two authors of, probably, the late 8th century CE, Vilāsavajra and *Buddhaguhya, appear to divide the tantric scriptures known to them into three classes only: *kriyātantra*, *caryātantra* or *ubhayatantra*, and *yogatantra*; this in spite of the fact that Vilāsavajra, at least, knew and quotes from several *tantras*, which would later come to be classified as higher *yogatantras*, for example, *yoganiruttaratantras* (for references and further details, see Sanderson, 2009, 146n337). Some authors of the 9th century CE, including Āryadeva, the author of the *Sūtakamelāpaka* (published under the title *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*), seem still to have the same threefold scheme (pace Sanderson, 2009, 145–146n337, we have the impression that in Āryadeva's work *mahāyogatantra* is not a different class from *yogatantra* but simply is an alternative, more respectful, way to refer to the same *tantras* that the author also refers to sometimes as *yogatantras*). At the latest by the 10th century, however, some newly emerging scriptures emphasize their superiority to the old Yogatantras by labelling themselves as *yoginītantras*, in some cases also explicitly introducing a dichotomy between *yogatantra* and *yoginītantra*. By the late 10th and early 11th century, among diverse classification schemes of *tantras* referred to by exegetical authors, a fourfold one consisting of *kriyātantra*, *caryātantra*, *yogatantra*, and *yoginītantra* was perhaps the most common. A fivefold scheme was preferred by some authors, including the distinguished commentator Ratnākaraśānti: this consists of *kriyātantra*, *caryātantra*, *yogatantra*, *yogottaratantra*, and *yoganiruttaratantra*. In this scheme the *yoganiruttara* class corresponded probably very closely with the *yoginītantra* of the four-fold scheme; while the *yogatantras* of the fourfold scheme were here divided into a lower and a

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higher group. The former, simply called *yogatantra*, would comprise the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and related literature; the latter, the *yogottaratantra*, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, some directly related *tantras*, and similar scriptures.

Finally, the authors who, in the early 11th century, promulgated the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated ideas and practices, introduced the category of nondual *tantras* (*advayatantra*; also *niranvayatantra*, lit. *tantra* not belonging to [either] lineage [of *yogatantras* or *yoginītantras*]). These authors reinterpret, to a certain extent, the terms *yogatantra* and *yoginītantra*. The compound *yogatantra* is explained in two ways in a passage attributed to the *Pañcalakṣahevajra* by the early Kālacakra master Vajragarbha in his commentary on *Hevajratantra* (1.1.6–7). First, *yogatantra* is explained as a general label referring to all *tantras*, starting with the *Guhyasamāja*, that are defined as "consisting of wisdom and means" (*prajñopāyātmaka*). In this case *yoga* means "union," namely unification of the two aspects of *he* and *vajra*, *vaṃ* and *e* (i.e. the two syllables, in reverse order, of the word *evam*, traditionally the first word of Buddhist scriptures), "objectless (or great) compassion and emptiness endowed with all forms," in other words "means and wisdom," two central concepts of Mahāyāna soteriology. With a more specific sense, the word *yogatantra* is used in opposition to *yoginītantra* (this is no doubt to be conceived as a subclass of the *yogatantras* in the first and wider sense): the *yogatantras* or *upāyatantras* – the latter word is used here, but probably as a synonym of the former – are those in which (i.e. in the practice of which), in the ritual context of communal worship involving sexual union in a tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*), a male moves from one unmoving female to another, while the *yoginītantras* are those in which in the same ritual context the females move and the male is stationary. Somewhat confusingly, in describing the second case, that of the *yoginītantras*, the word for the females is used in the singular, which we take however to stand for a plural. It is possible that the singular referring to the male is also to be understood as standing, at least potentially, for a plural. The *Hevajratantra* is then explained as *niranvaya*, that is as transcending the duality (*advaya*) of "wisdom and means." The same appellation as *niranvayatantra* or *advayatantra*, now applied to the *Laghukālacakratantra*, and similar discussions about the distinction between *yogatantras* and *yoginītantras* can be found in the *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka (see vol. I, 18; vol. III, 6).

Concluding this discussion of the *tantra* classes, one more point should be made. In spite of the fundamental dichotomy between *kriyātantra* and *yogatantra*, there are also often clear and strong continuities to be found between *kriyātantras* and *yogatantras* (including the higher *yogatantras* that self-identify as, for instance, *yoginītantras*). Thus, to mention two examples, there is a close relation between the *kriyātantra* that is called *Siddhaikavīratantra* and the *yoginītantra* famous under the name *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (but also called *Ekallavīra*); and the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, a large *kriyātantra* contains some chapters with material on the wrathful deity Yamāntaka, who is more well-known as a *yogatantra* (or *yogottaratantra*) deity, central to several higher *yogatantras*, such as the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, *Raktayamāritantra*, and *Vajrabhairavatantra*, all extant at least in part in Sanskrit.

Apart from being identified as *kriyātantra*, *caryātantra*, *yogatantra*, or another class of one of the numerous classification schemes, another way in which some of the *tantras* were classified is as root *tantra* (*mūlatantra*) or explanatory *tantra* (*vyākhyātantra*). The root *tantras* are often supposed to be of vast extent, a hundred thousand verses for instance, or five hundred thousand, and hence are sometimes referred to as *vistaratantras*, "*tantras* with [great] extent," "extensive *tantras*." They are usually understood to be inaccessible to ordinary human beings. In their stead we have shorter versions, abbreviations or extracts, which are sometimes called *laghutantras*, "small *tantras*," with a connotation also of "easy *tantras*" (it is often explicitly stated that the reason that we have access only to the *laghutantras* is that human beings in our age have short life spans and little energy, and are lazy). It should be noted that such a notion – that the available scriptures or authoritative texts of a system are short versions of much larger texts, which were once available or which are accessible now only in other realms than the human – is rather widely attested in India, not only in Buddhist, and not only in tantric traditions.

An unusual use of this concept was made by the early Kālacakra authors, in particular in the three so-called bodhisattva commentaries: the *Laghutantraṭīkā* by Vajrapāṇi on the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, the *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā* by Vajragarbha on the (*Laghu-*)*hevajratantra*, and the *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka on the *Laghukālacakratantra* itself. These three authors all claim access, by virtue of their status as not ordinary human teachers but high bodhisattvas, to the (extensive) root *tantras*, and even quote from these scriptures. This claimed access and claimed status are means by which the authors attempt to establish the superiority of their interpretations and their tradition, "colonizing" for this purpose what were probably the two most celebrated and popular *yoginītantras* of their day, the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* and the *Hevajratantra*. The citations from the extensive root *Śaṃvaratantra* and *Hevajratantra* are, however, clearly products of the Kālacakra milieu (Sferra, 2005).

Whereas the notion of vast and now inaccessible root *tantras* is shared, as remarked above, with many other Indian traditions, the category of commentarial scriptures (*vyākhyātantra*) seems to be much less widely spread. In the present state of scholarship, it appears probable that this notion – that certain *tantras* function as commentaries for particular root *tantras* – originated in the milieu of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and its schools of exegesis (Matsunaga, 1964).

It should be said in passing that the idea that certain scriptures, which often do not have (or have only in very small part) the formal structure and the linguistic conventions of commentaries, are to be classified as "commentary scriptures" (*vyākhyātantra* or *vyākhyāna*) which explain other scriptures, is to be found also in Pāñcarātra literature, where it seems to appear for the first time in the *Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ* of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* (stt. 6cd–8ab), an interpolated section dated likely in the second half of the 14th century (Dębicka-Borek, 2011, 86–88), with reference to three specific works, the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, and the *Pādmasaṃhitā*. These works, which have been likely produced between the 12th and the 14th century, are supposed to be respectively the explanatory scriptures (*saṃhitā*, *tantra*) of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, and of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*. The category of "commentary scripture," in this case, is probably secondary, that is to say, rather than the scriptures so labelled having been originally conceived as "commentary scriptures," they have been identified as such as part of a strategy of legitimation that was carried out at some point in the 14th century among the Pāñcarātras of Kanchipuram and Srirangam (Leach, 2012, 29–42).

The classification into root *tantras* and commentary *tantras* seems to be not only older but considerably more complex in the Buddhist case. A detailed study remains as yet a desideratum. It may suffice here to point out a few problems. Firstly there is sometimes disagreement between authorities concerning the status of an "explanatory *tantra*"; an example is the *Sampuṭatantra* (Szántó, 2013, 350). Secondly, there seem to be cases in which a *tantra* that is sometimes classified as an "explanatory *tantra*" presents itself differently; an example of this is the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, often regarded as a commentarial *tantra* of the *Hevajratantra*, which seems rather to present itself as an extract of the extensive root *Hevajratantra*, and thus as having status equal or parallel to, rather than subordinate to, the (extant) *Hevajratantra* itself.

Another concept which should be mentioned here is that of *uttaratantras*, "continuation *tantras*" or "sequel *tantras*" (contrasted with, again, *mūlatantras*). In some cases an *uttaratantra* has subsequently been incorporated into the *mūlatantra*; such as, famously, the case of the 18th chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which, as is clear from, among other things, the earliest references to it, was once a separate text, referred to as *Samājottara*. This concept is known also from Śaiva tantric literature, though it is apparently not found in the Pāñcarātra.

Extent of Surviving Literature and State of Research

It is impossible to give more than a very crude estimate as to the total extent of Indian Buddhist *tantras* surviving in their original language, especially since there are reported to be some thousands of (mainly) palm-leaf manuscripts of Buddhist texts, a large percentage of which is likely to prove to contain tantric literature, extant in Tibet but not currently accessible to the scholarly world.

What can be said is that since the first publication of a complete tantric scripture in its original language, which as far as we are aware was B. Bhattacharya's edition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* in 1931 (the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, though published in its entirety considerably earlier yet, presents itself as a part of a scripture rather than as a complete one), less than 30 *tantras* belonging to the higher *tantra* classes have been published in their original, the editions of several being only partial. There has been a noticeable acceleration in the rate of publication of *tantras* beginning from around 30 years ago. This

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Published *Tantras*

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Guhyasamājatantra
Ḍākārṇavatantra
Hevajratantra
Laghukālacakratantra
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra
Saṃvarodayatantra
Laghuśaṃvaratantra
Mahākālatantra
Sampuṭatantra
Abhidhānottaratantra
Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha
Durgatipariśodhanatantra
Jñānodayatantra
Kṛṣṇayamāritantra
Yoginīsaṃcāratantra
Kurukullākalpa
Sampuṭatantra
Saṃvarodayatantra
Laghuśaṃvaratantra
Vajraḍākatantra
Buddhakapālatantra
Vajrabhairavatantra
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Advayasamatāvijaya
Catuṣpīṭhatantra

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Of the published editions, few are even approximately critical, and the best available editions of such important texts as the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Hevajratantra* are far from satisfactory.

The following table is designed primarily to give a schematic idea of the development of studies of Buddhist tantric scriptures. Scriptures are listed in chronological order of their first publication, with reference to the name of the editor and the date of the *editio princeps*. In some cases better editions were subsequently published; complete references to these editions are given in the bibliography.

Published *Tantras*

Title	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti	complete	Minaev, 1887
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra	chapter 16	La Vallée Poussin, 1897
Guhyasamājatantra	complete	Bhattacharya, 1931
Ḍākārṇavatantra	Apabhramsha stanzas	Chaudhuri, 1935
Hevajratantra	complete	Snellgrove, 1959
Laghukālacakratantra	complete	Vīra, 1966
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra	chapters 1–8	George, 1974
Saṃvarodayatantra	chapters 2–10, 13, 17–19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 31, 33	Tsuda, 1974
Laghuśaṃvaratantra	chapters 2–3	Tsuda, 1975–1976
Mahākālatantra	chapters 1–8	Stablein, 1976
Saṃpuṭatantra	chapters 1.1–1.4	Elder, 1978
Abhidhānottaratantra	chapters 9, 14, 19, 24, 39–42	Kalff, 1979
Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha	complete	Yamada, 1981
Durgatipariśodhanatantra	complete	Skorupski, 1983
Jñānodayatantra	complete	Rinpoche and Dvivedī, 1988
Kṛṣṇayamāritantra	complete	Rinpoche and Dvivedī, 1992
Yoginīsaṃcāratantra	complete	Pāṇḍeya, 1998
Kurukullākalpa	complete	Pāṇḍeya, 2001
Saṃpuṭatantra	chapters 2.1–2.4	Skorupski, 2001
Saṃvarodayatantra	chapter 30	Cicuzza, 2001
Laghuśaṃvaratantra	complete (partly reconstructed)	Pāṇḍeya, 2002
Vajraḍākatantra	chapters 1, 7–8, 14, 18, 22, 36, 38, 42, 44, 48	Sugiki, 2002; 2003; 2008
Buddhakapālatantra	chapters 1–4, the last chapter is incomplete	*Dhīḥ* 43, 2007
Vajrabhairavatantra	chapters 1–3	*Dhīḥ* 43, 2007
Buddhakapālatantra	chapters 9–14	Luo, 2010
Advayasamatāvijaya	complete	Fan, 2011
Catuṣpīṭhatantra	selected chapters, some in part	Szántó, 2012

Tantras extant in manuscripts but not published

Title	Part extant	Location of the Manuscript(s)
Anāvilatantra	incomplete	University of Tokyo
Guhyendutilaka	complete (?)	TAR
Caturyoginīsampuṭa	complete	TAR
Ḍākinīvajrapañjara	complete (?)	TAR
Bhagavatīsvedāmbujā	complete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Bhūtaḍāmaratantra	complete	Numerous manuscripts in several libraries including National Archives (Kathmandu), Royal Asiatic Society (London), and so forth
Mahāmudrātilaka	complete	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
Māyājālatantra	complete (?)	TAR
Yogāmbaratantra	complete	Numerous manuscripts in several libraries including National Archives (Kathmandu), The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda (Oriental Institute), and so forth
Raktayamāritantra	complete (?)	Kathmandu, National Archives, TAR
Rigiārallitantra	very incomplete (ed. by P.-D. Szántó forthcoming)	Cambridge University Library
Vajrāmṛtatantra	incomplete (edition under preparation)	Cambridge University Library
Samputatilaka	complete	Royal Asiatic Society, London; Asiatic Society, Calcutta
Sarvabuddhasamāyoga	incomplete (edition under preparation)	Paris, Collège de France, Bibliothèque de l'institut d'études indiennes

A number of *tantras* do not survive, or survive only in part, in their original Indic form, but have Sanskrit commentaries that are extant. In such cases the wording of the text commented on can often be partly recovered from the commentary or commentaries (in a few cases commentaries even preserve most of the words of the main text). This is the case, for instance, of the *Sarvarahasyatantra*, of which we can rely on the still unpublished *nibandha* by Ratnākaraśānti and of which there are several stanzas (c. 6.5%) quoted in other works, and of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, half of which is available in a *codex unicus* kept in the Cambridge University Library (MS Or. 158) and of which two Sanskrit commentaries (the **Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* by *Vimalabhadra [P 2521/D 1649] and the *Amṛtadhārā* by Śrībhānu [P 2523/D 1651]) are extant in Sanskrit. In 1992 the *Mahāmāyātantra* has been retranslated into Sanskrit and published with the *Guṇavatī* by Ratnākaraśānti; this edition can certainly be improved on further, also with the use of the commentary by *Alaṃkāraśrī/*Śrībhūṣaṇa of which some fragments survive in Sanskrit as part of Tokyo University Library MS 517. The text of the *Sekoddeśa*, a large portion of which is available in fragmentary manuscripts and quotations, has been partly retranslated by R. Gnoli (the first time in 1994, with further improvements in 1997 and 2006) on the basis of the two Tibetan translations and the three extant Sanskrit commentaries: the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* by Nāropā, the *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, and the anonymous *Sekoddeśapañjikā*, which is incompletely available.

The number of *tantras* that have been translated, even in part, into a Western language, whether directly from Sanskrit/Apabhramsha or from a Tibetan or Chinese translation, is likewise small, especially bearing in mind that when Tibetan and Chinese translations are included the number of surviving *tantras* of Indian origin is around 500 (excluding *tantras* which are extant only in Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts and which are likely to be rather recent Nepalese compilations; see below). Noteworthy and influential translations include D.L. Snellgrove's of the *Hevajratantra*, Tsuda Shinichi's

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of selected chapters of the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, C.S. George's of the first eight chapters of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*, S. Hodge's and R. Giebel's of the *Vairocanābhisambodhitantra*, D.B. Gray's of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, Luo Hong's of chapters 9–14 of the *Buddhakapālatantra*, and P.-D. Szántó's of selected chapters of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*. The 84000 Project website, which aims ultimately at the translation of all the works in the Tibetan scriptural canon, is contributing, and will no doubt continue to contribute, to the corpus of translations of *tantras*; as is well-known, however, their translations include relatively little annotation, being aimed primarily at an audience of nonscholars.

Content

The primary concern of the *tantras* is not doctrine, although Buddhist doctrine (mainly, but not solely, Mahāyāna viewpoints) can be said to provide an underlying structure that is often visible, as well as being in some relatively rare passages explicitly taught and elaborated upon. Instead their main subject matter can be summarized briefly as ritual (*kriyā*) and yoga. It is not the case that the former topic is absent in the *yogatantras* (including higher *yogatantras*, such as the *yoginītantras*), which on the contrary often have extensive sections on external ritual (sometimes hard to distinguish from, and containing direct parallels with, similar sections in *kriyātantras*); nor that the latter topic is entirely absent in the *kriyātantras*. Narrative passages can sometimes be found, though these as a rule either form part of the frame of the *tantra* or are directly related to ritual or yoga, for instance in that they provide an aetiology of some element. The most famous of such narratives is a myth detailing the subjugation of the Hindu deity Maheśvara (Śiva) by Vajrapāṇi (in the earliest source for such a myth, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*) or another wrathful deity such as Heruka. This myth has been studied by several modern authors (see e.g. Davidson, 1991; Mayer, 1998).

There is no particular group of specific subtopics that are dealt with in all or almost all *tantras* (or even all or almost all of a particular class). Some subtopics that are of rather common occurrence, however, are the procedures for drawing the *maṇḍala*; the ritual of initiation (*abhiṣeka* or *seka*); the mantras (sometimes given in encoded form); the fire ritual (*homa*); special observances (*caryā*); various magical rituals; the visualization of the deity/deities, especially self-visualization as the deity (*devatāyoga*), the main feature of the generation stage (*utpattikrama*); special yogas, often but not always involving the manipulation of winds, channels, and drops, which belong to the higher stage called "stage of the arisen/perfected" (*niṣpannakrama* or *utpannakrama*, more commonly translated in modern secondary literature as "perfection stage" or "completion stage"); the tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*); and, in the *yoginītantras*, the characteristics of *yoginīs*, and the secret signs and code words or syllables (*chommā*/*chomā*) by which they can be recognized and communicated with.

These topics are either almost entirely new within Buddhism, or are given new and different significance and content. The fire ritual, for example, of ancient Vedic origins and very common in Śaiva *tantras*, is in turn taken up in the Buddhist *tantras*, perhaps largely in an attempt to emulate and compete with the Śaivas. Again, the ritual of initiation or consecration, which becomes an essential prerequisite for tantric practice, is probably in part influenced by the parallel ritual in Śaivism, in which however initiation, as a rite of entering the religion, at the same time guaranteeing the accomplishment of the ultimate soteriological aim, is, unlike in Buddhist esotericism, distinguished from *abhiṣeka*, the special consecration as a master or as a power-seeking religious specialist. In spite of these parallels and influences, however, the Buddhist tantric initiation ritual certainly also has developments which are purely "internal" in their logic (for a study of some of these developments, see Isaacson, 2010). In yoga too, the Buddhist *tantras* are innovative by comparison with non-esoteric Buddhism, again with some of the "new technologies" being influenced by or introduced in competition with Śaivism. This holds true, perhaps, for the fairly common (though not ubiquitous) idea that yoga is divided into six "limbs" (*ṣaḍaṅga*), rather than eight, and the elaboration (not before the *yoginītantras*) of a "yogic body" in which drops are propelled through channels by winds and from which consciousness can be deliberately projected at death (*utkrānti*; on which see Sanderson, 2009, 183–184; see also Sanderson, 2009, 179–186 for discussion of a number of elements of *yoginītantra* Buddhism that have been drawn from or influenced by Śaivism).

As in many Mahāyāna *sūtras*, in *tantras* too we regularly find more or less self-laudatory passages, for instance ones which present the *tantra* as being at the pinnacle of the Buddhist teachings/scriptures. Two particularly famous ones, with some significance for the history of the development of Buddhist doxographical literature (*siddhānta*; Tib. *grub mtha'*) are *Hevajratantra* 1.8.54–55 and 2.8.9–10.

The extent to which the contents, ritual or yogic, are presented in clear and systematic fashion varies very considerably. Some sections can be almost manual-like; others can be extraordinarily cryptic; yet others are more or less commentarial in nature.

The broad variety in contents and style of *tantras* even within one *tantra* class is no doubt related partly, at least, to different compositional histories. Some scriptures appear to have been compiled in part by something that can be called not too unfairly a "cut and paste" method. The sources used for this included, at least in some cases, non-Buddhist *tantras*; a case that has been discussed in detail (and that seems to be somewhat unusual) is that of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, an important and early *yoginītantra* that has drawn very heavily on a Śaiva source or sources (see most recently Sanderson, 2009, 186–240), as well as on some earlier Buddhist tantric scriptures (see Sanderson, 2009, 163–164). At the other extreme may be put a *tantra* such as the *Laghukālacakratantra*. This scripture is written entirely in verses composed in the impressive *sragdharā* metre (the longest of the Sanskrit metres that are relatively frequently used), and even if it is probably not entirely homogenous in its origin, it certainly has a high degree of internal consistency and of unity of vision.

While both in general outline and in many details the Buddhist *tantras* are no doubt, we think, influenced by Śaivism, and some have been compiled, as we have seen, in a hardly sophisticated manner, nonetheless they are of interest not only from a purely historical perspective, and certainly not merely as a testimony to the decline of Indian Buddhism (on this idea, recurring throughout the history of the study of Indian Buddhism, see the remarks in Wedemeyer, 2013, 43–50). They have inspired not only countless further literary compositions but also works of art, including many that are of great power and beauty, throughout Asia; they have deeply influenced Tibetan Buddhism and some strands of East Asian Buddhism, not to speak of Southeast Asian Buddhism, albeit that there their place of once considerable importance was supplanted by the rise of Theravāda from the 12th–13th century onward; and they themselves, when read in their original languages – nonstandard, sometimes apparently deliberately so, Sanskrit and Apabhramsha – can still, at least in some passages, impress a reader, even one who is not positively predisposed, by the vigour, boldness, and often humour, with which they present a powerful vision of nonduality and of the experience, at the culmination of the path, of the whole universe as, in some sense, divine.

Language

Like the Hindu *tantras*, the Buddhist *tantras* too are mostly written in Sanskrit, although their language usually deviates to a lesser or greater extent from "standard" Sanskrit. Commentators occasionally refer to this language (as they also sometimes do to the language of non-tantric Buddhist scriptures) as *ārṣa* (lit. [speech/language] of a/the sage). This term, as well as others by which Buddhist authors have sometimes referred to the language of their scriptures, has been studied by D. Seyfort Ruegg (2000), although it should be noted that with one exception all the passages he adduces are from non-tantric literature.

As in other registers of Buddhist Sanskrit (or what is sometimes called "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit"), the irregularities or deviations from a "classical" (approx. Pāṇinian) norm mainly concern morphology and syntax; nonstandard metre and *sandhi* are also not rare. The linguistic irregularities can often be related to developments in Middle (perhaps sometimes even early New) Indo-Aryan. Most of these nonstandard features are known also from the language of Śaiva tantric scriptures, a language called by several Śaiva exegetes, and frequently also by modern scholars of Śaiva *tantra*, *aiśa* (lit. [speech/language] of God/the Lord).

Some *tantras*, for instance the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, the *Hevajratantra*, the *Ḍākārṇavatantra*, and the *Buddhakapālatantra*, but also already a possibly older scripture, which is rather *kriyātantra* in its orientation, the practically unstudied *Bhagavatīsvedāmbujā*, contain also verses written in Apabhramsha. Although the Apabhramsha verses of the *Ḍākārṇavatantra* were already studied by N.N. Chaudhuri in 1935, the use of this linguistic register in the Buddhist *tantras* remains insufficiently investigated. We often find Sanskritisms, almost at random, within Apabhramsha verses; and sometimes other surprising linguistic phenomena such as violations of the famous *Zwei-Moren-Gesetz* ("two-mora-rule"), forbidding a long vowel before a consonant cluster. Further, much needed,

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Date and Provenance

Since historical sources at our disposal (such as inscriptions and art-historical evidence) provide relatively few references useful for the dating of the tantric Buddhist traditions, it is difficult to establish a precise relative chronology among *tantras*, and also determine their place of composition. At present it is very hard to be sure about the original place of diffusion of the Buddhist tantrism; the presence of tantric circles is attested both in the north and in the south of the Indian subcontinent. For some later *tantras* it is possible to propose a northern origin, such is likely the case of the *Laghukālacakratantra*, or even, more precisely a northeastern origin, as in the case of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* (Sanderson, 2009, 165) and the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 196). Northeast India is the probable place of origin also of some early tantric scriptures, for instance, the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra*. According to S. Hodge the identification of some flora named in the text suggests that it was compiled "somewhere… in the region between Nālanda and the Himalayan foothills" (Hodge, 1994, 72).

Although at present it is not possible to delineate a precise chronology about the production of the Buddhist *tantras*, through the scant information that can be gathered directly from texts, quotations, commentaries, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations, which at least fix the *terminus ante quem* for the production of individual works, we can try to sketch a relative and probable chronology.

We can relatively be safe to say that a first group of higher tantric scriptures emerged in the 7th century CE (some works that later came to be classified as *kriyātantras* might be older). Such is probably the case of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra*, the first Chinese translation of which was completed by *Śubhākarasiṃha in collaboration with Yixing (一行) in 725 CE (T. 848). It seems however that this work – together with two other *tantras*, that is, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* and the *Susiddhikara* (both of which are classified as *kriyātantras*) – was already known to the Chinese pilgrim Wuxing (無行), who died in 674 CE (Hodge, 2003, 14–15).

Things can become more complex if we consider that, in some cases at least, the texts that have come down to us are the product of an editorial process that could span decades, or even perhaps a century or more; such is the case, for instance, of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*. This *kriyātantra* – which has only relatively recently begun to be critically studied in the light of all its surviving sources (see Delhey, 2012) – was compiled gradually, most likely by different authors; its heterogenous nature is partly reflected by the fact that the three textual traditions (Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan) differ as regards the length of the work and chapter division. The oldest among the Chinese partial translations have been done in 702 (T. 1181) and 703 CE (T. 1182), and so the original bulk of the work was probably composed around the end of the 7th century CE, but other chapters are certainly later, the 53th chapter for instance (in the Sanskrit available version), in which the Pala king Gopāla is mentioned, must have been written not earlier than the late 8th century CE (Matsunaga, 1985, 893; Sanderson, 2009, 129n300).

Without pretending to be exhaustive, and limiting ourself to giving some information about the most celebrated *tantras*, it may suffice to point out that among those that may have been composed in the 7th and 8th century CE, the *Paramādyatantra*, a rather difficult to define textual corpus, to which two Tibetan translations, with quite different content (D 487, 488/P 119, 120) are assigned, the *Vajrabhairavatantra*, and the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* have been the most influential. The *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* are likely to have been composed in the 8th century CE. The *Cakrasaṃvara*/*Cakraśaṃvara* (also known as *Laghusaṃvara*/*Laghuśaṃvara*), one of the first *yoginītantras*, if not the first among them, which mentions and incorporates stanzas from the above-cited *tantras* (see 3.23cd–24ab), was likely composed at a later time; tentatively we can say that its composition may date to the late 9th century CE (see Sanderson, 2009, 158–164). We do not have attestations of the *Hevajratantra* before the 10th century. The *Laghukālacakratantra* was probably written in the early 11th century.

Although the *Laghukālacakratantra* has sometimes been called the last major Indian Buddhist *tantra* to emerge, there are a number of scriptures that are most probably later yet, including for instance the well-known *Saṃvarodayatantra*, possibly a Nepalese production. The compilation of tantric scriptures seems to have continued in Nepal almost up to modern times. More recent productions tend to be purely compilations of preexisting textual material, sometimes with an opening formula and a concluding one added, so as to make the whole have at least some of the formal characteristics typical of many scriptures. For examples of two such compilations, one called the *Kalparājamahātantra* and the other the *Jvālāvalīvajramālātantra*, both incorporating in their entirety nonscriptural *sādhanas* (Pāṇḍeya, 1989, 15–16, 26–28). A published example of what is probably also a relatively late Nepalese composition (without opening and concluding formulas), lacking a Tibetan translation, is the *Jñānodayatantra*.

Diffusion in Tibet, East Asia, and Southeast Asia

Traditionally, the *tantras* are intended for an audience of initiates and therefore it is not strange that they often present teachings formulated in a cryptic and not immediately understandable way. Not unlike other Indian scriptures and in accordance with a general feature of Indian literary tradition (not only Buddhist and not only religious), the *tantras* are often followed by commentaries, and sometimes even by subcommentaries, which can differ on the interpretation of the text. Only a part of the commentaries written in Sanskrit is still available in that language. Many more are preserved in Tibetan translation, together with an important tradition of independent exegetical literature composed directly in Tibet. Numerous independent works, sometimes but not always associated directly with particular *tantras*, and with primarily apologetic and exegetical functions, also survive in Sanskrit or Tibetan translation. Lack of linguistic competence leads us to omit any discussion of material in Central Asian languages such as Uighur (for which, see Elverskog, 1997, 105–125) or Khotanese.

It may be noted in passing that in spite of the large scale effort made by Tibetans to translate Indian Buddhist tantric material, there are also not a few texts surviving in Sanskrit of which we do not have such translations. These include older works (e.g. the *Bhagavatīsvedāmbujā*) as well as the more recent Nepalese compositions/compilations mentioned above. It should also be added that in Indian works we find quoted names and sometimes even passages of scriptures that are no more available either in Sanskrit or in Tibetan. Although the tantric scriptures present in the Kanjur have been translated almost entirely during the second diffusion of Buddhism (*phyi dar*), starting with the second half of the 10th century, there is no doubt that tantric works have also been rendered into Tibetan in the earlier phase of the diffusion of Buddhism (*snga dar*). In fact, both the *Lhan dkar ma* catalogue (which may have been composed in 812 or 824 CE; Herrmann-Pfandt, 2008) and the *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma* (Halkias, 2004), a later Tibetan imperial catalogue also composed in the 9th century CE, list a number of tantric works translated from Sanskrit. A third catalogue, produced in the same period and entitled *Mchims phu ma*, is presently not accessible to scholars. Some translations that predate the second diffusion may be present in the *Rnying ma* canon, although the majority of the texts in that canon are of dubious origin. Earlier Tibetan translations of some *tantras*, for instance the *Guhyasamāja*, have been found also in Dunhuang.

It is possible that some *yogatantras* have been diffused into the Indonesian archipelago already since the late 7th or early 8th century CE (Nihom, 1994, 67, 113–114). As far as we know to date, the first Buddhist tantric inscription in that area is the famous stone of Kelurak, dated 704 Śaka (i.e. 782 CE), which "appears to deal with a tantric form of Mañjuśrī where the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are related to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara" (Nihom, 1994, 70; see also Griffiths, 2014). A collection of Sanskrit verses with Old Javanese commentary, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, may reflect a stage of *yogatantra* development preceding or contemporary with *Buddhaguhya, i.e. the late 8th century CE (see Nihom 1994, 70–71).

Epigraphical records and statues representing Hevajra in Thailand (see Boeles, 1966) suggest that tantric cults (and hence also scriptures) were diffused also in Southeast Asia already in medieval times.

Even though the first translations of Buddhist *tantras* in China date back to the Tang dynasty (618–690 and 705–907 CE) – among these the above mentioned *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra* (725) and the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (726) – the great bulk of esoteric works have been rendered into Chinese under the Song dynasty (960–1279), after the foundation of The Institute for the Propagation of the Dharma (Chuanfa yuan [傳法院]) in 983 CE (Orzech, 2011). Texts translated in this period were, for instance, the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* (T. 1191) by *Devaśāntika (983–1000), the *Guhyasamājatantra* (T. 885) by *Dānapāla (1002), the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha* (T. 882) by *Dānapāla (1012–1015; a first translation of a shorter version of this work was done by *Amoghavajra in the early 8th century CE [T. 865; Weinberger, 2010], with another translation of a shorter text [T. 868] produced by *Prajñā/Prajña [supposedly 744–810 CE]), and the *Hevajratantra* (T. 892) by

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Chinese translations were the basis also for the study and practice of tantric Buddhist scriptures in Korea, Vietnam, and Japan. (For a more indepth analysis and historical description of the complex dyanamics involved we refer the reader to chapters 56–87 of Orzech, Sørensen & Payne, 2011.)

In conclusion, it suffices to say that the spread of Tantrism in Asia not only resulted in the translation of tantric scriptures in other languages, such as Tibetan, Chinese, Tangut, and Mongolian, but has also involved an immense work of revision, interpretation, adaptation, and reformulation. The development of a large exegetical literature and of innovative and independent treatises in Tibet, China, and Japan (just to quote the main areas) are evidence of this.

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Harunaga Isaacson
Francesco Sferra

Catuṣpīṭha

Catuṣpīṭha may be either an abbreviation of the scriptural title *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* or the name of the textual cycle and teachings directly or supposedly based on that scripture. The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is one of the earlier *yoginītantra*s, the penultimate wave of scriptural revelation in Indian esoteric Buddhism. It was composed most likely in the late 9th century in northeast India (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 35ff.). Like other examples of the genre, the text for the most part teaches a pantheon, the initiation rite meant to create a qualified worshipper of the pantheon, the worship proper of these deities, and related yogic-ritual practices employing visualization and mantras.

Title and Structure

The title of the text is to be understood as The Scripture in Four Chapters, since it has nothing to do with *pīṭha*s in the sense of pilgrimage places. The chapters are given the names *Ātmapīṭha, Parapīṭha, Yogapīṭha*, and *Guhyapīṭha*; it is not at all clear how these chapter titles (meaning self, other, meditation, and secret, respectively) relate to their contents. The chapters are further divided into four subchapters each. Exegetical tradition maintains that the currently preserved text is the abbreviation of a 12,000-verse version, which itself was an abridgment of an 18,000-verse ur-revelation. The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* as we have it today consists of what would amount to about 1,200 verses. Excepting a few prose passages, speaker markers, and mantras, the text is composed in more or less regular *anuṣṭubh* meter. The text is in the form of a dialogue between an unspecified Bhagavat ("Lord"), sometimes styled Jñānendra ("Sovereign of Gnosis"), and Vajrapāṇi, the standard petitioner of Vajrayāna scriptures (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 25ff.).

Sources

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* has not yet been published in its entirety (about half of the text accompanied by the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* of Bhavabhaṭṭa is edited in Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 5–224). It survives in at least three almost complete palm-leaf manuscripts, several paper manuscripts, and at least six palm-leaf fragments. All these codices were copied in Nepal. There is also a canonical Tibetan translation from the 11th century, the joint effort of Gayādhara and Khug pa lhas btsas of the 'Gos clan (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 73–89).

A significant amount of the text is also transmitted in the lemmata of the most extensive commentary, the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* of Bhavabhaṭṭa (northeast India, first half of the 10th cent.). The *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* survives in several paper copies and three almost complete palm-leaf codices: two of these are of Nepalese origin, whereas what is the best manuscript was probably copied at Vikramaśīla Monastery in the second half of the 12th century. An enlarged Tibetan translation of this commentary was produced by the same translators as those of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 97–115).

There are two further commentaries extant in Sanskrit. Both are unfinished, as they comment on the first three chapters only. This does not mean that the authors knew a shorter recension, since both allude to passages in the *Guhyapīṭha*, chapter 4. The earlier, by one Kalyāṇavarman (Nepal?, 10th cent.), is simply called the *Pañjikā*. It is extant in a single Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript dated 1012 CE. This work was translated into Tibetan and completed with a commentary on the fourth chapter by Smṛtijñānakīrti (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 115–119). The latter of the commentaries, the *Mitapadāpañjikā* by Durjayacandra (northeast India, late 10th cent.), survives in a single Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript and a paper apograph thereof. This copy is incomplete: there are two leaves missing from the beginning and an undeterminable number of folios from the end. The work has not been translated into Tibetan (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 119–123).

The two earlier commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman, already allude to variant interpretations, thus there has already been some kind of exegesis of the text before them (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 95–96). Both exegetes betray knowledge of a very influential satellite text of the cycle, the *Maṇḍalopāyikā*. The transmission history of this text is quite complex, and its authorship is problematic

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Ghoraḍākinī	nor
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Siṃhī	nor
Vyāghrī	sou
Jambukī	sou
Ulūkī	nor
Raudrī/Ḍākinī	east
Dīpinī	nor
Cūṣiṇī	wes
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(see Szántó, 2008b; vol. I, 2012, 123–147). Besides laying down the initiation ritual in great detail, one recension of the text introduced a new pantheon – most significantly a male deity, Yogāmbara, as the central figure – and eventually took over the role of primary scripture from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* itself. For Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman, the pantheon is still exclusively female, but Durjayacandra already acknowledges Yogāmbara as the main deity of the cult.

The rest of *Catuṣpīṭha* literature consists of smaller commentaries, minor ritual manuals, and several scriptural texts, the longest of which, the **Vyākhyātantra*, is extant only in Tibetan translation. Two texts delineating the daily ritual-meditative practice of the initiate deserve special mention. The *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā* of Amitavajra (northeast India, 11th cent.) seems to have been the standard manual, until it was overshadowed by a work based on it, the *Yogāmbarasādhanavidhi* of Jagadānandajīvabhadra (Nepal, 14th cent.). Judging by the number of extant manuscripts and the current manner of worshipping Yogāmbara in the Kathmandu Valley, this was certainly the most popular ritual manual in recent times. (For an account of these unpublished texts, see Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 89–95, 147–194.)

The Pantheon

The original pantheon of the *Catuṣpīṭha* was exclusively female. The goddesses' iconographic features, seed syllables (*bījas*), mantras, corresponding hand gestures (*mudrās*), and worship are described in what may be called the flagship subchapter, 2.3 (that is, third subchapter of the *Parapīṭha*). The chief goddess, Jñānaḍākinī, occupies the central seat of the *maṇḍala*. She has three faces and six arms; she is clad in red garments and wears snake ornaments. Her faces are laughing, coquettish, and fierce. She holds a skull-staff, a battle-axe, a *vajra*-scepter, a bell, a skull-bowl, and a sword. She is surrounded by four goddesses in the cardinal directions, four in the intermediate directions, and four doorkeepers. The visualization starts with the central goddess. Each goddess is a transformation of her seed syllable (*bīja*), and they are later summoned by their specific mantras and corresponding gestures.

The main points can be tabulated as follows:

goddess	position	color	*bīja*	mantra
Jñānaḍākinī	middle	dark	*hūṃ*	*oṃ hūṃ svāhā*
Vajraḍākinī	east	white	*suṃ*	*oṃ a svāhā*
Ghoraḍākinī	north	yellow	*huṃ*	*oṃ ā svāhā*
Vettālī	west	red	*yuṃ*	*oṃ ā3 svāhā*
Caṇḍālī	south	black	*kṣuṃ*	*oṃ āṃ svāhā*
Siṃhī	northeast	yellow-white	*smryuṃ*	*oṃ ṛ svāhā*
Vyāghrī	southeast	black-white	*·hmryuṃ*	*oṃ ṝ svāhā*
Jambukī	southwest	black-red	*ymryuṃ*	*oṃ ḷ svāhā*
Ulūkī	northwest	yellow-red	*kṣmryuṃ*	*oṃ ḹ svāhā*
Raudrī/Ḍākinī	east	white	–	*oṃ phuṃ svāhā*
Dīpinī	north	yellow	–	*oṃ pheṃ svāhā*
Cūṣiṇī	west	red	–	*oṃ phoṃ svāhā*
Kāmbojī	south	black	–	*oṃ phriṃ svāhā*

Table 1: Where two colors are mentioned, it should be understood as half-half and not a mixture of the respective colors; *ā3* denotes the protracted (*pluta*) vowel.

In the *yoginītantras*, especially in scriptures related to the cult of Śaṃvara or Saṃvara, the general trend was to appropriate full-fledged antinomianism and Kāpālika or charnel-ground imagery (see Sanderson, 2009, 145ff.). The *Catuṣpīṭha* imagery and the ritual procedures related to the deities are still at what may be termed a transitional phase (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 55–57). The goddesses of the cardinal directions and the doorkeepers are visualized in the antinomian counterclockwise order, but those in the intermediate directions are not. Some of the goddesses do carry skull-bowls (h. *yogapātra*) and skull-staffs (*khaṭvāṅga*), but they are not wearing bone ornaments (their ornaments are snakes instead) and are not smeared with ash. Their hair is disheveled, but they are still fully clad. Instead of the dynamic dancing postures, they are visualized as seated. Only some of the goddesses are said to display ferocious laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*), and we find animal-headed goddesses only among the outer eight. Jñānaḍākinī herself does have a ferocious face, but it is not the one facing the worshipper. Since this original pantheon is female, there are no copulating deities. However, with the arrival of the new pantheon headed by Yogāmbara, the old chief goddess and the new god are portrayed in sexual embrace, as are some of the attendants.

The male deity Yogāmbara is in many ways similar to what with his superimposition became his consort: he is also dark, has three faces displaying the same emotions, and six arms, which also hold a *vajra*-scepter, a bell, and a skull-bowl, but a bow and an arrow in the remaining two, while one hand fondles the consort's breast. By being relegated to the role of female consort, Jñānaḍākinī sometimes adopts the name Yogāmbarī.

The superimposition of a male deity onto a female pantheon is against the general trend of late tantric Buddhism (and also tantric Śaivism), where the tendency was rather for goddesses to become autonomous from their male partners, such as in the case of Vajrayoginī (see Sanderson, 2009, 173ff.).

The Language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*

Although the Sanskrit of most later Buddhist *tantras* tends to deviate greatly from classical usage, the language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* goes even further. The text is written in an almost *sui generis* register of Sanskrit, one that unsystematically violates practically every grammatical rule. In declination there is complete promiscuity in gender, case, and number. Conjugation does not fare any better: singular and plural, active and medial, and simplex and causative are frequently confused. Pronouns, enclitic particles, the word *et cetera* (*ādi*), and the *-tas* suffix are sometimes meaningless verse fillers. Words are sometimes truncated only to fit the meter (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 60–67).

For example, *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* 1.1.1ab reads as follows:

evaṃ bhāṣita sarvajña rigīnāṃ jñānam īśvaram

Aside from the doctrinal problem that this is not the standard etiological introduction (*nidāna*), every word except "thus" (*evaṃ*) and "gnosis" (*jñānam*) requires some explanation. The past participle with a zero-suffix *bhāṣita* acts as a finite verb, meaning "he spoke," whereas the next word – "the omniscient one" (*sarvajña*), which looks like a vocative – is to be understood as the subject, with the zero-suffix standing for a nominative ending. The second verse quarter describes the subject: he is the gnosis (*jñānam*) of, or – as one commentator glosses it – that which is to be known for, *rigīs* (sometimes spelled *ṛgī*), a word of unknown origin, usually understood by the exegetes as buddhas or elsewhere as goddesses. He is also the lord (*īśvaram*), but here, too, what is expected to be one case, the accusative, is to be taken as another, again the nominative. The example chosen here is a relatively straightforward one, and with such explanations, most of the teachings of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* can be more or less followed. However, some lines were so obscure that even scriptures that lift over entire passages from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* simply chose to ignore them, while retaining the immediately surrounding text (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 48–54).

The exegetes were not blind to this highly idiosyncratic Sanskrit (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 61–64). The author of the aforementioned *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, who nevertheless emulates this ungrammatical style, calls it barbaric language/usage (*mlecchabhāṣā*). He also alludes to the fact that this usage is meant to safeguard the esoteric teachings. The commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa advises the reader to pay attention to the meaning, since meter, gender, case endings, number, and the such are "beyond worldly usage" (*atilaukika*) in this scripture (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 62). He also warns the reader not to criticize grammatical or ungrammatical expressions, since they are both constructs. It is not unlikely that the *Catuṣpīṭha* exegetes considered the barbaric language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* something intentional, meant either to keep the uninitiated ignorant or to teach

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The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is perhaps the second earliest *yoginītantra* to employ Apabhramsha verses (the first – as far as we know – is the so-called proto-*yoginītantra*, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*). Some of these became very influential in later liturgy especially in the rite of collective worship (*gaṇacakra*). There are several features in these verses pointing to a strong affinity with eastern types of Apabhramsha.

Synopsis of Contents

The idiosyncratic usage of Sanskrit affected the transmission of the text and exegetical consensus greatly. It is therefore difficult to outline a precise synopsis of contents, since, depending on chosen readings and interpretation, the same passage could be describing different topics. Moreover, since the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is not organized well, the borders of subunits may vary according to each commentator. The contents of the subchapters are broadly as follows:

Subchapter 1.1 first describes the setting for the revelation of the scripture. The petitioner is Vajrapāṇi, who is found heading an unusual list of bodhisattvas: Dhutaguṇa, Bībhatsa, Lambaka, Trikaṇṭha, Meru, Meruśikhara, Padma, and Padmodara. Although the first questions refer to breath retention, in what follows, a unique system of reckoning time is revealed. The basis is a duodecimal group of so-called sovereigns of abodes (*bhuvaneśvaras*), a list unique to this scripture (and to those, such as the *Vajraḍākatantra*, that have borrowed from it): Rohitā, Mohitā, Bhadra, Vṛṣabha, Kūrma, Makara, Raṇḍā, Mikira, Bhidrika, Vyākuli, Svapna, and Kāma. On the basis of this system (studied by Sugiki, 2005a), the text teaches natal prognostication, practical astrology (e.g. when to undertake moneylending), auspicious times for beginning rituals, and so on. The subchapter also describes a computation of the northern and southern progression of the sun as well as another type of divination, this time based on a diagram. (The first eight verses are edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 5–13; vol. I, 2012, 199–207.)

Subchapter 1.2 teaches the bodily signs of death, how to counteract them and thus cheat death (*mṛtyuvañcana*), matters related to curing snakebite, and rainmaking. (See a full edition, translation, and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 14–54; vol. I, 2012, 208–242.)

Subchapter 1.3 teaches meditation on emptiness (*śūnyatā*) accompanied by a method to divine success in particular rituals depending on the color that emerges when the practitioner contemplates emptiness. (For an edition with all three commentaries, see Szántó, 2008a. For a reedition of the text of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* and the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha*, translation, and discussion, see Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 55–65; vol. I, 2012, 243–251.)

Subchapter 1.4 first teaches the first part (followed up in 2.3) on how to meditate on the chief goddess, Jñānaḍākinī. The remaining part teaches a rite to paralyze and a method to stop excessive rain. (See a full edition, translation, and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 66–83; vol. I, 2012, 252–270.)

Subchapter 2.1 for the most part deals with oblation into fire (*homa*). The rite can be undertaken for a variety of worldly aims: killing enemies, invigoration, subjugation, placating, obtaining a son, increasing fertility in cattle, averting danger from a city or a country, paralyzing, attracting, and restoring an ousted king. The size of the pit, the firewood, substances cast into the fire, measurements, and so forth are customized according to the aim. A short passage at the end describes the ideal initiate (*śiṣya*). (This last passage is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 84–85; vol. I, 2012, 274–277. A synopsis of the rest is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 271–274.)

Subchapter 2.2 teaches oblation into water (*jalahoma*), a rare but not unparalleled ritual. The aims are similar to those of usual *homa*s, the only major difference being that substances are not cast into fire but in a large receptacle of water. (See a detailed synopsis and discussion by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 278–282.)

Subchapter 2.3 is by far the longest one. It describes in considerable detail the pantheon of the cult and related matters such as mantras and hand gestures used both to invoke the goddesses and to worship them. The food offering called *bali* is also described in detail. The subchapter contains praises in both Sanskrit and Apabhramsha. In the latter half, elements of transgressive worship are given: here the deities are offered liquor, the so-called nectars (*amṛta*, i.e. bodily substances such as semen, urine, and feces), and the so-called hooks (*aṅkuśa*s), known in other systems as lamps (*pradīpa*, i.e. five kinds of flesh – that of elephants, cows, dogs, horses, and humans). The subchapter finishes with a dedication of merits and the ritual dismissal of the deities. (The subchapter is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 86–161; vol. I, 2012, 283–356.)

Subchapter 2.4 deals with a variety of topics, including descriptions of the nectars and hooks, ways of purifying and empowering them, miscellaneous details concerning the *bali* offering, rituals of propitiating the doorkeeper goddesses, an Apabhramsha verse to be recited in order to gain entry to secret collective worship, and the secret signs and code words used in the same context (see Sugiki, 2005b). The most striking statement in this subchapter concerns the goddesses: should they fail to comply with the initiate's wishes, they can be killed. (See synopsis, including an edition and discussion of the Apabhramsha verse by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 357–366.)

Subchapter 3.1 teaches the symbolism of the main ritual implements: the scepter (*vajra*), the bell (*ghaṇṭā*), and the string of beans for recitation (h. *akṣasūtra*). The last passage is a somewhat obscure presentation on the amount of knowledge (*jñāna*) that inhabitants of different levels of the universe possess. (A synopsis is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 367–373.)

Subchapter 3.2 teaches a variety of minor rites, mostly the drawing of amulet-like diagrams but also rites to attract a king, a woman, or material wealth. (A synopsis is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 374–379.)

Subchapter 3.3 reveals a variety of methods to induce possession (*āveśa*) and rites to drive off one's enemy, to attract a woman, to paralyze, to chastise what the text calls "wicked wives" by blocking their vulva, to produce an ointment for clairvoyance of female spirits, and to cause strife between two targets. (A full edition, translation, and discussion are given by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 162–188; vol. I, 2012, 380–410.)

Subchapter 3.4 discusses the symbolism of the *maṇḍala*, a variety of yogic sexual practices undertaken with a consort, and further individual propitiations of goddesses. (See a synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 411–416.)

Subchapter 4.1 deals mostly with matters related to initiation (*abhiṣeka*): characteristics of the ideal officiant (*ācārya*), the manner in which the initiate should behave toward him, the rite of initiation proper, and rules of postinitiatory observance. (See full edition, translation, and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 189–214; vol. I, 2012, 417–449.)

Subchapter 4.2 is perhaps the most obscure one. The outset is quite antiritualistic in its tone, and there are several philosophical discussions on the topics of bondage, impermanence, and the nature of consciousness. In spite of all this, the text continues with yet further meditational methods, including the visualization of Vajrasattva and the interiorized oblation into fire (*guhyahoma*). (See synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 450–453.)

Subchapter 4.3 starts with a speculation on the presence of elements (earth, water, etc.) in the body and continues with a visualization meant to make consciousness firmly concentrated and the practice of conscious egress from the body at the time of death (*utkrānti*). In this practice, the initiate is supposed to block with mantras the apertures of his body and direct his consciousness toward the top of his head, whence it should exit. Although liberation is not promised explicitly, the text says that even great sinners become purified by this method. However, it warns, the initiate must wait until the time death has become inevitable (i.e. when he has perceived the signs of death described above and has no wish to prolong his worldly existence). The last procedure (or procedures?) described is too obscure to be identified with certainty: it may be a continuation to *utkrānti* or a separate method meant to read other people's thoughts. (The passage on *utkrānti* is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 215–224; vol. I, 2012, 455–468. An overview of the rest is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 454–455, 469–470.)

Subchapter 4.4 first teaches a meditation method meant to secure perfect enlightenment. A few verses teach signs of accomplishment, mostly visions that the meditator experiences. Two further, similar methods are taught, along with practical advice for the meditator, such as finding a suitably isolated place, and a recipe to alleviate his hunger and thirst. The closing passages describe the joy of the retinue on hearing the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* and the benefits accrued from merely listening to it or copying it. (See synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 471–474.)

Presumed Environment, Innovation, and Influence

Judging from the divinatory passages and targets of rituals, the intended clientele of the specialist initiates was the urban or semi-urban Buddhist laity. Furthermore, the passages describing the *ācārya*'s fee and a passage praising the value of the *ācārya* in the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* seem to suggest that the *ācāryas* themselves were not monks but married householders.

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, although several of its texts were translated into Classical Tibetan, seems to have enjoyed only a marginal role in Tibet. Quotations and references in Indic texts are also rather scarce when compared to other *yoginītantra*s, such as the *Hevajratantra*. However, the cycle was greatly successful in the Kathmandu Valley, where Yogāmbara and Jñānaḍākinī are worshipped to this day.

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* was nevertheless very influential on the subcontinent (here discounting Nepal), in an indirect way. Several important scriptures related to the cult of Śaṃvara or Saṃvara borrow passages from it. Almost two hundred verses are incorporated into the *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra* and several dozens of verses into the *Vajraḍākatantra*, the *Ḍākārṇavatantra*, and the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, and there are echoes even in the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* and the *Abhidhānottaratantra*. The aforementioned Apabhramsha verses were incorporated into the periodically observed collective worship (*gaṇacakra*). The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* was very likely the first esoteric Buddhist scripture to teach *utkrānti*, although it was not the earliest text to do so (the earliest being the *Dvikramatattvabhavānā Mukhāgama* of Buddhaśrījñāna/Jñānapāda). The waning popularity of the text was perhaps due to its highly obscure language.

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PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ

Guhyasamāja

The *Guhyasamājatantra* (Scripture of Esoteric Assembly) is one of the most influential scriptures in later Indian tantric Buddhism. The key term "esoteric assembly" here is explained in the scripture itself (ch. 18) as the aggregate (*samāja*) of body, speech, and mind (*guhya*). It is the principal scripture of the *yogottaratantra* class, the wave following the *yogatantra* in the historical development of tantric literature. In this scripture, esoteric eroticism, only marginal in the *yogatantras*, has moved to the foreground, and multi-faced, multi-armed male deities are represented and visualized copulating with their consorts. Likewise, teachings of sacramental consumption of impure substances have become conspicuous. A feature of esoteric eroticism is apparent right from the preamble of the scripture. Although it follows the style of the traditional Mahāyāna scriptures, in which the Buddha preaches in historical places or, especially in tantric literature, in some heaven or divine realm, here the Buddha is stated to reveal and preach this scripture in the vaginas of women (*yoṣidbhaga*), namely, of the goddesses.

The *Guhyasamājatantra* as we have it consists of 18 chapters. The last chapter, the *Samājottara*, was, however, originally a different scripture and incorporated into the *Guhyasamājatantra* complex at some later time. The Indo-Tibetan exegetical tradition recognizes some discontinuity and regards the first 17 chapters as the root scripture (*Mūlatantra*) and the last chapter as the supplementary scripture (*Uttaratantra*).

Sources

Owing to its popularity, a number of Sanskrit manuscripts of this scripture survive. The extant manuscripts are divided into three types with regard to their contents: (1) manuscripts that contain the text of all 18 chapters; (2) manuscripts that contain the text of the 18-chapter *Guhyasamājatantra* as the first half (*pūrvārdha*) and that of a redaction of the *Sampuṭatantra*/*Sampuṭodbhavatantra* as the latter half (*parārdha*/*aparārdha*/*uttarārdha*); and (3) manuscripts that contain only the latter half of the scripture. There are several other manuscripts that cannot be classified from the catalogues (Tsukamoto *et al.*, 1989). Since the *editio princeps* by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the *Guhyasamājatantra* has been published in its entirety four times, by Bhattacaryya (1931), Bagchi (1965), Matsunaga (1978), and Dwarikadas Shastri (1984). Below we follow the verse-numeration of Matsunaga's edition. The whole text was also edited by F. Fremantle (1971), but this remains unpublished. The scripture has been translated in its entirety into modern languages three times, into English by Fremantle (1971), German by Gäng (1988), and Japanese by Matsunaga (1998, 2000).

The existence of a Dunhuang manuscript shows that the *Guhyasamājatantra* proper (i.e. chs. 1–17) was translated into Tibetan in the Imperial Period (Eastman, 1980). The *Guhyasamājatantra* proper and chapter 18 are contained as different scriptures in the Tibetan canon. The Tibetan title of the former is *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs kyi gsang chen gsang ba 'dus pa zhes bya ba brtag pa'i rgyal po chen po* (D 442/P 81). The Tibetan title of the latter is simply *Rgyud phyi ma* (Skt. **Uttaratantra*; D 443/P 81a). Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzang po are registered as the translators of both. There are two versions of the canonical Tibetan translation, of which the respective revisers differ (Eastman, 1980, 9; Tsukamoto *et al.*, 1989, 231). Comparison between the Dunhuang manuscript and the canonical translation reveals that Rin·chen bzang po was most likely not a translator but a reviser of the root scripture (Eastman, 1980).

The 18-chapter *Guhyasamājatantra* was translated into Chinese as the *Yīqiè rúlái jīngāng sānyè zuìshàng mìmì dà jiàowáng jīng* (一切如來金剛三業最上祕密大教王經; The Great King of Scripture that Teaches the Supreme Secrecy of the Three Kinds of Adamantine Action of All Tathāgatas; T. 885) by Shīhù (施護) in 1012 (Takeuchi, 1975). In this translation, transgressive expressions are either omitted or rewritten. For example, the above mentioned *yoṣidbhaga* (the vagina of women) is translated as "the purified sphere that is a transformation of right knowledge of all tathāgatas" (一切如來正智出生變化清淨境界; T. 885 [XVIII] 469c25–26).

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Consequently, the translation has a number of obscure portions.

Development of the Text

The *Guhyasamājatantra*, with regard to meditation practices and the pantheons, employed and developed the system of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the main and earliest *yogatantra* scripture, which was translated into Chinese in 723 CE. The dates for the composition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* proposed by B. Bhattacharrya (1931, xxxiv) and A. Wayman (1973, 13–19) as the 3rd and the 4th century, respectively, are therefore too early. In the Sino-Japanese tradition, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is the first section of the expanded version of the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (金剛頂經; The Adamantine-Pinnacle Scripture) in 100,000 verses consisting of 18 sections. According to the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng yúqié shíbāhuì zhǐguī* (金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸; Key Points of the 18 Sections of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture; T. 869), a digest by Amoghavajra (不空; 705–774), of the expanded version of the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng*, the *Mìmìjíhuì yúqié* (祕密集會瑜伽; Skt. **Guhyasamājayoga*; T. 869 [XVIII] 287a28), is the 15th section. The summary of the *Mìmìjíhuì yúqié* is very brief, and it is implausible that it is the summary of the present 18-chapter *Guhyasamājatantra*. The contents of the summary, however, correspond to that of chapter 5 of the present *Guhyasamājatantra*, and it is therefore not implausible that the scripture existed in some form, perhaps in an early stage of its development, by the time Amoghavajra composed the digest (c. 746–774 CE; Giebel, 1995, 108–109; Matsunaga, 1978, xxiiif.; 1980, 249–253; 1998a, 249–253).

Buddhaśrījñāna's period of activity is important to settle the date when the *Guhyasamājatantra* was composed, since the Jñānapāda school, of which Buddhaśrījñāna is regarded as the founder, is one of the oldest exegetical schools of the scripture. Buddhaśrījñāna is associated with the Pala emperor Dharmapāla (r. c. 775–812). Hadano Hakuyu (1950) argues that Buddhaśrījñāna was active in the latter half of the 8th century and that the *Guhyasamājatantra* existed in some form at the time of Buddhaśrījñāna on the basis of the following evidence: (1) Vairocana, who was a Tibetan and a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri Song lde brtsan (r. 775[?]–797), introduced the *utpannakrama/niṣpannakrama* practice (see below) of the Jñānapāda school to Tibet; (2) Buddhaśrījñāna's works are recorded in the *ldan dkar ma* catalogue of scriptures translated into Tibetan; and (3) a commentary on the supplementary scripture by Viśvamitra (D 1844/P 2707) and a commentary on the root scripture by Vajrahāsa (D 1909/P 2772) were translated into Tibetan at the time of the *snga dar* (former diffusion). On the basis of Hadano Hakuyu's argument, Matsunaga Yūkei (1978, xxivff.) proposes that chapter 18 of the *Guhyasamājatantra* was composed in the latter half of the 8th century. In addition, the existence of the Dunhuang manuscript mentioned above shows that the root scripture of the *Guhyasamājatantra* had been composed in circa 800–900 CE (Eastman, 1980).

With regard to the root scripture, we see at least two stages of development, that is to say, chapters 13–17 were probably added later to the first 12 chapters. The reasons that Matsunaga Yūkei (1978, xxviiiff.; 1980, 237ff.; 1998a, 237ff.) proposes are as follows:

1. The *Sandhyāvyākaraṇa* (D 444/P 83), one of the explanatory scriptures (*vyākhyātantra*) free from interpretations belonging to a particular school, comments only on the first 12 chapters. This might imply that the *Guhyasamājatantra* consisted of the first 12 chapters when the *Sandhyāvyākaraṇa* was composed, or at least that the explanatory scripture regarded chapters 13–17 as not essential.
2. The full set of deities who comprise the 19-deity *maṇḍala* of the Jñānapāda school is not found in the first 12 chapters, only in the latter five chapters. The *maṇḍala* taught in chapter 1 consists of 13 deities, and this *maṇḍala* is identical with the one taught in Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* (ch. 15), which is in turn assumed to be identical with the *maṇḍala* of "Indrabhūti's school" mentioned by Tsong kha pa.
3. The four-limbed meditation (*caturaṅgasādhana* or *caturvidhopāya*) is regarded as essential in the supplementary chapter 18. The archetype of this four-limbed meditation is taught in chapter 12. This might imply that the scripture once ended with chapter 12.
4. Compared to the first 12 chapters, chapters 13–17 are relatively long. In addition, with regard to the contents, the characteristics of ritual manuals are conspicuous in chapters 13–17.
5. The supplementary chapter 18 summarizes and elaborates the teachings of the root scripture in the form of questions and answers. All the topics of these questions and answers are found in chapters 1–12.

The supplementary scripture, chapter 18, tries to homologize the different types of yoga taught in the root scripture with each limb of the four-limbed yoga, which is unique to the Jñānapāda school. It is therefore inferred that the Jñānapāda school might have participated in the composition of chapters 13–17 of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.

Related Scriptures

As mentioned above, the *Guhyasamājatantra* is related to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Thus, at a later time, the *Guhyasamājatantra* was classified as a *yogottaratantra* or a *mahāyogatantra*, or simply *yogatantra*. Aside from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, there are several scriptures closely related to the *Guhyasamājatantra*. The *Māyājālatantra* and the *Guhyasamājatantra* have a number of parallels (Matsunaga, 1980, 240–244; 1998a, 240–244). With regard to the practice of desire (*rāgacaryā*) taught in chapter 7, a very similar teaching – namely that tantric practitioners should avoid ascetic practices that weaken their faculties – is found in the chapter 36 of the *Paramādya* (*Mantrakalpakhaṇḍa*; D 488, 242a7–243a2/P 120, 252a7–253a1), a scripture classified as a *yogatantra*, and one of the verses in the relevant passage in the *Paramādya* is the same as *Guhyasamājatantra* 7.2 (Tanemura, 2009, 488ff.). The name Ratnaketu – one of the five buddhas, who is situated in the south in the *maṇḍala* – is identical with the name of one of the four buddhas in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, which is different from the name of the buddha situated in the south in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* taught in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Tanaka, 2010, 278). The heart mantras of Akṣobhya, Vairocana, and Amitāyus/Amithābha, that is, *vajradhṛk*, *jinajik*, and *ārolik*, are taught in the *Susiddhikara* (D 807/P 431; Tanaka, 2010, 278).

The schools based on the *Guhyasamājatantra* developed practices that are not taught in the scripture itself. Thus, at a later time, the explanatory scriptures were composed to authorize those practices. These explanatory scriptures, which are preserved in the Tibetan canon, are the *Sandhyāvyākaraṇa*, the *Vajramālā* (D 445/P 82), the *Caturdevīparipṛcchā* (D 446/P 85), the *Jñānavajrasamuccaya* (D 447/P 84; D 450 is perhaps a longer version; see Wedemeyer, 2007, 208n8), the **Vajrahṛdayālaṃkāra* (D 451/P 86), the *Advayasamatāvijaya* (D 452/P 87), and so on. Of these, the *Advayasamatāvijaya* survives in Sanskrit, and an edition of this text has been published (Fan, 2011).

Pantheons

With regard to the pantheons or *maṇḍala*s, one of the greatest differences from those of the previous tantric scriptures is that the main deity is Akṣobhya rather than Vairocana, who became the main deity instead of Śākyamuni in early and middle tantric Buddhism. Akṣobhya is also regarded as identical with Vajrasattva or Vajradhara, who became the supreme deity in later tantric Buddhism.

The pantheon or *maṇḍala* of the *Guhyasamājatantra* is described in chapter 1. The *maṇḍala* consists of 13 deities, namely the five buddhas, the four goddesses, and the four wrathful deities. As mentioned above, this 13-deity *maṇḍala* is identical with the one taught in Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* (Matsunaga, 1980, 237; 1998a, 237; Tanaka, 2010, 282). This "basic" *maṇḍala* is later developed into the two major *maṇḍala*s associated with the scripture, namely the 19-deity *maṇḍala* of the Jñānapāda school and the 32-deity *maṇḍala* of the Ārya school.

The Jñānapāda-school *maṇḍala* consists of the 13 deities taught in chapter 1 plus the six *vajra* goddesses (Kanamoto, 1986; Tanaka, 2010; see table 1). In this *maṇḍala*, the central deity is called Mañjuvajra rather than Akṣobhya. The deities are represented in sexual embrace with their male or female consorts.

The Ārya-school *maṇḍala* consists of the 13 deities plus five *vajra* goddesses, the eight great bodhisattvas, and the six wrathful deities (see table 2). The names of the female consorts of the ten wrathful deities are mentioned in the *Piṇḍīkrama*, which is one of the important sources of the *utpattikrama* (steps of generation) practice of the Ārya school, but those goddesses are not counted as *maṇḍala* deities (Tanaka, 2010). The central deity is called Akṣobhyavajra. According to the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (an explanatory work by Abhayākaragupta on various *maṇḍala*s), in this *maṇḍala*, only the central deity is represented as embracing his consort, Sparśavajrā. In addition, the wrathful deities situated in the protection wheel (*rakṣācakra*) are visualized as copulating with their consorts. It is impossible to reconstruct these two *maṇḍala*s from the *Guhyasamājatantra* itself. It is the exegetical literature of these two schools that gives us details about these *maṇḍala*s.

One of the important theories concerning the *maṇḍala* introduced in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and its exegetical literature is the homologization of the deities with the dogmatic notions such as the five

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Meditation Practices

The *Guhyasamājatantra* teaches various types of meditation or visualization (yoga), but it is very difficult to understand how these yogas are related to one another. In other words, it is very difficult to find a system of yoga in the scripture. The last chapter, the *Samājottara*, tries to synthesize the various types of yoga. It introduces the following four limbs (*caturaṅga*):

1. service (*sevā*; chs. 3, 7, and 11);
2. subaccomplishment (*upasādhana*; chs. 2, 6, 10, and 14);
3. accomplishment (*sādhana*; chs. 4, 8, 12, and 16); and
4. great accomplishment (*mahāsādhana*; chs. 5, 9, 13, and 17).

Generally, later tantric Buddhism has two systems of yoga: (1) *utpattikrama* (steps of generation) and (2) *utpannakrama*/*niṣpannakrama* (steps named perfected/steps for the perfected). The former is the meditation practice in which the practitioner unites with the visualized deity and emanates the *maṇḍala* deities. The latter is the meditation practice based on psychophysiological techniques. The practitioner controls the *cakras* and channels (*nāḍī*), which are supposed to exist in the human body and guide its energy, by means of sexual yoga, thereby attaining the state of being without conceptual cognition (*nirvikalpa*).

The *Guhyasamājatantra* proper does not teach these two systems. The *Samājottara* (18.84) mentions the names of these two systems and echoes a famous verse concerning the two truths in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (24.8) by Nāgārjuna (Isaacson, 2001, 468–469). This fact implies that the compilers of this scripture regarded the *utpattikrama* as the practice at the mundane or lower level and the *utpannakrama* as that at the supramundane or higher level. The scripture, however, does not teach the concrete methods for either of these yogas.

The yoga based on the *Guhyasamājatantra* is developed in the two main exegetical schools, namely the Jñānapāda school and the Ārya school. The principal texts of the former are the works by Buddhaśrījñāna. Of these, the *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā Mukhāgama* (Oral Instruction Named Meditation on the Reality in Two Steps; D 1583/P 2716), is the revelation by Mañjuśrī to Buddhaśrījñāna. Buddhaśrījñāna was probably the first person who integrated the two systems of meditation into Buddhist tantric practice. The fact that the *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā Mukhāgama* is said to be the revelation by Mañjuśrī may imply that his system was established by Buddhaśrījñāna himself and thus that it was not entirely based on the *Guhyasamājatantra*. For the Jñānapāda school, the basic frame of the *utpattikrama* is the threefold meditation (*trisamādhi*) established in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*: (1) *ādiyoga* (first union), (2) *maṇḍalarājāgrī* (supreme lord of the *maṇḍala*), and (3) *karmarājāgrī* (supreme lord of action). The system of the four limbs is incorporated into this basic frame. Each of the four limbs has three divisions, that is, inferior, middle, and advanced. The *ādiyoga* of the threefold meditation consists of the four limbs of the inferior and those of the middle, and the *maṇḍalarājāgrī* consists of the four limbs of the advanced. In addition, the four limbs bring about the four outcomes called natural outcome (*niṣyanda*), maturation (*vipāka*), manly action (*puruṣakāra*), and being free of defilements (*vaimalya*), respectively. The practitioner unites with the deity through a complicated process that consists of the threefold meditation, the four limbs, and the four outcomes (Tanaka, 2010, 489ff.; Kikuya, 2010; for a synopsis of Buddhaśrījñāna's *Samantabhadrasādhana*, see Tanaka, 2010, 501–503).

In the *utpannakrama* of this school, the practitioner attains the purified body (Skt. **viśuddhikāya*; Tib. *rnam par dag pa'i sku*) by means of the yoga of *bindu* or *tilaka* (the subtle, imperishable "particle" in the *cakra* situated in the heart), which involves sexual union with a female consort and the resulting experience of bliss (Hadano, 1950, 43–44; Sakurai, 2007; Kikuya, 2010). Because of the limited number of primary sources and the small number of studies in this field, many parts of this practice are still unclear.

The basic structure of the *utpattikrama* of the Ārya school is also the threefold meditation. In the system of this school, the *ādiyoga*, which follows the preparatory process, is divided into the four sub-steps: *yoga*, *anuyoga*, *atiyoga*, and *mahāyoga*.

Having accomplished the triple body of the Buddha by means of empowerment of his body, speech, and mind through these four substeps, the practitioner becomes a buddha. Next, the practitioner emanates the *maṇḍala* deities by means of sexual-yogic union with his consort in the *maṇḍalarājāgrī*. After the third step, the *karmarājāgrī*, the practitioner who has risen up from the meditation should act as a buddha (Luo & Tomabechi, 2009; Hadano, 1950, 93ff.).

The principal text for the *utpannakrama* of this school is the *Pañcakrama* attributed to Nāgārjuna (see Mimaki & Tomabechi, 1994). The present *Pañcakrama* consists, as the name suggests, of the following five steps:

1. *Vajrajāpakrama* (Step of Vajra Recitation);
2. *Sarvaśuddhiviśuddhikrama* (Step of Purification by Purity of All; for different opinions with regard to this chapter's authorship, see Mimaki & Tomabechi, 1994, XIn12);
3. *Svādhiṣṭhānakrama* (Step of Self-consecration);
4. *Paramarahasyasukhābhisaṃbodhikrama* (Step of Realization of the Supreme, Secret Bliss) or *Abhisaṃbodhikrama* (Step of Realization); and
5. *Yuganaddhakrama* (Step of Cooperative Union).

In the *utpannakrama* practice of this school, the practitioner controls his or her vital energy called *vāyu* (wind; i.e. *prāṇa*) and experiences imaginary death, thereby attaining *prabhāsvara* (clear light). This state is referred to as "nondual knowledge" or "nonconceptual cognition." This *utpannakrama* practice is not taught in the *Guhyasamājatantra* itself. The scriptural basis for this practice is the explanatory scriptures, which were probably compiled by this school.

Esoteric Eroticism and Sacralization of Impure Substances

Esoteric eroticism is found in various parts of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. For instance, the initiation rites called *guhyābhiṣeka* (secret empowerment) and *prajñājñānābhiṣeka* (empowerment of knowledge of wisdom), which are prescribed in chapter 18, involve sexual union with a female consort. In the *guhyābhiṣeka*, an initiand offers a female partner to his master, and the master has intercourse with her. Then the initiand is made to consume the sexual fluid from the sexual organs, which is taught to be the mind intent on awakening. In the *prajñājñānābhiṣeka*, the initiand copulates with the consort handed over by the master and experiences bliss, that is, the "state of being without conceptual cognition."

Sacralization of impure substances is also an element that became conspicuous in the *Guhyasamājatantra*. These impure substances are mentioned as the "five nectars (*pañcāmṛta*)," that is, urine, feces, semen, blood, and human meat. The scripture prescribes that an initiate should eat these substances and worship the deities with them. The scripture also prescribes that an initiate should eat the "five meats," that is, the meat of cows, dogs, elephants, horses, and humans. Both esoteric eroticism and sacralization of impure substances are influences of Śākta-Śaivism (Sanderson, 2009, 144ff.).

Synopsis

The main topics of this scripture are the pantheons, meditation practice, and the religious observances to be kept by the initiates. However, these are not taught systematically through the chapters. In addition, the lord who gives the teachings of the *Guhyasamājatantra* is called by various names such as Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittādhipati ("The Lord of Body, Speech, and Mind of All Tathāgatas"). The outlines of the individual chapters are as follows.

Chapter 1: After the preamble (*nidāna*), this chapter mainly teaches the emanation of the five buddhas, the four goddesses, and the four wrathful deities (i.e. the 13-deity *maṇḍala*).

Chapter 2: This chapter mainly teaches the essence of the mind intent on awakening (*bodhicitta*) in six verses. The four stanzas taught by the four buddhas Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus, and Amoghasiddhi are also found in the *Māyājālatantra*; the stanza taught by Vairocana is found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi*.

Chapter 3: This chapter teaches the visualization of the *maṇḍala* and the yoga of expansion and contraction. The iconographies of the five buddhas are also mentioned.

Chapter 4: The way of making the mind *maṇḍala*, which consists of the pledges of the deities, is taught. This chapter also teaches the sexual yoga with a 16-year-old maiden, who is to be empowered as the goddess Māmakī. Worship of the deities that involves consumption of impure substances is prescribed.

Chapter 5: This chapter prescribes the persons who are suitable to do the practices taught in this scripture. It emphasizes that untouchables, persons who have committed great sins, and persons

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regarded as impure by mundane ethics are suitable as practitioners of this scripture.

Chapter 6: In this chapter, the five buddhas teach the mantras. Akṣobhya teaches the mantra for the empowerment of mind, Vairocana the mantra for the empowerment of body, Amitāyus the mantra for the empowerment of speech, Ratnaketu the mantra for attachment, and Amoghasiddhi the mantra for worship. This chapter also teaches the subtle yoga, in which the practitioner concentrates and visualizes a *vajra* and other sacred things on the tip of the nose, and prescribes the rules for the consumption of impure substances and meats.

Chapter 7: This chapter teaches that enjoyment of all desires is necessary for attainment of accomplishment (*siddhi*). As stated above, this teaching is closely related to that of the *Paramādya*. In this teaching, the five objects of the sense faculties correspond to the five buddhas: sight corresponds to Vairocana, sound to Ratnaketu, smell to Amitāyus, flavor to Amoghavajra, and touch to Akṣobhya. This chapter also teaches visualization called recollection (*anusmṛti*), which involves sexual yoga with a female partner.

Chapter 8: Requested by Ratnaketu, Vajradhara teaches how to worship the visualized *maṇḍala* and the master. This worship involves sexual yoga and enjoyment of objects agreeable to the five sense faculties and impure substances.

Chapter 9: First, the pledges (*samaya*) of the five buddha families are taught. The pledge of the *dveṣakula* (hatred family) is murder, of the *mohakula* (ignorance family) theft, of the *rāgakula* (desire family) sexual pleasure, of the *samayākarṣaṇakula* (pledge-attracting family) lying, and of the *ratnakula* (jewel family) abuse. The lord also teaches that the practice of desire is the practice of bodhisattvas, which is the supreme practice. The bodhisattvas ask the reason why the blessed one gives these transgressive teachings. The lord answers that the practice of desire is the practice of bodhisattvas, which is the supreme practice. For, just as ether pervades everywhere and is not confined in a specific place, likewise the pledges of the tathāgatas mentioned above should be understood.

Chapter 10: In this chapter, the lord teaches the mantras of body, speech, and mind; the meditation practices in which those mantras are employed; and the sexual yoga with a female partner called *mahāmudrā* (great seal).

Chapter 11: The three seed syllables called three *vajras* (i.e. *oṃ*, *āḥ*, and *hūṃ*) and the heart mantra of the knowledge *vajra* (*jñānavajrahṛdaya*; i.e. *bhrūṃ*) are taught. The lord teaches the yoga of the three *vajras* (i.e. the three seed syllables), of the five buddhas, and, again, of the three seed syllables.

Chapter 12: The theme of this chapter is the observances. First, the lord teaches the five kinds of meditations related to the pledges of the five buddhas. Then, the lord teaches the taking of pills that are to be visualized as transformations of the three seed syllables. Subsequently, the lord teaches the visualization of the five buddhas and the wrathful deities. The lord also teaches how to draw down the pledges (*samaya*). Next he teaches the fruits arising from the consumption of the "five meats" and impure substances and from the practice of the observances. Finally, the lord teaches the outline of the four-limbed yoga.

Chapter 13: The lord teaches various meditation practices such as the three-seed-syllable/*vajra* recitation (see above) and the ten kinds of recitation. The four kinds of rites – that is, quelling of calamities (*śāntika*), increase of fortunes (*pauṣṭika*), subjugation (*vaśya*), and subduing of enemies (*abhicāraka*) – and the deities employed in each rite are explained. The lord also teaches the visualization of the ten wrathful deities.

Chapter 14: The lord teaches the mantras of the four goddesses and their effects and then the mantras of the nine wrathful deities and their effects. Next the lord teaches how to draw down the deities. After that he prescribes the *abhicāraka* rite and, in connection with this rite, the rites in which spikes (*kīla*), weapons to kill the evil, are employed.

Chapter 15: The lord teaches (1) sexual yoga with a female partner; (2) various rites for the purpose of killing a hostile person; (3) consumption of pills made of impure substances, meats, metals, and so forth and their effects; (4) cure for snakebites and so forth; (5) cure for diseases; and (6) correspondences between dreams and supernatural effects (*siddhi*). The lord also teaches that all things lack inherent nature, they are like illusion, and therefore the effects of the rites do not exist from the viewpoint of supreme truth.

Chapter 16: First, the lord teaches how to draw the *vajra* body *maṇḍala* (*vajrakāyamaṇḍala*; i.e. the body *maṇḍala* of all tathāgatas) and the *vajra* speech *maṇḍala* (*vāgvajramaṇḍala*; i.e. the speech *maṇḍala* of all tathāgatas). Then the lord emanates the secret of the supreme, esoteric *maṇḍala* from his *vajra*-like body, speech, and mind. Despite the fact that he teaches these three kinds of *maṇḍala*, the lord prohibits practitioners from drawing external *maṇḍalas*. The lord again teaches how to draw a *maṇḍala* and how to perform the fire rite. The lord also teaches the initiation ritual (*abhiṣeka*) of disciples, the description of which is simple and short. After this the lord teaches the observances to be kept by the initiates. Next the visualizations of the deities are prescribed. Finally, the lord teaches the postinitiatory observance called *vidyāvrata*, which is to be practiced with a female consort (*vidyā*).

Chapter 17: First the stanzas that praise the five buddhas are taught. Then the lord teaches various observances, including the rules for food. The lord states that the *vajra* of body, speech, and mind is beyond verbal expressions. The lord teaches the correspondences between the five buddhas and the five aggregates and between the four goddesses and the four elements. The greatness of the masters initiated into this scripture is told. Then the lord teaches the visualization of the great *maṇḍala* named the *vajra*-like source of all tathāgatas and bodhisattvas, the rite for killing hostile persons, and the worship of the deities with impure substances and sexual intercourse. Nonetheless, in the next passage, external ritual acts are prohibited. After this, the lord teaches the way of detoxification from all poison and how to kill a hostile person. In the prose after verse 71, the lord relates that the reason why the buddhas in the past did not reveal the *Guhyasamājatantra* is that the audience was not mature enough, but that from now on, initiates of this scripture will attain awakening. Next the four goddesses praise Mahāvajradhara ("Great Vajra Holder") and ask him for sexual intercourse. Finally, the secret of the *vajra* of body, speech, and mind is revealed.

Chapter 18: This chapter consists mainly of 53 questions from the bodhisattvas to the lord and the answers to those questions. In those answers, the lord prescribes the initiation rites called *guhyābhiṣeka* and *prajñājñānābhiṣeka*. He teaches the consumption of the five impure substances called the "five nectars" and the "five meats" and teaches the yoga of four limbs (see above).

Reception

The *Guhyasamājatantra* was, and partly still is, very successful in India, the Tibeto-Himalayan region, and Mongolia. The popularity of this scripture in India is clear from the number of extant Sanskrit manuscripts. Especially in the Kathmandu Valley, the *Guhyasamājatantra* is revered as one of the "nine dharmas," the nine scriptures regarded as important. In addition, many exegetical works of this scripture are written by Indian and Tibetan authors.

The scripture and the practices based on the scripture were transmitted by several exegetical schools. Of these, the Jñānapāda school and the Ārya school were the most influential. The system of the practice of the Jñānapāda school was transmitted mainly in the Vikramaśīla Monastery, which was founded and supported by the Pala emperors. The Ārya school became especially popular in Tibet. Tsong kha pa regards the Mādhyamika, especially the so-called Prāsaṅgika strand, as the highest in non-tantric Buddhism, and the *Guhyasamājatantra*, especially the Ārya school, as the highest in tantric Buddhism. The reason why Tsong kha pa regarded the Ārya school as the highest is probably that the authors of the Mādhyamika and the Ārya school share the same names such as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and Candrakīrti.

Although the *Guhyasamājatantra* was translated into Chinese, it was not propagated in East Asia. After Amoghavajra, tantric Buddhism in China declined rapidly, and translation of Indian Buddhist literature into Chinese came to an end. This means that the development of tantric Buddhism following the *yogatantra* hardly reached China or Japan. In this period, Chan Buddhism formed the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. In this religious climate, the *Guhyasamājatantra* was much less influential than tantric Buddhism in the earlier Tang period.

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RYUGEN TANEMURA

Hevajratantra

The *Hevajratantra* is the most important scripture of the *yoginītantra* class. Shortly after its appearance around 900 CE in East India (Davidson, 2004, 41), it engendered – or promoted in a codified form – a widespread and influential cult of its eponymous deity and his retinue; its teachings became of such authority that there were hardly any esoteric Buddhist authors who could afford to ignore them. While the text continued the antinomian tradition set out in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, it also introduced a number of innovations – most importantly the doctrine of the four blisses – and it is noted for skillfully blending the world of tantric ritual practice and non-esoteric Mahāyāna doctrine. Compared to the other emblematic *yoginītantra*, the *Herukābhidhāna*, the *Hevajratantra* can be said to contain much more theological and philosophical material, showing a confident grounding in the Buddhist world.

The basic scripture was followed by vigorous exegesis in the form of further, explanatory scriptures, commentaries proper, and a large body of satellite texts. The *tantra* was translated into Chinese by *Dharmapāla (Fahu [法護]) in 1055 CE and into Tibetan at roughly the same time by Gayādhara and 'Brog mi Shā kya ye shes (D 417–418/P 10; the two main chapters are numerated separately in the Derge edition). While until the advent of the Yuan dynasty it failed to gain momentum in China, the *Hevajratantra* inspired hundreds of further works in Tibet (Sobisch, 2008).

Judging from statuary and other material evidence, the teachings of the *Hevajratantra* were transmitted in some form to various parts of Southeast Asia (see Lobo, 1998, for the Khmer realm; for Sumatra, see Griffiths, 2014, 228–230, where the cult survived until the 14th century; Reichle, 2007, 139). That the *Hevajratantra* came to be the emblematic esoteric Buddhist scripture is suggested by the fact that the Śaiva exegete Jayaratha (*fl.* c. 1213–1236 CE) quoted it with approval, though without actually naming the text (e.g. *Tantrālokaviveka ad* Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* 4.243, Shâstrî, 1921, 269; there are two or three further possible quotations).

The cult had among its initiates a number of monarchs and courtiers. In India, the ruler of Khasa, Aśokacalla is described as a worshipper of Hevajra on an inscription from Bodh Gaya dated 1194 CE by one of his dependents (Vidyavinoda, 1913–1914, 30). The Mongol rulers Godan and Qubilai were initiated by the Tibetan masters Sa skya paṇḍita (1182–1251 CE) and his nephew, 'Phags pa (1239–1280 CE) respectively (Willemen, 1983, 16). A Čam inscription from 1194 CE (Finot, 1904, 973, 975) celebrating the military victory of Vidyānandana, the future king Sūryavarman, over a Khmer expedition, records the building of a Heruka temple (*śrīherukaharmya*), which could possibly have been a Hevajra place of worship.

The *Hevajratantra* was the first *yoginītantra* to be fully edited and translated by modern scholars. D.L. Snellgrove's (1959) pioneering work was slightly improved upon by G.W. Farrow and I. Menon (1992), and some progress towards a comprehensive critical edition, which remains one of the great desiderata of esoteric Buddhist studies, has been achieved by the awkwardly constituted but useful editions of R.S. Tripathi and T.S. Negi (2001; 2006). R.F. Meyer's German translation (2005–2006) is not based on such an effort. For the time being, it would seem that the text was transmitted in a fairly stable form, although signs of redaction and possibly slightly different recensions exist.

Structure and Synopsis of Contents

The *Hevajratantra* consists of two main chapters (or "books", "parts") called *kalpas*, which are usually divided into 11 and 12 subchapters, and named "The Chapter of the Awakening of Vajragarbha" (who is the petitioner of most of the text) and "The Chapter of Illusion," respectively. (Below the *kalpas* are indicated with upper case Roman I and II, the subchapters in lower case, and verses with Arabic numerals.) Because of this feature, the text is very often referred to as "the king [of *tantras*] in two chapters" (*dvikalparāja*). Some ancillary *tantras* and commentaries state that the two chapters were

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extracted from a mythical Ur-*ta*
There is a chance that the *Hevaj*
to some such concept (I.xi.12).

I.i: On the *Vajra* Family

The text opens with a modified e
does contain the customary ope
mayā śrutam etc.), but here the
been abiding in the womb of
opening is inherited from the
Although the role of the pet
mostly by the bodhisattva V
sometimes handed over to the
and other goddesses), the first
by the lord himself. This is an
retinue to hear about Hevajra,
of three beings (*sattva*): *vajra*
and *samayasattva*. Vajragarb
asks for clarification regarding
given. He then asks about the
The answer is that *he* means
whereas *vajra* means wisdom; t
the union of the two. A short o
follows. The lord then teache
background with which Hevajr
visualized. Vajragarbha then a
(*nāḍī*) that pervade the body.
be 32 in number, among them
important ones (*lalanā*, *rasan*
avadhūtī). The names of the fou
also given: three are named af
of the Buddha (*nirmāṇa*, *saṃb*
last is that of great bliss (*mahās*
of items in sets of four follows,
that all these sets are somehow
noted that the text displays a p
for sets of four. The subchapter
verse on the yogic practice of "
better known in its Tibetan re
This particular system of tubes
as the practice of *caṇḍālī*, are in

I.ii: On Mantras

The second subchapter deals
which are given openly (that is
encoding and decoding, althou
used later). The mantras given
offering (*bali*), the seed syllabl
the heart mantra of Hevajra, a
the seed syllables of the *yoginī*
two-armed, four-armed, and s
Hevajra, the seed syllables fo

ɔng its initiates a number of
ers. In India, the ruler of Khasa,
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904, 973, 975) celebrating the
dyānandana, the future king
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). Some ancillary *tantras*
that the two chapters were

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extracted from a mythical Ur-*tantra* in 32 chapters. There is a chance that the *Hevajratantra* itself refers to some such concept (I.xi.12).

I.i: On the *Vajra* Family

The text opens with a modified etiological passage: it does contain the customary opening formula (*evaṃ mayā śrutam* etc.), but here the lord is said to have been abiding in the womb of *vajra* women. This opening is inherited from the *Guhyasamājatantra*. Although the role of the petitioner is assumed mostly by the bodhisattva Vajragarbha (a role sometimes handed over to the consort of Hevajra and other goddesses), the first words are spoken by the lord himself. This is an exhortation to the retinue to hear about Hevajra, who is the essence of three beings (*sattva*): *vajrasattva*, *mahāsattva*, and *samayasattva*. Vajragarbha intervenes and asks for clarification regarding these three, which is given. He then asks about the name Hevajra itself. The answer is that *he* means great compassion, whereas *vajra* means wisdom; the name symbolizes the union of the two. A short overview of contents follows. The lord then teaches the philosophical background with which Hevajra/Heruka should be visualized. Vajragarbha then asks about the tubes (*nāḍī*) that pervade the body. These are taught to be 32 in number, among them three are the most important ones (*lalanā*, *rasanā*, and the central *avadhūtī*). The names of the four wheels (*cakra*) are also given: three are named after the three bodies of the Buddha (*nirmāṇa*, *saṃbhoga*, *dharma*), the last is that of great bliss (*mahāsukha*). A further list of items in sets of four follows, with the implication that all these sets are somehow correlated. It is to be noted that the text displays a peculiar predilection for sets of four. The subchapter closes with a single verse on the yogic practice of "inner heat" (*caṇḍālī*; better known in its Tibetan rendering, *gtum mo*). This particular system of tubes and wheels, as well as the practice of *caṇḍālī*, are innovations of the text.

I.ii: On Mantras

The second subchapter deals mostly with mantras, which are given openly (that is to say, not through encoding and decoding, although that process too is used later). The mantras given include that for food offering (*bali*), the seed syllables of the tathāgatas, the heart mantra of Hevajra, a spell to shake a city, the seed syllables of the *yoginī*s, the mantras of the two-armed, four-armed, and six-armed ectypes of Hevajra, the seed syllables for the empowerment of body, speech, and mind, a protective spell to purify the ground for ritual purposes, spells for various aggressive rites, and other minor rites such as weather magic, martial magic, and chasing away wild animals.

I.iii: On the Deity/Deities

This subchapter describes the deity Hevajra with some details for the procedure of visualization. He arises from the seed syllable *hūṃ*, which arises from a *vajra*, he is dark in color, and is surrounded by eight goddesses who worship him. Their names are Gaurī, Caurī, Vetālī/Vettālī, Ghasmarī, Pukkasī, Śavarī, Caṇḍālī, and Ḍombī. It is noteworthy that the latter four are named after various outcaste groups. There are only minor differences between this retinue and that of Heruka in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*. The symbolism of the cremation ground, where the deity and its retinue reside, is prominent. The closing part gives the particulars for two ectypes, a four-armed and a six-armed Hevajra. The former holds a skull bowl filled with blood, a *vajra*, and embraces his consort, here called Vajravārāhī (who is otherwise the consort of Śaṃvara). The latter has three faces, holds a trident, a *vajra*, a bell, a chopping-flaying knife, and embraces his consort, who in this case is called Vajraśṛṅkhalā.

I.iv: On Consecration by the Deities

The very short fourth subchapter describes the visualization of being consecrated by the deities (i.e. buddhas and goddesses) once the visualization of oneself as Hevajra is completed.

I.v: On Reality

As the title suggests, here the subject matter is more doctrinal than practical. Some verses are metaphysical statements reminiscent of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, several verses teach details concerning the *yogin*'s consort, but one also finds semantic analyses of technical terms and names, both tantric and non-tantric.

I.vi: On the Observance

This subchapter describes the post-initiatory observance (*caryā*), in which the practitioner is to assume the physical appearance of the deity. He should first gain a certain amount of mastery over yogic meditation in a solitary place. Then he should acquire a young and beautiful consort, roam the land with her, interact freely with all castes, eat and drink whatever is found; in short, he should free himself of all restrictive social inhibitions. It is hinted that during the time of the observance (the exact time span is not given, otherwise typically six months), the initiate is free of all ritual obligations except reverence to his *guru*.

I.vii: On Secret Gestures

The seventh subchapter is for the most part dedicated to secret hand gestures (*chommā*) by which male and female initiates can recognize and communicate with each other. The appropriate places for such meetings (*melāpakasthāna*) are then listed, with the appropriate days for practice. Further doctrinal injunctions are given: the *yogin* is not to discriminate between right and wrong deeds, appropriate and inappropriate diet, correct and incorrect thought and speech. All movements and words are to be considered *mudrās* and mantras of the deity Heruka (i.e. Hevajra), for whose name a semantic analysis is given.

I.viii: On the Circle of *Yoginīs*

This subchapter gives further details about visualization, especially about the retinue called the circle of *yoginīs* (*yoginīcakra*). This consists of the main consort, Nairātmyā in the middle, and 14 goddesses: Vajrā, another Gaurī, Vāriyoginī, and Vajraḍākinī in the inner circle in the intermediate directions, the octet already mentioned above in the outer circle, with Khecarī above and Bhūcarī below. Their iconographic details are given. About halfway through the subchapter the text announces that thus far the stage of generation (*utpattikrama*) has been taught, with teachings on the stage of the perfected/fully arisen (*utpannakrama*) to follow. This is described in terms of sexual yoga, where the practitioner experiences the series of four blisses (*ānanda*): bliss (*ānanda*), supreme bliss (*paramānanda*), the bliss of cessation (*viramānanda*), and innate bliss (*sahajānanda*). The order is given thus, but later on in the text the last two are given in reverse order. There were two schools of thought on this matter and quite a lot of exegesis has been created around this controversy (Isaacson & Sferra, 2014, 94–109). The subchapter closes with philosophical verses on meditation and its benefits.

I.ix: On Purification

The ninth subchapter deals with the idea of *viśuddhi* (for an in-depth analysis of the term, see Sferra, 1999), broadly speaking a series of correlations between the tantric world of deities and the realm of Mahāyāna/Abhidharma doctrinal concepts. For example, the four central goddesses with Nairātmyā are said to be the aggregates (*skandha*), a further set of four are paralleled with the gross elements beginning with earth, the 16 arms of Hevajra are taught to correspond to the 16 kinds of emptiness, and so on.

I.x: On initiation

The penultimate subchapter deals mostly with matters related to initiation (*abhiṣeka*). A diagram of the deities (*maṇḍala*) is drawn with colored powders in a carefully purified place. A consort is presented to the officiant, who copulates with her and makes the disciple ingest the resulting sexual fluids. After some elaboration on the four blisses, further details of the diagram are given, such as the threads used to delineate the diagram, its ornamentation, the symbols used in lieu of the anthropomorphic representation of the deities, and so forth. The subchapter concludes with a somewhat obscure passage concerning the relationship between being embodied and innate bliss.

I.xi

The last subchapter of the first *kalpa* is untitled; some exegetes call it that "On Gazes" (that the practitioner should adopt according to the ritual he wishes to perform), which is indeed the first topic addressed. In addition, for each of the kinds of gazes, phases of breath control and targets for practice, such as grass and trees, are taught. A subsequent passage describes a cannibalistic ritual performed to obtain the power of flying; another, the practice of the goddess Kurukullā for subjugation.

II.i: On Oblation into Fire

The first subchapter of the second *kalpa* does give various details about the oblation ritual (*homa*) – the shape and size of the fire pit for example – but it opens with a question about the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of images.

II.ii: On Ascertaining Accomplishment

The main topic is the practitioner's daily meditation: he should seek salvation by continuously cultivating identity with the deity or deities. After a short solitary practice he should obtain a suitable consort and continue with her. Various praises of the practice are given and it is stated that all can benefit from it, even the greatest sinners. The text reinforces the idea of gradual practice in two stages – that of

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II.iii: On the Fundamentals and Secret Language

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generation (*utpattikrama*) and that of the perfected (*utpannakrama*) – and explains the reason why it is constructed thus (Isaacson, 2001, 468–472).

II.iii: On the Fundamentals of All *Tantras* and Secret Language

Here the *yoginīs* join Vajragarbha as addressees and petitioners. The lord teaches elucidations on the initial word *evaṃ*, the four moments of bliss and the blisses themselves, the four initiations, the *maṇḍala*, the vows binding the initiate, and further miscellaneous matters, some of which are reiterations. The last passage teaches the initiates' secret codewords (*sandhyābhāṣā*).

II.iv: The Summary of the Entire *Tantra* and Sealing

Exceeding a century of verses, this is the longest subchapter of the text; it is correspondingly complex and often puzzling. The lord is asked to provide elucidations on topics only briefly mentioned in previous subchapters. He addresses the questions with due digressions. First, he proclaims songs in Apabhramsha, and then teaches various matters, such as elucidations about the communal feast, the seed syllables of the *yoginīs*, the nature of semen/resolve of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), the sexual practices with one's consort, the bodies of a buddha, further songs, philosophical aphorisms on liberation, the food offering, and "sealing" (*mudraṇa*) – in essence, a kind of *viśuddhi*.

II.v: The Glory of Hevajra

Requested by Nairātmyā, Hevajra teaches the practice of the sixteen-armed, eight-faced quadrupede Heruka and his retinue. This is the subchapter giving most of the details related to visualization, daily practice, and incidental rituals. Details on the initiation rite are also taught; this passage includes a direct reference to the emblematic *yogatantra*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

II.vi: On the Scroll Painting

After making love to his consort, Hevajra first teaches the symbolism of the five bone ornaments (*mudrā*) and only then details related to how a scroll painting (*paṭa*) depicting the deities should be prepared. The text does not go into technicalities; it rather focuses on the ceremonial setting up of the actual act of painting.

II.vii: On the Feast

The title again describes only about half of the subject matter covered. The subchapter opens with details related to preparing and handling a book containing the *Hevajratantra*: it should be written on birch bark 12 fingerwidths long with human blood as ink and a stylus made of human bone. It, just as the painting, should not be seen by non-initiates and it should be hidden on one's body when traveling. The second part describes a communal feast (*gaṇamaṇḍala*), which is to take place in a secluded area such as a cremation ground. Under the supervision of a *guru*, the initiates should sit on tiger hides, eat, and share liquor from a skull bowl.

II.viii: On Those to Be Trained

The subchapter first teaches some physical and behavioral characteristics that an ideal consort, who has already been described as young and beautiful, should possess. The subsequent passage gives a prayer (*praṇidhāna*) in which the *yogin* expresses his hope to be continually reborn as a Hevajra initiate. The final few verses describe an inclusivistic propedeutic model to convert and train beings. First, they should be instructed in standard Buddhist morality; then, they should be taught Vaibhāṣika doctrines, then Sautrāntika ones, then Yogācāra, and finally Madhyamaka; after this, esoteric Buddhism (Mantranaya) in general, which culminates with the Hevajra. (For this important verse and some exegesis on it, see Isaacson, 2007, 291–292.)

II.ix: On Decoding Mantras

The first topic to be addressed in this subchapter is a rite to magically kill enemies of Buddhism. The text continues with further *viśuddhis* and ends with the system of decoding mantras (*mantroddhāra*).

II.x: On Recitation

The shortest subchapter of the text deals with the various materials to be used for making the beads of the rosary (again customized for various rituals), as well as the corresponding diet.

II.xi: On That Which Has the Innate As Its Purpose

The subchapter opens with teaching the bodily signs of affinity with deity clans and closes with instructions on how to worship the physical consort (here *mahāmudrā*) sexually.

II.xii

The final subchapter is not named separately. It is very short and teaches verses that are to be used in sexual initiation.

Commentaries on the *Hevajratantra*

At present we have access in some form to at least 16 Indian commentaries. Among those available in the original, a pithy but most sophisticated example is Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* (ed. Tripathi & Negi, 2001; a project to reedit the text has been announced by Isaacson), which "explicitly attempts to show that tantric practice of the kind taught in the *Hevajratantra* does not conflict with, but rather is in perfect accordance with, the basic teachings of (non-tantric) Buddhism" (Isaacson, 2002, 151[80]). The author was active in the first half of the 11th century (Isaacson, 2001, 457).

Also available in the original is the *Yogaratnamālā* of (a) Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇa (or *Samayavajra, or Śāntibhadra), who may have been a disciple of Ratnākaraśānti (Isaacson, 2001, 458) rather than a commentator from as early as the 9th century (tentatively dated so in Snellgrove, 1959, 13–14; accepted without hesitation in Farrow & Menon, 1992, viii), now available in two editions (Snellgrove, 1959; Tripathi & Negi, 2006) and an English translation (Farrow & Menon, 1992).

Vajragarbha's *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* is a commentary from the viewpoint of the Kālacakra doctrine (ed. Shendge, 2004; Sferra has announced a new complete edition, some chapters of which have already appeared accompanied by translations: the first in Sferra 2009a; the tenth in Sferra 2009b).

There are at least two commentaries available in Sanskrit, which have not been translated into Tibetan. Kamalanātha/Mañjuśrī's *Ratnāvalī* (KLK 231), although the work of an obscure author, can be shown to have been rather influential on the famous Abhayākaragupta. Kelikuliśa's *Trivajraratnāvalīmālikā pañjikā* (a photographic copy is available at the NSUG Xc 14/36; reported to have survived, KCDS, 146) is an attempt to blend the *Guhyasamājatantra* doctrine and practice as taught in the Ārya school of exegesis with that of the *Hevajratantra* (Isaacson, 2009, 91). Not much else is known about this author; since the manuscript is dated to the 19th regnal year of (a) Madanapāla, he must predate the mid-12th century.

The *Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha* of Yaśobhadra is suspected to be extant in Sanskrit, but for the time being only the Tibetan translation is available (D 1186/P 2316).

A further ten commentaries are available only in Tibetan (D 1181–1182, 1184–1185, 1187–1188, 1190–1193/P 2311–2312, 2314–2315, 2317–2318, 2320–2323), including three that were possibly written in the 10th century (those of Bhavabhaṭṭa, Durjayacandra, and Padmāṅkuravajra).

Satellite Texts

In spite of there having been several initiation manuals for this system, some of which now survive only in Tibetan, the only such work known to be extant in Sanskrit is the anonymous and incomplete *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (ed. and French trans. Finot, 1934, 19–48; ed. and notes Isaacson & Sanderson, unpublished). The only such work partially translated into English, that of a *Prajñāśrī (Snellgrove, 1987, 254–260), is very likely a canonized Tibetan composition (Isaacson 2010, 273). Ratnākaraśānti's *Hevajrābhyudayamaṇḍalopāyikā* does not survive, but the author himself refers to it (Isaacson, 2002, 152[79]).

Among the practical manuals surviving in Sanskrit (and also perhaps among all such works), the most influential was Saroruhavajra's *Hevajrasādhanopāyikā*/*Hevajrasādhanopayikā* (anonymous ed., 2003, badly in need of revision; D 1218/P 2347). A commentary on this text also survives, Jālandharipāda/Vajranātha/Suratavajra's *Vajrapradīpā* (the best ms. so far is NSUG Xc 14/38; D 1237/P 2366), which is yet another attempt to harmonize the meditation system proposed by Ārya exegesis and Hevajra practice. Continuing this tradition is Rāhulagupta's *Pañcakramānuttarahevajraprakāśa* (bar an apograph, the only known manuscript is dated 1272 CE, microfilmed by the Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions, MBB-I-39, and the NGMPP, X 1504/1, this witness also contains an appendix on external worship; only partially matching translation D 1238/P 2367).

Very carefully crafted practical manuals are Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramahara* on the generation stage (*utpattikrama*; ed. Isaacson, 2002; annotations in Isaacson, 2007) and the same author's *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* on the stage of the perfected (*utpannakrama*; ed. Isaacson, 2001); this latter work also has a commentary, which survives only in Tibetan (Isaacson, 2001, 459).

A veritable treasure trove of practical manuals (but also hymns and other miscellanea) is an

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anthology preserved in a single, 14th-century manuscript from Nepal: the 272 folios preserve 45 works (including an exception, the *Vajrajvālodayā* by Ānandagarbha, which is a practical manual based on the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*), a large proportion of which has not been transmitted to Tibet. (For a description and list of contents, see Isaacson, 2010.)

Among further surviving materials deserving close attention are Ḍombīheruka's *Sahajasiddhi* (Shendge, 1967), his *Amṛtaprabhā* (more likely a record by a student, not a direct work; ed. Bhattacharya, 1928, 443–449; D 1306/P 2436), and [an] Āryadeva's *Pratipattisāraśataka* (about half of the original survives in NAK 1–1679 *bauddhastotra* 14; D 2334/P 4695; perhaps complete in ms. reported in KCDS, 82).

Ancillary *Tantras* and Their Exegesis

Perhaps the earliest and certainly the most influential ancillary scripture inspired by the *Hevajratantra* is the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*. A Sanskrit manuscript of this work is reported to exist in China (KCDS, 140), but for now we have access only to the Tibetan translation (D 419/P 11). A short commentary, the anonymous *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaraṭippati* (KLK 230) is available only in Sanskrit, whereas the original of Mahāmatideva's *Tattvaviśadā* survives in part (scattered: folio 1 in KLK 134; folios 2–15 in NAK 5–20; last folio in NAK 5–23), and in full in Tibetan (D 1196/P 2326). Two further commentaries exist only in Tibetan translation (D 1194–1195/P 2324–2325). This scripture already states that there was an extensive Ur-*tantra* in 500,000 (units or verses) in 32 *kalpas*, to which the commentator Vajragarbha, keeping in line with a feature known to be that of Kālacakra exegetes, claimed to have access.

Another very important ancillary scripture, the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, survives in full in a *codex unicus* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Hs.or. 8711, dated 1823/1824 CE); the Tibetan translation (D 420/P 12) is that of a different recension. This text also mentions the same mythical source in 500,000 (units or verses). The main deity is similar to the 16-armed Hevajra, but with 16 faces, some different implements and a distinctive retinue of 32 goddesses. A commentary on the entire text is known only from Tibetan, that of *Gambhīravajra (D 1200/P 2330), a work that is very rich in references to the teachings of various *siddhas*, who are often identified by the region they inhabited (Kashmir, Jalandhar, Oḍḍiyana, Bengal, Assam are mentioned). A commentary on the opening lines and various selected topics is by the Kashmiri *Prajñāśrīgupta (D 1201/P 2331), a disciple of his famous compatriot Ratnavajra, who states that he wrote to honor the request of a Tibetan, Rin chen rgyal mtshan. However, careless editing suggests that the text originally consisted of draft notes for himself and his disciples. Both were involved in several Tibetan translations.

A further, perhaps less significant ancillary scripture is the **Jñānagarbha* (D 421/P 13) in four chapters, the opening of which explicitly refers to the *Mahāmudrātilaka*. Oddly, the *Mahāmudrātilaka* also refers to the **Jñānagarbha*; however, the content referred to is not to be found in the version available to us, and therefore we must suspect that this was a different text. The text as we have it deals for the most part with topics related to initiation.

A long, completely unstudied but perhaps important, ancillary scripture is the **Jñānatilaka* (D 422/P 14), on which two commentaries are available in Tibetan (D 1202–1203/P 2332–2333).

This text, in turn, is referred to yet another, short ancillary *tantra*, the **Tattvapradīpa* (D 423/P 15), which also contains a prophecy about the king Indrabhūti, a seminal mythical figure who came to stand at the top of several initiation lineages. This text also attracted the attention of exegetes, whose works are also available only in Tibetan: the **Ratnamālā* of *Mahāsukhavajra (D 1205/P 2335) is a commentary to the entire text, whereas *Prajñāśrīgupta's **Ratnamañjarī* (D 1217/P 2346) elaborates only on the opening line.

The *Sampuṭodbhava* (on the constitution of which, see Szántó, 2013) is also mentioned by the Tibetan tradition as an ancillary scripture, but this is perhaps merely on the account of the large number of verses lifted over from the *Hevajratantra* and their compounding with passages from other texts.

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PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ

Kālacakra

Kālacakra ("Wheel of Time") is the name of a Buddhist tantric deity and of the tradition in which he is worshipped along with his female counterpart Viśvamātṛ ("Mother of the Universe"). The Kālacakra is the last large-scale Buddhist tantric cycle to arise and spread in India. The term itself is also sometimes used to refer to the whole system of teachings, rituals, and practices professed by this tradition and described in its scriptural sources, particularly in the *Laghukālacakratantra* (Short *Tantra* of Kālacakra), which is the most authoritative, and in its most ancient treatises and commentarial literature.

Since quotations from the *Laghukālacakratantra* are not found prior to the 11th century, and because this text contains references to Islamic doctrines and customs as well as to the future defeat of the *mleccha* (foreigner) troops (i.e. Muslims' troops) by Buddhists in a sort of allegorical, eschatological battle between good and evil (comp. e.g. 1.154–165; 2.99, 158cd, 168), it is very likely that it has been composed at the beginning of the 1st century of the 2nd millennium CE in an area of northern India where Islamic influence was present and resisted. In *Laghukālacakratantra* 1.27, we find a cryptic reference to the end of a sexagenary cycle. The stanza simply states that the old sexagenary cycle will finish 403 years after the Higrī, or Islamic era (*mlecchendravarṣa*), that is, after 622 CE. The Kālacakra teachings, after having been transmitted for centuries in the land of Sambhala/Śambhala, a fabulous kingdom located in the North, already celebrated in epic and puranic literature, will be introduced again in India starting with the beginning of the new cycle, that is, around 1025 (see Newman, 1998b). The statement is couched in prophetic terms and therefore should not be interpreted as reliable evidence for a historical fact, namely that the preaching began precisely in 1025 or 1026. However, the passage is noteworthy because it reveals the intention of giving credibility to the new scriptures and their promulgators through some historical basis.

The Early Texts of the Kālacakra System

In the early Kālacakra literature, geographical references are to places with a religious significance. According to the tradition, the original teaching of the system was revealed by the Buddha in central India at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka (present-day Amaravati, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh), in the same place where the Mantranaya ("Method of Mantras") was originally preached. The Buddha himself is said to have imparted it to Sucandra, the first *dharmarāja* (dharma king) of Sambhala, in a year corresponding to 776 bce (Hoffmann, 1973). These references – both geographical and chronological – are to be read, of course, in a mythical sense and not as reflecting the historical truth. From brief accounts in early Sanskrit literature of the system and from later Tibetan records, we know that among the major masters of the school, there were some of Kashmiri origin (e.g. Raviśrījñāna and Somanātha [both 11th cent.]), others of Bengali origin (e.g. Vibhūticandra [12th–13th cents.] and Vanaratna [1384–1468]), and at least one coming from the south, a certain mysterious Piṇḍo (also known as Piṇḍa, Piṇḍi, Piṭo, Piḍo, etc. [10th–11th cents.]; probably an abbreviation of the attribute *piṇḍapātika*, "beggar"). According to the tradition, Piṇḍo, a master of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (also known as Atiśa/Atīśa [982?–1054]) active during the second half of the reign of Mahīpāla I (r. 986/988–1034/1036; king of ancient northwestern Bengal and Bihar), came to India from Suvarṇadvīpa (i.e. Sumatra) or Yavadvīpa (i.e. Java).

It is certain, however, that the school quickly spread to Bihar and Bengal and to Nepal, and from there, within a few decades, to Tibet, as evidenced by the first translations of Kālacakra works into Tibetan by Bhadrabodhi/Bodhibhadra and Somanātha already in the 11th century. It is significant that authoritative teachers connected with the Kālacakra were active in Bihar, in particular at the famous Buddhist monastic university of Vikramaśīla (present-day Antichak, Bhagalpur district), among them, Abhayākaragupta (1064–1125?) and Nāropā (also known as Naḍapāda, Nāro, Nāropa, etc.;

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956–1041?). According to the biography of Nāropā written by Lha btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) at Brag dkar rta so, Nāropā was an abbot at Nālandā, again in Bihar – another famous center of Buddhist learning, with which Abhayākaragupta, was connected as well.

Also noteworthy, although certainly less significant in this regard for being a common characteristic (for reasons related to geography, climate, and history) of almost all Buddhist tantric literature, is the fact that all the extant Sanskrit manuscripts related to this system have a Nepalese or Bengali origin. As far as we know, the two earliest-dated manuscripts come from Bengal:

1. a copy of the *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka, an extensive commentary on the *Laghukālacakratantra*, kept in Kolkata at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, dated to the 39th regnal year of Harivarman (r. early 12th cent.; see also Sanderson, 2009, 82 and n. 136);
2. a copy of the *Laghukālacakratantra*, originally found in the Snar thang (Narthang) Monastery in Tibet (its present location is unknown), dated Śaka 1186 (= 1263–1264 CE), and published in a facsimile edition in 1971 without introductory remarks by L. Chandra (for other early-dated manuscripts, see also Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1935, 35; 1937, 46).

According to the tradition, the *Laghukālacakratantra* – redacted in *sragdharā* stanzas, a refined and unusual meter for tantric scriptures – is the shortened version (*uddhṛta*; lit. extracted from) of a more extensive teaching in 12,000 verses in the more common *anuṣṭubh* meter, which is known under the title of *Ādibuddha, Paramādibuddha*, or simply *Mūlatantra* (Root Tantra) and of which we find quotations in many Sanskrit works from the late 10th century onward. It is plausible that the *Ādibuddha*, which we know only through fragments, and its commentary of purportedly 60,000 verses (of which we have only reports but no trace) never existed as an independent composition. Very likely longer or shorter passages assigned to the authoritative *Ādibuddha* have been composed by the first Kālacakra masters with the purpose of corroborating their own teachings. The style, language, and especially the content of these fragments betray a late origin. As far as we know, the *Ādibuddha* was never translated into Tibetan.

Some excerpts attributed to the *Ādibuddha* circulated prior to the *Laghukālacakratantra*, and references to it and quotations from it appear in two important works written probably between the late 10th and early 11th century: the *Laghutantraṭīkā* by Vajrapāṇi and the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* by Vajragarbha. These two texts, both also known as the *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā*, are, respectively, the commentary on the first ten and a half stanzas of the *Cakraśaṃvaratantra* and the gloss on the first five *paṭalas* (chapters) of the *Hevajratantra*, the portions of the two works that, according to our authors, would contain their concise, core meaning (*piṇḍārtha*). Typical doctrines of the Kālacakra find in these two commentaries their first formulation. Both of these texts still reflect a formative stage of the system, whose full development took place only a few years (decades?) later with the composition of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*.

Although the styles of Vajrapāṇi and Vajragarbha reveal some significant differences, there are important convergences in their works in the choice of subjects, and sometimes in the phraseology. The two texts seem designed with the same purpose, namely, to interpret the two most important *yoginītantras* of that time – the *Cakraśaṃvaratantra* and *Hevajratantra* – in the light of the teachings of the emerging Kālacakra tradition. The authors' unconventional choice to adopt pseudonyms is a further element in common, and it cannot be excluded that the two works are the product of a common strategy, that their authors knew each other, and that they were acting in concert. In each case, the commentator presents himself as a person of unquestionable authority: the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is the standard petitioner of Vajrayāna scriptures, whereas the bodhisattva Vajragarbha is one of the principal interlocutors of the Bhagavān (a common title of a buddha) in the *Hevajratantra* itself. Both authors claim to have received the instruction to write a commentary directly from the Buddha. But while Vajrapāṇi states that Vīreśa ("Lord of the Heroes"), an epithet of the Buddha, prompted him to compose the *Laghutantraṭīkā* for the benefit of *yogins*, so they can gain merits and the fruit of the Mahāmudrā (*LTṬ*. 43, 119), Vajragarbha even claims that he was present at the teaching of the root *Hevajratantra*, a scripture of purportedly 500,000 verses, and that his commentary on the short, actually circulating, *Hevajratantra*, based on this root *Hevajratantra*, was written for the benefit of humankind, in order to remove misconceptions and wrong interpretations introduced by wicked masters. In addition to having access to a higher and hidden level of tantric revelation, unavailable to other commentators, both authors also claim to possess the five kinds of higher knowledge (*abhijñā*):

1. divine eye (*divyacakṣus*);
2. divine ear (*divyaśrotra*);
3. knowledge of others' mi
4. memory of past lives (*pūr*
5. magic powers (*ṛddhi*).

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1. divine eye (*divyacakṣus*);
2. divine ear (*divyaśrotra*);
3. knowledge of others' mind (*paracittajñāna*);
4. memory of past lives (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*); and
5. magic powers (*ṛddhi*).

Some time after the composition of the two works by Vajrapāṇi and Vajragarbha, in his *Vimalaprabhā*, Puṇḍarīka quotes dozens of stanzas from the *Ādibuddha* and, in his turn, declares himself (also through a prophecy contained in these stanzas) to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (*VP*. vol. I, 25).

Vajrapāṇi, Vajragarbha, and Puṇḍarīka's underlying intent was to give authority to their own teachings and to establish their own superiority, in particular opposing lay teachers and their interpretations, which are consequently denigrated and marginalized. The early Kālacakra literature is actually characterized by a strong anti-secular vein. In effect, with the same incisiveness and with similar expressions, although with greater profusion of words, the same tendency recurs in the *Paramārthasevā*, another work of Puṇḍarīka, currently published only partially (Sferra, 2007a; 2007b; 2008). It is no coincidence that all three authors insist that it is necessary to understand the Buddha's teaching in the light of the instructions received from a true teacher, in the light of other *tantras*, and, most importantly, in the light of a commentary composed by someone who is a bodhisattva (see e.g. *LTṬ*. 51–52). All three cite and comment on a few verses of the *Gurupañcaśikā* (*LTṬ*. 106–107; *HTPṬ*. 1.19–33; *VP*. vol. II, 4–6), a text widespread at that time and considered authoritative, in order to explain the proper relationship between a religious teacher and a student. They try to show in their respective texts that the teachers to whom the *Gurupañcaśikā* refers were monks themselves or were at least subordinate and subservient to monks. Some passages seem to suggest that there must have been considerable social tensions within the Buddhist communities, and generally in the society, of that time. Most likely, the first Kālacakra masters believed that closing Buddhist ranks around the unquestioned authority of monks was an effective response to the centrifugal forces within Buddhist communities and a viable defense against internal (Hindu) and external (Islamic) enemies.

The Tibetan historiographical tradition largely accepts the self-proclamation of these early Kālacakra authors as bodhisattvas and refers to them as "the three bodhisattvas," regarding their works as a body of integrated texts, known as the "bodhisattva corpus" (*byang chub sems dpa'i skor*) or the "bodhisattva commentaries" (*byang chub sems dpa'i 'grel pa rnams; sems 'grel skor gsum*; comp. Bu ston's *Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig* 56.3–61.2; trans. Newman, 1987, 76–88).

Among these three works, the *Laghutantraṭīkā* is probably the oldest, because the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* and the *Vimalaprabhā* refer to this text explicitly. Since the *Vimalaprabhā* paraphrases or incorporates *ex silentio*, with slight variations, some passages of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, we can establish a relative and likely chronology: (1) the *Laghutantraṭīkā*, (2) the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, and (3) the *Vimalaprabhā*. The *Laghukālacakratantra*, which might be contemporaneous with or slightly earlier than the *Vimalaprabhā*, was still a work in progress at the time of the composition of the first two texts (Sferra, 2005, 260–261).

Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā* has been published in C. Cicuzza's edition (2001) and Vajragarbha's *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* partially in M.J. Shendge's (chs. 1–8 [incomplete], 2004) and F. Sferra's (ch. 1, 2009a; ch. 10, 2009b) editions. Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* has been edited in three volumes by J. Upādhyāya (vol. I, 1986) and by V. Dwivedi and S.S. Bahulkar (vols. II–III, 1994). There is no complete annotated translation of any of these works nor a critical edition of the Tibetan version. Concerning the composition of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* and its extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, it is noteworthy that the Tibetan version has two colophons. The first colophon is found at the end of the commentary on *Hevajratantra* 1.5, where also the Sanskrit text finishes, the second at the end of the commentary on *Hevajratantra* 2.12. Clues in the Sanskrit version and a testimony of the Tibetan historiographer Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481 CE) in his *Deb ther sngon po* (book 10, fols. 6v–7r; trans. Roerich, 1976, 764–765) suggest a late origin of the second part of the Tibetan text (commentary on *Hevajratantra* 1.6–2.12).

Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā* is essentially a *yogins*' manual, subdivided into several *vidhis* (procedures) and *niyamas* (rules), sections of varying length, usually brief here, that describe the procedures for formal practice, either individual or collective (the edition of Cicuzza, 2001, in 21 chapters, does not always reflect the internal division of the text). The initial part – resembling in structure the second section of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* and the second *uddeśa* ([brief] account or exposition) of the *Vimalaprabhā* (for the structure of this text, see below) – is devoted to the description of the content of the *Cakraśaṃvaratantra*, of its phonic form, of the relationship existing between content and phonic form, of its purpose (i.e. the obtaining of the worldly perfections), and of its ultimate goal (i.e. the realization of buddhahood). This is followed by an explanation of the name Śrīheruka, of the word *evam* ("thus," the first word of most Buddhist *sūtras*) and its equivalence with *atha* (now), the first term of the *Cakraśaṃvaratantra*, and the first five verses of the text according to both the surface meaning (*neyārtha*) and the deep meaning (*nītārtha*; *LTṬ.* 43–56). The central part of the work is dedicated to the description of the worship of the deities in the *maṇḍala*, with special attention to the explanation of the appropriate time for the celebration of the *gaṇacakra* (group circle), the tantric feast, and the changes in position of the *yoginīs* during the rite (*LTṬ.* 56–100). The text then describes the preparation of ritual pills (*guḍikā*), food and beverage to be used during the *gaṇacakra* (*LTṬ.* 101–109), as well as the practice of mantras and the ritual of superior and lower initiations (*LTṬ.* 111–129). Subsequently, the text deals with the practice of the sixfold yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*; *LTṬ.* 135–143). In this section of the text, there are also comments on some verses of the *Samājottara* (i.e. ch. 18 of the *Guhyasamājatantra*), which in Buddhist circles of that time represented the main scriptural source for the yoga practice. This section of the *Laghutantraṭīkā* – later copied and extended by Anupamarakṣita (late 10th – early 11th cents.) and, above all, by Nāropā (956–1041?) – constitutes the first discussion of the sixfold yoga in a Kālacakra text, but it deviates somewhat from the *Samājottara*. The *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* alludes to the same practices but without reference to the *Samājottara*. The final part of the *Laghutantraṭīkā* concerns the practice of the tantric pledges (*samaya*) and their interpretation with reference to the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*LTṬ.* 145–158).

Vajragarbha's *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* is divided into ten *paricchedas* (sections):

1. The first section is of particular importance since, in addition to describing the purpose of the work and the necessary qualifications of the authorized interpreter, it explicates the hermeneutical principle by which he must abide. It is based on a concept already reported by Vajrapāṇi as a quote from a direct teaching of the Tathāgata/Buddha (*tathāgatavacana*), namely that "a *tantra* must be understood on the basis of another *tantra*" (see *LTṬ.* 123–125, 145). Vajragarbha and Puṇḍarīka take a step further and state that it is the knowledge of the *Ādibuddha* – and, according to Puṇḍarīka, subject to it, of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* – that is the only tool available to understand the deep meaning (*nītārtha*) of all the Buddhist teachings (see *HTPṬ.* 1.76; *VP.* vol. I, 52). The inclusivist intent of the early Kālacakra literature clearly emerges here: every Buddhist scripture is valid, provided that it is interpreted in the light of the *Ādibuddha* and, of course, through qualified teachers, namely, bodhisattvas endowed with supernatural powers.

2. The explanation of the *Hevajratantra* begins with the second section, devoted entirely to the discussion of the symbolic value of its opening words (*vijahārasthāna*).

3. The third section explains the three aspects assumed by Heruka (i.e. *vajrasattva*, *mahāsattva*, and *samayasattva*) and generally recognized in the *Hevajratantra* tradition, their essential iconography, and the correspondences among them, the various blisses experienced by the *yogin* during sexual rites, and the *kāyas* (bodies) of the Buddha. The nascent Kālacakra tradition gives particular importance to sets of four, and, accordingly, Vajragarbha rewrites small portions of the *tantra* itself, inserts a new line in it, and introduces a fourth *sattva*, that of *bodhisattva*, which he equates with inter alia the *dharmakāya* (dharma body); in his interpretation, *vajrasattva*, *mahāsattva*, and *samayasattva* correspond to, respectively, the *svābhāvikakāya* (inherent body), the *sambhogakāya* (enjoyment body), and the *nirmāṇakāya* (transformation body).

4. The fourth section describes the channels (*nāḍī*) in the human body and the relationship among these, the Sanskrit alphabet, the elements, the substances carried by them (vital breath, blood, semen, etc.), the asterisms, the various joints of the body, and the spiration of the vital breath in five points called *maṇḍalas* (circles) of the right and left nostrils.

5. The fifth section continues with a description of various correspondences between the inner and the outer world, with the explanation of how the *bodhicitta* (thought of awakening, here equivalent to semen) is produced, of the death signs (*ariṣṭa*), and of how the embryo is formed.

6. The sixth section is devoted to mantric recitation and rosaries (*akṣasūtra*).

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7. The seventh section, e
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7. The seventh section, entirely in prose, describes several magic rites (of attraction, pacification, etc.) associated with mantric recitation.

8. The eighth section, which is devoted almost entirely to a description of the wrathful deities (*krodharāja*) and of the practice of identification with them, incorporates *ex silentio* numerous stanzas of the *Piṇḍīkrama* by the tantric Nāgārjuna, an influential text of the so-called Ārya school, one of the main traditions of the *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis.

9. The ninth section deals with the criticism of the relationship between cause and effect, establishes a comparison between the alchemical states of mercury and *bodhicitta*, and explains the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda* (dependent origination) in typical Kālacakra terms (i.e. with references to the development of the embryo and the stages of initiation).

10. The last section consists of a description from different viewpoints of *tattva* (true reality), which should not be understood here as a description of reality as it is but of buddhahood as experienced when attained. This state is explained primarily as a different way of experiencing the body and the mind as well as every aspect of reality. Each element (*dhātu*), each aggregate (*skandha*), and so forth corresponds to a deity; each gesture and each word of a true *yogin* is none other than the gesture and the word of the deity. In this respect, we can speak of a transmutation of the psychophysical structure of the *yogin*, who, as is clarified in other texts, attains a "body of knowledge" (*jñānadeha*).

With the exception of the *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi* (see below) and a few pages of the *Vimalaprabhā* (vol. I, 255–271), none of the first works of the system contains a debate, only the explanation of the accepted point of view. Even if doctrinal issues are sometimes discussed, none of the early Kālacakra texts is part of the philosophical literature. Most of the sources cited therein belong to tantric texts or to Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and only rarely to works from non-Buddhist traditions or to Buddhist philosophical works.

The language of the first authors of the tradition is simple: convolutions are due to the content and the use of technical terminology, seldom to the style and syntax. However, the stanzas of the *Laghukālacakratantra* are sometimes constructed in a more complex way, probably because of restrictions of meter. In the Sanskrit works of the Kālacakra, we find the same features that characterize much of the tantric literature in Sanskrit – for instance the change of gender for some terms and the tendency to conjoin by asyndeton, especially in the texts of Vajrapāṇi and Vajragarbha. The works of Puṇḍarīka are undoubtedly more elegant and rich, both in vocabulary and content. Puṇḍarīka declares that grammatical "irregularities" such as the lack of caesura, the omission of case endings, the shortening or prolonging of some vowels, the use of plural for the singular, and the use of the locative for the genitive case, which in fact may on occasion be encountered in the *Ādibuddha* and *Laghukālacakratantra*, have the aim of deceiving those who consider the purity of language to be essential (i.e. the Brahmans) and who are attached to the letter and not the spirit of the texts (*VP.* vol. I, 29–30; see also Newman, 1988). We might think that this is, at least partly, an *a posteriori* justification to conceal the fact that much of the literature of this tradition was written by people with no perfect control of the Sanskrit language. However, a closer examination of the texts (not only of the Kālacakra tradition) shows that the authors were usually aware of the correct forms of words and so forth, which they used side by side with nonstandard forms (depending mainly on metrical requirements) and that they simply did not feel bound to the correctness of the language, possibly also because the use of nonstandard forms was regarded as appropriate for writings with the status of scripture.

Structure and Contents of the *Laghukālacakratantra*: Scriptural Appendices

The *Laghukālacakratantra*, which traditionally is attributed to Śrīyaśas, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, the father of Puṇḍarīka, and eighth king of Sambhala, currently consists of 1,047 stanzas, but it is likely that the work has undergone some revising in the course of its production, and it seems that when Puṇḍarīka wrote his commentary, the text had only 1,030 stanzas (see *VP.* vol. I, 25, l. 6; trans. Newman, 1987, 300). In accordance with the *Ādibuddha*, its supposed source, the text is divided into five chapters (*paṭalas*); Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* arranges the content of each of these five chapters in *uddeśas* (expositions), *nirdeśas* (specifications), and *mahoddeśas* (great expositions).

chapter/ subchapter	title	translation	verse
1	*Lokadhātupaṭalaḥ* (Chapter on the Cosmos)	partly trans. (*LKCT.* and *VP.*) Newman, 1987; Henning, 2007	
1.1	*Parameṣṭadevatāsanmārganiyamoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Rule Concerning the True Path of the Supreme Chosen Deity)		–
1.2	*Bhagavatas tantradeśanoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Bhagavān's Teaching of the *Tantra*)		–
1.3	*Deśakādhyeṣakamūlatantralaghutantrasambandhoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Relationship Between the Instructor and the Requestor, and the Root *Tantra* and the Short *Tantra*)		–
1.4	*Sarvajñetyādinā tantrarājadeśakādhyeṣakasādhanoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of Establishing the Instructor and the Requestor of the King of *Tantras* by means of The Omniscient One, etc.)		1
1.5	*Deśakādisaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Instructor, etc.)		–
1.6	*Maṇḍalābhiṣekādisaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of *Maṇḍalas*, Consecrations, etc.)		2
1.7	*Lokadhātusaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Cosmos)		–
1.7.1	*Bhagavataḥ prativacanasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Bhagavān's Reply)		3
1.7.2	*Lokadhātusaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Cosmos)		4
1.7.3	*Vajrakāyasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the *Vajra* Body)		5
1.7.4	*Rāhvādyutpādasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Origination of Rāhu, etc.)		6–7
1.7.5	*Candrakalādiviśvamantrasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Mantras of the Universe, i.e. the Digits of the Moon, etc.)		8
1.7.6	*Svarāṇāṃ janmasthānanirdeśaḥ* (Specification of the Birth-places of the Vowels)		9
1.8	*Lokadhātumānasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ* (Exposition of the Summary of the Measurements of the Cosmos)		10–25
1.9	*Jyotirjñānavidhimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Procedures for the Astronomical Knowledge)		26–94
1.10	*Svarodayayantravidhiniyamamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Rules concerning the Procedures for the *Svarodaya* and the War Machines)		95–149
1.11	*Mlecchadharmotpāṭanabuddhadharmapratiṣṭhāpanaḥ* (Eradication of the *Mleccha* Dharma and Establishment of the Buddha Dharma)		150–170

(*cont.*)

chapter/ subchapter	title
2	*Adhyātmapaṭalaḥ* (
2.1	*Kāyavākcittotpattic* Exposition of the O Explanation of the
2.2	*Samudayasatyādin* of Origination [of S
2.3	*Cakravartimleccha* *mahoddeśaḥ* (Grea *Cakravartin* and M *Tantras*, and the O
2.4	*Ariṣṭamaraṇalakṣa* Exposition of the and the Severance
2.5	*Kṣaṇalakṣaṇakāla* Exposition of the [of Emission] and
2.6	*Rasāyanādibālata* Elixirs, etc., and M
2.7	*Svaparadarśanan* of the Analysis of Arguments)
3	*Abhiṣekapaṭalaḥ*
3.1	*Vajrācāryādisarv* (Great Expositio and of the Mean
3.2	*Rakṣācakrapūrv* (Great Expositio Preceded by the
3.3	*Maṇḍalavartana* The Making of t
3.4	*Maṇḍalābhiṣeka* Initiation in the
3.5	*Pratiṣṭhāgaṇaca* Exposition of th and for the Gro
3.6	*Mudrādṛṣṭiman* (Great Expositi of the *Maṇḍala*,
4	*Sādhanāpaṭala*
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chapter/ subchapter	title	translation	verse
2	*Adhyātmapaṭalaḥ* (Chapter on the Individual)	trans. (*LKCT.* and *VP.*) Stril-Rever, 2000; Wallace, 2004	
2.1	*Kāyavākcittotpatticaturāryasatyanirṇayamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Origination of Body, Speech, and Mind, and Explanation of the Four Noble Truths)		1–26
2.2	*Samudayasatyādimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Truth of Origination [of Suffering], etc.)		27–47
2.3	*Cakravartimlecchayuddhakālacakrakulatantranāḍīkulotpattimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Battle between the *Cakravartin* and *Mlecchas*, the Families of Kālacakra, the *Tantras*, and the Origination of the Families of the Channels)		48–60
2.4	*Ariṣṭamaraṇalakṣaṇanāḍīcchedamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Characteristics of Untimely Death and the Severance of the Channels)		61–81
2.5	*Kṣaṇalakṣaṇakālacakraniyamamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Characteristics of the Moment [of Emission] and Rules of Kālacakra)		82–106
2.6	*Rasāyanādibālatantramahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Elixirs, etc., and Midwifery)		107–160
2.7	*Svaparadarśananyāyavicāramahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Analysis of Our Own and Others' Viewpoints and Arguments)		161–180
3	*Abhiṣekapaṭalaḥ* (Chapter on Initiations)	trans. (*LKCT.*) Andresen, 1997	
3.1	*Vajrācāryādisarvakarmaprasarasādhanālakṣaṇamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Characteristics of the Vajrācārya, etc., and of the Means for All the Diverse Kind of Rituals)		1–22
3.2	*Rakṣācakrapūrvaṅgamabhūmyādisaṃgrahamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Summary of the Grounds, etc., Preceded by the Wheel of Protection)		23–35
3.3	*Maṇḍalavartanaṃ nāma mahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition: The Making of the *Maṇḍala*)		36–70
3.4	*Maṇḍalābhiṣekamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Initiation in the *Maṇḍala*)		71–103
3.5	*Pratiṣṭhāgaṇacakravidhiyogacaryāmahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Rules for the Installation [of Images] and for the Group Circle, and the Conduct of the Yoga)		104–169
3.6	*Mudrādṛṣṭimaṇḍalavisarjanavīrabhojyavidhimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Rules for *Mudrās*, Gazes, Dismissal of the *Maṇḍala*, and the Food of the Heroes)		170–203
4	*Sādhanāpaṭalaḥ* (Chapter on Realization)	trans. (*LKCT.* and *VP.*) Wallace, 2010	
4.1	*Sthānarakṣāpāpadeśanādimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Protection of the Places and Confession of Sins, etc.)		1–7

(*cont.*)

chapter/ subchapter	title	translation	verse
4.2	*Utpattikrameṇa kāyaniṣpattimahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Production of the Body by the Generation Process)		8–49
4.3	*Prāṇadevatotpādamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Origination of the Vital Breath and the Deities)		50–109
4.4	*Utpannakramasādhanamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Practice of the Process of the [Already] Arisen [Nature])		110–133
4.5	*Nānāsādhanamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of Various Practices)		134–234
5	*Jñānapaṭalaḥ* (Chapter on Knowledge)		
5.1	*Yoginītantrādispharaṇamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of the Emanating the *Yoginītantras*, etc.)	trans. Hartzell, 1997	1–88
5.2	*Catuḥkāyādiśuddhinirṇayamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of Certain Knowledge of the Purification of the Four Bodies, etc.)	trans. Hartzell, 1997	89–126
5.3	*Paramākṣarajñānasiddhir nāma mahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition: The Accomplishment of the Knowledge of the Supreme-Unchanging [Moment])	trans. Gnoli, 1997a; Hartzell, 1997	127
5.4	*Nānopāyavineyamahoddeśaḥ* (Great Exposition of Those to be Trained by Various Means)	partly trans. Fenner, 1979	128–261

The first chapter deals with cosmology and the structure of the external world (*lokadhātu*). It describes in great detail the correlations among the asterisms, the lunar digits, the solar days, and the phonemes of the Sanskrit alphabet. Where cosmography is treated, we note significant Jain and puranic influences (Newman, 1987, 130). The second chapter deals with the inner world (*adhyātman*), that is, yogic physiology. After the description of the conception and formation of the embryo, a long section is devoted to an examination of the *cakra*s and the relationship existing among them, the four bodies of the Buddha, and the six families of the *tathāgata*s, as well as to the analysis of the channels (*nāḍī*), the breaths (*prāṇa*), and their correspondence with the male and female deities in the *kālacakramaṇḍala*. Then follows a description of the death signs (*ariṣṭa*), the calculation of the remaining days of life, and the ways to avoid untimely death. The final part of the chapter reviews the main philosophical positions and reaffirms the superiority of the Madhyamaka (see also Grönbold, 1992; Newman, 1992; Wallace, 2004, 219–252). The next three chapters describe the path of transformation and deal with initiations (*abhiṣeka*), practice (*sādhana*), and knowledge (*jñāna*), respectively. The fourth chapter exclusively examines the generation process (*utpattikrama*) – the process of the visualization and initial identification with Kālacakra, which requires the use of the *maṇḍala* and mantras. The second part of the practice, described in the fifth chapter, is the process of the [already] arisen [nature] (*utpannakrama*), which leads to the gradual realization of buddhahood, that is, the full identification with Kālacakra and the attainment of full wisdom and bliss.

Puṇḍarīka states that the *Laghukālacakratantra* is a *niranvayatantra* (*Tantra* without Partiality), that is, a *tantra* in which wisdom (*prajñā*) and salvific means (*upāya*) are equally prominent. In this sense the *Laghukālacakratantra*, and the entire Kālacakra system for that matter, are claimed to transcend the distinction between *yogatantra*s and *yoginītantras* (see *VP*, vol. I, 18). Once again, we observe a noteworthy attempt to become dominant among the Buddhist circles and, at the same time, to keep them integrated into a coherent whole. In order to promote this integration, the *Laghukālacakratantra* provides a more systematic arrangement of topics and displays a stronger encyclopedic character than other Buddhist *tantras*. The great importance given to the correlation between macrocosm and microcosm, between chronological time and breath in the human body, and between the elements of the psychophysical complex and the principles of exter-

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nal reality betray a more or less direct influence of similar speculations found in tantric Hindu traditions, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. The polemical reference to *mlecchas* (foreigners) and the warning about the future degeneration even of the Brahmans who adopt the behavior of these *mlecchas* can be read as an attempt to incorporate, albeit subordinately, non-Buddhist traditions in the fight against Islam (Newman, 1995).

The *Laghukālacakratantra* has been published twice – in 1966, edited by R. Vira and L. Chandra, and in 1985, edited by B. Banerjee. The latter version has been reprinted in the edition of the *Vimalaprabhā* by J. Upadhyaya, V. Dwivedi, and S.S. Bahulkar mentioned above. Yet the *Laghukālacakratantra* still lacks a critical edition that takes account of all the manuscripts available and of the testimonia. There exist a Tibetan translation of the text by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags (D 362/P 4) and a Mongolian translation of the 17th century. Translations into Western languages are only partial (see the table above). Of the *Laghukālacakratantra* we have also the Tibetan translation of the commentary attributed to Kālacakra the Elder entitled **Padminī* (D 1350/P 2067).

Closely connected to the *Laghukālacakratantra* are four scriptural appendices, the original Sanskrit version of which is lost:

1. the *Tantrottara* (D 363/P 5), a text in 157 verses in *sragdharā* meter, which is attributed to Mañjuśrīyaśas and is only known from a few quotations in other works; it incorporates *ex silentio* some verses of the *Kāyatrayastava* and the *Piṇḍīkramasādhana*;
2. the **Kālacakralaghutantrarājahṛdaya* (Lhasa edition of the Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur*, 373; see also Newman, 1991, 63), again attributed to Mañjuśrīyaśas;
3. the **Kālacakratantragarbha* (D 364/P 6), a short work in 47 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas dealing with the sixfold yoga; and
4. the **Sekaprakriyā* (D 365/P 7), almost in its entirety an extract from the third and fifth chapters of the *Laghukālacakratantra*; it is accompanied by a commentary, the **Sekaprakriyāvṛtti* (P 2072) of Dārikapā, only available in a Tibetan translation.

The *Vimalaprabhā* and the Commentaries on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*

Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* explains the contents of most of the *Laghukālacakratantra* verses, sometimes even with digressions of some interest. Precious information about the early history of the Kālacakra system is given in the initial part of the text. More complex elaborations of this history can be read in Tibetan historiographies (see Newman, 1991). The first *uddeśa* of the work, the *Parameṣṭadevatāsanmārganiyamoddeśa*, which is a kind of manifesto of the early Kālacakra teachings, in turn, has been the subject of a commentary, unfortunately lost in the original Sanskrit (D 1349/P 2066).

One of the most important digressions of the *Vimalaprabhā* is section 5.3, a *mahoddeśa* entitled *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi* (Accomplishment of the Knowledge of the Supreme-Unchanging [Moment]). Probably written as an independent composition when the *Laghukālacakratantra* had not yet been definitively established, this section was included later in the *Vimalaprabhā* as a commentary on *Laghukālacakratantra* 5.127 (trans. Gnoli, 1997a, 3). It is the only part of the *Vimalaprabhā* that is cited with its own title by Puṇḍarīka himself and by other authors (e.g. Nāropā on the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* 145) as if it were an independent text. This leads us to think that even after the inclusion in the magnum opus, this work maintained an independent status.

Two further things deserve mention regarding the *Vimalaprabhā*: the first is the massive use of quotations (more than 200) from the *Ādibuddha*; the second is that, with a certain incisiveness, Puṇḍarīka follows the path of Vajrapāṇi – and to some extent of Vajragarbha – in trying to incorporate the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* into the scriptural sources of the Kālacakra tradition. In addition to devoting a commentary on this text, lost in the original Sanskrit (**Nāmasaṃgītivimalaprabhā*; D 1398/P 2114), he cites a considerable number of its stanzas, especially in the *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi*. Toward the end of the latter text (*VP.* vol. III, 100–102), Puṇḍarīka even goes so far as to say that the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* contains the essence of all the teachings of the Tathāgata, including the central Kālacakra doctrine of the supreme, unchanging pleasure (*paramākṣarasukha*), which is attained by mastery of tantric yoga, and which explains the transmutation of the ordinary psychophysical complex, subject to transmigration, into a body of knowledge (*jñānadeha*). Puṇḍarīka's (and before him, Vajrapāṇi's) attempt must have had some success, since references to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* as an authoritative work are, in fact, present in all the literature of the Kālacakra system.

We have at least five further commentaries on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* written from the Kālacakra perspective:

1. the **Amṛtabindupradīpāloka* by Anupamarakṣita (D 1396/P 2112);
2. the **Nāmasaṃgītivyākhyāna* by Mi'i dbang po grags pa (i.e. *Narendrakīrti; D 1397/P 2113);
3. the **Nāmasaṃgītyanuśaṃsā* by Dus zhabs pa (i.e. *Kāla[cakra]pāda; D 1399/P 2115 [with attribution to a certain Grags pa, i.e. *Yaśas]);
4. the **Nāmasaṃgītyabhisamaya* by Spyan ras gzigs (i.e. *Avalokiteśvara; D 1400/P 2116); and
5. the *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna (D 1965/P 2111). As far as we know, this commentary, in turn commented on by Vibhūticandra in his *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotana*, is the only one to have survived in Sanskrit.

The *Sekoddeśa* and Other Important Works

At present, neither a collection nor a complete translation of all the quotations of the *Ādibuddha* in Sanskrit texts is available. Numerous stanzas attributed to this work can be found in the *Gūḍhapadā*, a still unpublished commentary (preserved in a codex unicus) on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, strongly influenced by Kālacakra doctrines. Verses attributed to the *Ādibuddha* have close parallels (and even identical *pādas*) with other Buddhist texts, tantric and non-tantric, such as *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Hevajratantra*, *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, *Saṃvarodayatantra*, and *Herukābhidhāna*.

The longest and more important fragment of the *Ādibuddha* is the *Sekoddeśa* (Exposition of the Initiations), a short text of 174 verses, which is traditionally held to be part of the fifth chapter of the *Ādibuddha*. Unlike the other fragments, the *Sekoddeśa* should be considered an independent composition, as it has been transmitted via its own manuscripts, whereas all the other fragments of the *Ādibuddha* are in fact simply quotations within other works. The *Sekoddeśa* describes, in the form of a dialogue between Sucandra and the Bhagavān, the initiations (*seka*, *abhiṣeka*) of the Kālacakra – the seven lower and the four superior, their procedures, and their symbolism (vv. 1–23); the sixfold yoga (vv. 24–145); the relationship of cause and effect (vv. 146–155); the nature of *paramākṣara* (the supreme unchanging; vv. 156–160); the six supramundane beings (Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, Akṣobhya, and Vajrasattva; vv. 161–169); and the six families (aggregates, elements, senses of knowledge, objects of the senses, senses of action, and actions; vv. 170–174). The stanzas devoted to the sixfold yoga include some digressions, namely, the ones that concern yogic physiology, in particular the description of the position of the main channels (*nāḍī*), the substances that these convey (vv. 35–69), and the prognostics of death (*ariṣṭa*; vv. 70–79).

Three commentaries on the *Sekoddeśa* are preserved in the original Sanskrit: the *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda (first half of the 11th cent.), the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (also known as the *Paramārthasaṃgraha*) by Nāropā, and the anonymous *Sekoddeśapañjikā*, a concise summary of the commentary by Nāropā. The published text of the *Sekoddeśapañjikā* is based on a single, incomplete Nepalese manuscript; a second, complete codex is preserved in the Tiantai monastery of Guoqing, but it is currently not accessible to scholars; a third one is kept in the Potala Palace in Tibet. Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda's commentary does not show any influence of Nāropā's teachings; it is worth noting, though, that Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, like the unknown author of the *Sekoddeśapañjikā*, does not gloss those stanzas that contain references to sexual practices (esp. vv. 15–23, 78ff.; see Gnoli 1997b, 146). Two other commentaries on the *Sekoddeśa* survive only in their Tibetan translations, the **Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī* (*Dbang mdor bstan pa'i brjed byang*) by *Vijayendra (i.e. Rnam par rgyal ba dbang po; D 1389/P 2104) and the **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (*Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*) by *Kālacakrapāda (i.e. Dus 'khor shabs; D 1353/P 2070).

The remainder of the Kālacakra literature falls under the following categories:

1. manuals for the practice of visualization (*sādhana*) and other rituals (*vidhi*);
2. texts that describe and explain yoga exercises;
3. other treatises: *stotras* (hymns), commentaries, and independent works.

Among the texts of the first category (see D 1356ff./P 2073ff.), noteworthy are three short works attributed to *Kālacakrapāda (the **Kālacakrasupratiṣṭhopāyikāvidhi*, **Kālacakragaṇacakravidhi*, and **Kālacakrahomopāyikāvidhi*) and two texts by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda (the **Kālacakrasādhana* and **Kālacakramaṇḍalopāyikāvidhi*). Furthermore, there are in original Sanskrit the *Kālacakrabhagavatsādhanavidhi*, mostly made up of quotations from the *Vimalaprabhā* and attributed to one Dharmākaraśānti, and the anonymous *Kālacakrapūjāvidhi*.

Among the treatises on yoga, notable are the two *Ṣaḍaṅgayogas* by Anupamarakṣita (D 1367/P 2083; D 1387/P 2102) with the commentaries by Raviśrījñāna (D 1368/P 2084; D 1388/P 2103), since they were rec-

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ognized as the most authoritative, even by the later Kālacakra tradition both in India and in Tibet. Of the second work, longer and more detailed, the Sanskrit text of the commentary, the *Guṇabharaṇī*, is preserved in a codex unicus.

Significant among the commentaries and independent treatises influenced by Kālacakra doctrines are the **Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha* by *Yaśobhadra (i.e. Snyan grags bzang po; perhaps another name for Nāropā; D 1186/P 2316), which is a commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, the *Svadarśanamatoddeśa* (P 4610) by *Narendrakīrti, and two astronomical works: the *Kālacakrāvatāra* of Abhayākaragupta and the anonymous *Kālacakrānusāriganita.*

Presumed Environment and Influence

The topics and the ways in which they are discussed in the Sanskrit texts of the tradition suggest that the early Kālacakra literature was addressed primarily to an audience of initiates, perhaps even of teachers or at least to people already acquainted not only with Mahāyāna Buddhism – its doctrines and its soteriology – but also with the most important Buddhist tantric works, such as *Guhyasamājatantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Cakraśaṃvaratantra*, and *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*. The familiarity of Puṇḍarīka, and to a lesser extent of other masters, with the fundamental texts of Brahmanical culture (e.g. *Ṛgveda*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, *Manusmṛti*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Matsyapurāṇa*) implies that, at least in some cases, the first Kālacakra authors were Brahman by caste and Buddhists by religious affiliation (see also Newman, 1998a, 315).

However, the reference to Sambhala, the reinterpretation in Buddhist terms of the myth of Kalkin, the use of the name Kālacakra itself, which we find in many Vaiṣṇava sources, the mentioning of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, and their explanation in connection with the development of the embryo (*LKCT* 2.7–8) suggest that the early Kālacakra masters were active in a social context in which Vaiṣṇavism was quite widespread and popular.

Having flourished in India for a few centuries, the Kālacakra system had notable success also in Tibet, where it continued to thrive and inspire a considerable body of literature authored by masters from various Tibetan Buddhist traditions. The two main lineages are named after the two translators 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags and Rwa chos rab, both working in the 11th century. Among the most prominent figures are Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361 CE) and Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364 CE; Newman 1991, 76–78; 86n26).

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Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* (The Chanting of the Names) is a short Indian tantric scripture centered on 130 *anuṣṭubh* verses that enumerate the "names" (*nāmas*) of the title. The text describes itself as the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of Mañjuśrījñānasattva ("The Gnosis Being Mañjuśrī"). Here Mañjuśrī is not the bodhisattva of wisdom familiar from the Mahāyāna *sūtras* but the being (*sattva*) who is gnosis (*jñāna*), the *jñānasattva*, an entity underlying the very nature of buddhahood. The connection between Mañjuśrī and the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is reflected in the alternative title, *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. However, the "names" of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* are not for the most part ordinary names or epithets. Rather, they can be understood as articulating or "naming" the myriad ways that gnosis can manifest, whether in the individual mind or in the world. *Nāmasaṃgīti* commentaries were being written by the mid- to late 8th century, and a composition date near 700 CE has been suggested (Davidson, 1981, 5). While its colophon identifies the *Nāmasaṃgīti* as a *mahāyogatantra*, its contents are sufficiently general, in terms of both doctrine and practice, to allow a wide range of interpretation. As a result, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* was an influential text for some four hundred years or more in India, until Buddhism's eclipse there. In both Nepal and Tibet, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* continues to have some influence. In Nepal the Sanskrit text is recited ritually, and *Nāmasaṃgīti* is also worshipped as a deity. In Tibet the text, in Tibetan translation, is memorized by monks from across the tradition.

Structure and Title

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* consists of 167 verses (verse numbers follow Davidson, 1981), a short section of mantras, and a prose passage. The text opens with Vajradhara, accompanied by a host of wrathful Vajrapāṇi attendants, asking Śākyamuni to proclaim the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. Śākyamuni is pleased by Vajradhara's request, to which he accedes and, after listing a group of mantra families, utters two pivotal verses (26–27) that include a list of 12 syllables and some mantra-style homages. These initiate the central part of the text, the enumeration of "names" (26–157). Five verses of praise follow (157–162). Next is the prose passage, which praises the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and the benefits to be accrued by reciting and proclaiming it as well as by meditating on Mañjuśrī. The text concludes with five verses in which Vajradhara expresses his joy in what he has just heard (158–162).

Many *Nāmasaṃgīti* manuscripts (and all English translations) divide the text into 14 titled sections, 7 of which are taken up by the verses dealing with the "names." Although these divisions are attested early – for example in the late 8th-century commentary of Vilāsavajra (Tribe, 1994) – they are almost certainly commentarial in origin. This is suggested by the titles of the sections, most of which bear a problematic relation to their contents. Thus the first section on the "names" is titled *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala* (The Great *Maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu), despite containing no *maṇḍala* description, and the mantra section, the *Mantravinyāsa* (Placement of Mantras), contains no instructions. There is also a puzzling section transition that occurs mid-verse (66c).

The title that the text uses for itself, *Nāmasaṃgīti*, is found in the introduction (11), the prose section, and the colophon. This is also the title standardly employed in the Indian commentarial tradition. Today, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is more commonly known as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (Davidson, 1981; Wayman, 1985; Berzin, 2009; Lal, 1994), a title that may have originated in India in later secondary *Nāmasaṃgīti* literature, although it is only attested in transcribed titles of Tibetan translations. This longer title almost certainly derives from the *Nāmasaṃgīti* itself since, as noted, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* describes itself as the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of Mañjuśrījñānasattva, an association made in the introduction (10) and repeated in the prose and the colophon. The compound name *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, likely a contraction of the phrase *mañjuśrījñānasattvasya nāmasaṃgītiḥ*, is ambiguous. It can be read, in accord with the *Nāmasaṃgīti* colophon, as "the name chanting of Mañjuśrī," or alternatively as "the chanting of Mañjuśrī's names." While the former leaves open the issue of whether it is Mañjuśrī's "names" that are being chanted or whether it is he who is doing the chanting (or both), the latter takes the

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"names" to be Mañjuśrī's. Notably, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* itself never explicitly states this to be the case. Some manuscripts, also drawing on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* colophon, are given the title *Paramārthanāmasaṃgīti* (The *Nāmasaṃgīti* That Has Ultimate Meaning).

Nāmasaṃgīti Structure	Divisions in some *Nāmasaṃgīti* Manuscripts
A. Introduction (1–25)	1. *Adhyeṣaṇā* (1–16)
– Vajradhara's request	2. *Prativacana* (17–22)
– Śākyamuni's reply	3. *Ṣaṭkulāvalokana* (23–24)
– Mantra family overview	4. *Māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama* (25–27)
– Introduction to the "names"	5. *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala* (28–41)
B. The "Names" (26–162)	6. *Suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna* (42–66c)
– Opening verse and homage	7. *Ādarśajñāna* (66d–76)
– Enumeration of "names"	8. *Pratyavekṣaṇājñāna* (77–118)
– Five homage verses	9. *Samatājñāna* (119–142)
C. Prose	10. *Kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna* (143–157)
D. Mantras	11. *Pañcatathāgatajñānastuti* (158–162)
E. Concluding verses (163–167)	12. *Anuśaṃsā* (in 6 *cakras* [parts])
	13. *Mantravinyāsa*
	14. *Upasaṃhāra* (163–167)

Table 1: Structure and divisions of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (verse numbers in parentheses).

Sources: Editions and Translations

Sanskrit editions of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* have been published by I.P. Minaev (1887), R. Vira (1962), D.D. Mukherji (1963), and R.M. Davidson (1981). However, I.P. Minaev's was used by neither R. Vira nor D.D. Mukherji, and D.D. Mukherji did not consult R. Vira's edition. Only I.P. Minaev had a manuscript with the complete prose section (he was able to supplement his readings of the prose with those from a manuscript of Vilāsavajra's commentary, the *Nāmasaṃgītiṭīkā*). I.P. Minaev's Sanskrit text is reprinted, excepting the prose section, by A. Wayman (1985). R.M. Davidson's edition is a critical collation of the three earlier editions and at points also employs the Tibetan Kanjur translation of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* as well as Tibetan translations of four early *Nāmasaṃgīti* commentaries. This edition is by far the most useful as well as the most readily available.

Rin chen bzang po (958–1051) is the first known translator of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* into Tibetan. Extensively revised in the late 13th century by Blo gros brtan pa, his translation was used by Bu ston (1290–1364) in the formation of the Kanjur. The existence of an earlier translation seems almost certain: one is listed in the *Ldan dkar* catalogue, a list that probably reached its present form in the early 9th century. There is also a translation in the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*, but whether it is the *Ldan dkar* translation is unclear. Although it differs from Rin chen bzang po's translation, there is significant overlap. If it is the earlier translation, then Rin chen bzang po leaned on it considerably for his own translation (Davidson, 1981, 13). Complicating the picture, there are also a number of manuscripts of a Tibetan translation in the Dunhuang collections that are closer to the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* version than that of the Kanjur (Dalton & van Schaik, 2006, 115). Neither the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* translation nor the Dunhuang manuscripts identify a translator. The *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* translation has section divisions but no prose, while none of the Dunhuang manuscripts have section divisions, although some do have the prose. D.D. Mukherji's work (1963) contains the closest to an edition of the Tibetan. He provides what is probably Rin chen bzang po's unrevised text, with Kanjur version variants as footnotes. A. Wayman (1985) also supplies a Tibetan text, based on a Dharamsala publication that he believes is close to Rin chen bzang po's (unrevised) version.

The first Chinese translation appears to be that of the Indian monk Dānapāla, who was in China from 980 to 1017 (T. 1187). There is also a Mongolian translation, based on the Tibetan translation of Kanjur. This was in existence at least by 1592, a date specified in the colophon to the Mongolian text in a quadrilingual (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian) concertina xylograph used by R. Vira (1962, 9) for his *Nāmasaṃgīti* edition. English translations have been published by R.M. Davidson (1981), A. Wayman (1985), and A. Berzin (2009). R.M. Davidson's annotated translation accompanies his edition of the Sanskrit. A. Berzin's translation from the Tibetan is unannotated and (appears to be) from the Kanjur version. It omits the prose. A. Wayman employs both Sanskrit and Tibetan, tending to give preference to the Tibetan. All the translations use the sectional divisions and their titles.

Overview of Content

The Introduction (1–25)

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Overview of Contents

The Introduction (1–25)

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* does not open with the standard scriptural *evaṃ mayā śrutam* ("thus have I heard"), but with *atha* ("now," "next"). The introduction nonetheless maintains the appearance of tradition with Vajradhara's request to Śākyamuni to proclaim the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. The introduction also makes an explicit claim to scriptural status, stating (13) that the *Nāmasaṃgīti* was proclaimed in the *Māyājālatantra*. (The colophon adds that it is part of a 16,000-verse *Māyājālatantra*. However, a 16,000-verse *Māyājālatantra* is unknown, and the extant *Māyājāla* [D 466] does not contain the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.) While Vajrapāṇi and Vajradhara become distinct figures in later texts, in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* the names are interchangeable. Thus Śākyamuni's interlocutor, although initially referred to as Vajradhara (1), is subsequently called both Vajradhara (20) and Vajrapāṇi (16, 19, 20). As interlocutor, Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi is depicted as peaceful in appearance (2) while his entourage, referred to as Vajrapānis, are fierce (3–5). Evoking his *yakṣa* origins, Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi is also referred to as Guhyakādhipa ("Lord of the Guhyakas"; 22).

In requesting Śākyamuni to promulgate the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, Vajradhara makes the association, noted earlier, that it is the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of Mañjuśrījñānasattva (10–11). The importance of gnosis (*jñāna*) and its relation to Mañjuśrī continues throughout the introduction. Thus the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is described as that of the "gnosis body Mañjuśrī" (*mañjuśrījñānakāya*, 21), while Mañjuśrījñānasattva is said to be the "gnosis body" (*jñānakāya*, 10) and the "embodiment of gnosis" (*jñānamūrti*, 10). Mañjuśrī is presented, therefore, both as gnosis and as its embodiment. Notably, he is not specifically referred to as a bodhisattva.

The "Names" of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (26–157): Whose and What?

Since the *Nāmasaṃgīti* itself does not explicitly identify their subject, it is not fully clear who or what the "names" of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* name. The two main candidates are Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the syllable *a*. The interpretation of verse 26 (*a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ* – I, the awakened one, the embodiment of gnosis, am in the heart of the buddhas of the three times [past, present, and future]), is critical here since the immediately following verses imply that the verse's subject is the subject of the "names." The verse is described as the verse "of the lord of speech" (*girāṃ pateḥ*; 25), an epithet applied earlier to Mañjuśrījñānasattva (*gīṣpateḥ*; 10), who can therefore be understood to be the "I" that is "in the heart of the buddhas." In this case, Mañjuśrījñānasattva is the subject of the "names." Alternatively, the syllables that open the verse (*a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ*) can be read as indicating that the first syllable – *a*, being the origin or source of the verse – is the more fundamental emblem of *jñāna* and is, as a result, the subject of the "names." A further possibility is to identify the two, namely that Mañjuśrījñānasattva is the syllable *a*. In any case, what is "named," understood one way or another, is *jñāna*; the "names" are its expressions, in various ways and forms.

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* is not, therefore, a standard *stotra* or *stuti* (hymn of praise), extolling a particular deity's qualities via a series of names and epithets. The verses containing the "names" are for the most part a series of descriptive expressions in the nominative case. Some of these are actual names such as Kṣitigarbha (115) or epithets such as Sarvajña ("All-knowing"; 98). But by far the majority of them are not. The range of "names" is wide. They reference mainstream categories and identities such as the four truths (132), the five *skandhas* ("aggregates"; groups of changing physical and psychological factors that comprise the individual; 130), arhat and *bhikṣu* (52), and non-returner (*anāgāmī*) and pratyekabuddha (51). They reference not only tantric terms such as mantra (63) and *mudrā* (156) but also the Mahāyāna more generally (41) and its doctrines, for example, *sambhogakāya* (146). Also emphasized are qualities, particularly of sound and voice and of light and radiance. And there are metaphors and images, of beauty (125), power (122), and the fearful (76). The "names" exploit paradox: their subject is said to be both young and old (81) and both the father and son of the buddhas (60). Some "names" are doctrinally or philosophically problematic, for example, Svayambhū ("Self-existent"; 61) and Vidhātṛ ("Creator"; 64).

Despite the topic divisions present in many manuscripts, the content of the verses of "names" is not generally structured in any obvious way. Themes may persist for a number of verses, and there are runs of verses, half-verses, or *pādas* that start with the same word: thus *mahā* ("great"; 30–42), *vajra* ("thunderbolt/diamond"; 71–75b), *daśa* ("ten"; 43–45a), and *sarva* ("all"; 106–108). One reading of this *Nāmasaṃgīti* material is that there was an intentional blending of contrasting types of content to create a single fabric of verses that melded different traditions and ideas. Thus, tantric and nontantric elements are interwoven in a way that could promote a sense that they belong together quite naturally. For the most part, the "names" are free from technical terms that would ally the *Nāmasaṃgīti* to a specific philosophical stance. There are some Abhidharma terms and lists but nothing to strongly identify the *Nāmasaṃgīti* with a particular doctrinal school. Certainly the generalist, open-ended, and philosophically accommodating language of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, its rhythmic and poetical character, along with its being a short, easily memorizable text, facilitated the broad acceptance that it appears to have rapidly engendered.

The Prose

The prose passage, enumerating the benefits of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, is in the form of an address to Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi, one presumes by Śākyamuni. It is somewhat smaller in size than the rest of the text and sometimes approximated as the equivalent of 150 verses. It falls naturally into six parts, titled "circles" (*cakra*) in the manuscripts, with the number of phrases (*pada*) in each cakra also stated. As with the manuscript sections, these prose division titles may be commentarial additions. In summary, the prose comprises descriptions of the following: why Śākyamuni taught the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (cakra 1), what the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is and how it both protects against negative entities and promotes well-being (cakras 2–3), benefits from reciting and teaching the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and from meditating on Mañjuśrī as the *jñānakāya* or the *jñānasattva* (cakras 4–5), and how the one who practices and preserves the *Nāmasaṃgīti* will gain buddhahood (cakra 6).

Much of the prose, in terms of both style and content, is familiar from the self-laudations found in Mahāyāna *sūtras*. And the descriptions of the results of meditating on Mañjuśrī – visions of buddhas and bodhisattvas, or seeing the form body (*rūpakāya*) of Mañjuśrījñānasattva – are familiar from those of the practice of the recollection of the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*). As with the "names", the bulk of the prose is not specifically tantric in nature. Nonetheless, the context of practice is explicitly portrayed as tantric: benefits accrue to those "practicing the observances of the way of mantras" (*mantramukhacaryācārin*), and attainment of the final goal is speedy (*kṣipratara*).

Tantric Elements

While the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is clearly a tantric text, it is striking how much of it is not tantric. Of the 130 verses containing the *nāmas*, only 33 contain tantric material. Despite 63 occurrences of the word *vajra*, the expression *vajrayāna* does not appear. What is found is *mantranaya* ("method of mantras"; 42, twice) and *pāramitānaya* ("method of perfections"; 43), expressions characteristic of texts generally predating the use of Vajrayāna as a term to identify tantric ideas and practices as part of a self-conscious and distinct tradition. Again, and in line with the nature of the nontantric *Nāmasaṃgīti* material, the tantric content of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is fairly general. Thus "empowerment" (*abhiṣeka*), occurring just once, is referred to in a nontechnical way (84). The term *maṇḍala*, in a (potentially) tantric sense, occurs in the verses of "names" only once (33) and, with a tantric meaning, on just one other occasion elsewhere (prose *cakra* 4). Notably, there are no references to *tantra* classes (e.g. *kriyatantra*, *caryātantra*, or *yogatantra*), apart from the colophon identification of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* as a *mahāyogatantra*. The only occurrence of the word *tantra* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is in the general epithet "lord of all *tantras*" (*sarvatantrādhipa*, 114). The section of mantras, which is brief, occupying just over four lines in R.M. Davidson's edition, consists of two mantras with an interposed gloss on the first. Mañjuśrī is predominant here, referenced as the "womb of gnosis" (*jñānagarbha*) and the "gnosis body" (*jñānakāya*).

An emphasis in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* that is distinctive of texts that came to be called *mahāyogatantras* is the use and revaluation of negative emotional states (*kleśa*). Passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), delusion (*moha*), anger (*krodha*), and greed (*lobha*), each called great (*mahā*), are great festivals (*mahāmaha*) capable of positive outcomes (30–32ab). Thus, *mahārāga* (great passion) produces joy for beings, and *mahādveṣa* (great hatred) is the enemy of the *kleśas*. These descriptions are given a significant position early in the verses of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

Another feature of *mahāyogatantras*, the prominence of fierce or wrathful figures, is also present in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and given some weight. Verses 64–75 are almost wholly dedicated to such figures along with depictions of their appearance and manner(s). Figures such as Vajrabhairava (66) and Yamāntaka (68) are named. It is unclear whether these figures are to be seen as fully awakened, but if it is correct to read the "names" as expressions (in some sense) of gnosis, then violent, wrathful expressions are notably present.

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Tantric Contexts

Given the generality of the tantric content of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, establishing definitive sources or influences is not straightforward. An indebtedness to the fundamental *yogatantra*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* is suggested by a number of the "names." Some nine of them are names of figures from the *Tattvasaṃgraha*'s principal *maṇḍala*, the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala – for example the deities Vajraratna (107), Vajratīkṣṇa (111), and Vajradharma (112) and door guardians (*dvārapālas*) Vajrāṅkuśa (66) and Vajrāveśa (73). Also, the *Tattvasaṃgraha*'s praise of Mahāvairocana (ch. 1), which is essentially a list of the ways in which he can manifest, may have provided a broad model for the *Nāmasaṃgīti*'s verses of "names." A second influence may be from the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (see ch. 6), indicated by the *Nāmasaṃgīti*'s emphasis on the syllable *a*, as well as by the presence of Mahāvairocana (42) and Vairocana (62) as names. The general program of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, that gnosis can appear in a range of ways, is paralleled in the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* by Vajrapāṇi's statement (ch. 1) as interlocutor that gnosis (*sarvajñajñāna*) can be taught, or express itself, via different paths and by taking on a wide range of forms.

More generally, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is clearly indebted to the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) literature. Present is the association between Mañjuśrī and gnosis, as well as the importance of the syllable *a*, which as an indicator of *śūnyatā* (emptiness) through its function of negation culminates in Prajñāpāramitā texts in the *Prajñāpāramitaikākṣarī* (The Perfection of Wisdom in One Syllable). The *Nāmasaṃgīti* calls the syllable *a* "the supreme syllable" (*paramākṣara*; 28). Other Prajñāpāramitā texts that may parallel the *Nāmasaṃgīti* are the tantric-influenced *Adhyardhaśatikā* and *Prajñāpāramitānāmāṣṭaśatakā*. The *Adhyardhaśatikā*, in its Tibetan translation, has Mañjuśrī teach the syllable *a* as the "perfection of wisdom" (*prajñāpāramitā*). The *Prajñāpāramitānāmāṣṭaśatakā*'s 108 "names" are not names either. They are attributes and signs of *prajñā*, some of which, like those of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, reference mainstream doctrinal categories. A prose passage on the benefits of its recitation, as well as a mantra, follows the main text.

A morphological connection between the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and the *samādhi* chapters of the *Māyājālatantra* and the *Guhyasamājatantra* has been suggested, with the argument that they all consist of a meditation instruction preceded by a mantra (Davidson, 1981, 2–3). Yet, while the *Guhyasamājatantra* chapter (3), for example, does have this form and contains detailed visualization instructions, there are no instructions in the "names" verses of *Nāmasaṃgīti*. Moreover, the content of the *Guhyasamājatantra* is remote from that of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. It has also been suggested that a factor in considering the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and its genesis is the historical emergence of a sixth buddha family (*kula*), one that would overarch and unify the five *kula*s ("families" or groups of deities) associated with five buddhas of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi). Again, while the *Nāmasaṃgīti* introduction does list six (or possibly seven) mantra families (23), and six mantras (25), this emphasis is not found in the remainder of the text, including the prose, and they are not linked to buddha families. The terms mantra and *kula* do appear together twice but each time in the context of a "triple family" (*kulatraya*; 65, 143) of mantras, an expression that is not further explained. Also, five buddhas (*pañcabuddha*, 59) are mentioned but not six, and not six families. Evidence that the *Nāmasaṃgīti* reflects a six buddha family framework in any explicit form is therefore weak. Such an interpretation is the work of early *Nāmasaṃgīti* exegetes.

Influence

From at least the mid-8th century onward, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* appears to have been an influential tantric text in India, as indicated by the large number of *Nāmasaṃgīti*-related texts that survive, largely in Tibetan translation. Some 129 works, ranging from substantial commentaries to shorter ritual texts and *sādhanas*, are found in the Derge edition of the Tanjur (D 1395–1400, 2090–2121, 2532–2622). The earliest commentaries, composed from a *yogatantra* perspective, include those by Mañjuśrīmitra (D 2532), Vilāsavajra (D 2533), and Vimalamitra (D 2092). Later commentators tended to place the *Nāmasaṃgīti* in a *yoginītantra* context, as for example does Advayavajra (D 2098). A number of authors, such as Raviśrījñāna (D 1395) and Dus [kyi 'khor lo] zhabs pa (*Kālacakrapāda; D 1399), more specifically linked the *Nāmasaṃgīti* to the *Kālacakratantra*. Other commentators include Candragomin, Ḍombiheruka, Mañjuśrīkīrti, and Smṛtijñānakīrti. Commentaries surviving in Sanskrit are Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (Tribe,

1994) and Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛtakaṇikā* (Lal, 1994) along with its subcommentary by Vibhūticandra, the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota*. One other commentary that survives in Sanskrit in a single manuscript and that apparently has not been translated into Tibetan is the *Gūḍhapadā*, possibly composed by Advayavajra (Tribe, 1994, app. 7; Szántó, 2010).

The *Nāmasaṃgīti*'s open-ended, technically nonspecific nature, allied with its brevity and liturgical appeal, is a likely factor in its success. In particular, its ability to accommodate a range of exegeses allowed the *Nāmasaṃgīti* to become detached from its original *yogatantra* moorings. Perhaps the most notable example of this is its adoption as a foundational text by *Kālacakratantra* exegetes. A range of *Nāmasaṃgīti* terms (in particular *jñānakāya* and *ādibuddha* [lit. Buddha from the beginning; the notion that there is just one primordial or primeval Buddha]) and verses were read as legitimating central *Kālacakra* doctrines. The *Vimalaprabhā*, a key *Kālacakra* commentary that was given scriptural status in Tibet, quotes 65 *Nāmasaṃgīti* verses and portrays the two texts as connected at a fundamental level (Wallace, 2001, 18–21).

The primary audience of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is likely to have been monastics. With its focus on the figure of Mañjuśrī, it has been argued that the text would sit happily within the monastic culture of the Pala period (Harrington, 2002, 335–357). There is evidence suggestive of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* also having some popularity beyond the monastic context: its daily recitation is recommended for householder bodhisattvas by Advayavajra in his *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana*. Today, *Nāmasaṃgīti* recitation occurs in ritual contexts by Newar Buddhists in Nepal, where *Nāmasaṃgīti* is also worshipped as a deity. A shrine to a single-headed, 12-armed form was established in Kwā Bāhāḥ Monastery, Lalitpur, as recently as 1985 (Gellner, 1992, 175–178).

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* does not appear to have had any notable influence with East Asian Buddhists, even at the Mañjuśrī-centered Wutai-shan complex in China. In Tibet, however, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* has had a presence since Buddhism's inception there. Within all traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, it is still widely memorized and recited. The large number of *Nāmasaṃgīti* works translated into Tibetan has been noted. As for indigenous works, six *Nāmasaṃgīti* commentaries were earlier identified (Davidson, 1981, 14), three of which are Gelug and follow a *Kālacakratantra* perspective. (For a partial translation of that by Gde 'dun rgya mtsho Dalai Lama II [D 5549], see L. Harrington [2002, 383–492]; at least three further commentaries may be noted, those by Blo gros rgyal mtshan [1294–1376; TBRC Resource ID: W27552], Sga rab 'byams pa Kun dga' ye shes [1397–1470; TBRC Resource ID: W00EGS1016747], and Mkhan po Yon tan mgon po [1899–1959; TBRC Resource ID: W1KG1888], respectively from the Jonang, Sakya, and Nyingma traditions.)

With his interest in the Kālacakra tradition, Bu ston (1290–1364) also viewed the *Nāmasaṃgīti* as a Kālacakra text. In the compilation of the Kanjur, he placed it at the head of the *tantras* (D 360), followed by the *Kālacakratantra* itself. The high status of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* for the Kālacakra tradition continues today, exemplified perhaps by a *Nāmasaṃgīti* translation being placed at the head of a collection of articles on the *Kālacakratantra* in honor of the present Dalai Lama (Berzin, 2009).

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Web Site

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Śamvara

The Samvara, Śamvara, or Cakrasaṃvara scriptural cycle constitutes the latest stage of the Buddhist *yoginītantra* literature in the early medieval Indian subcontinent. Many *tantras* belong to this scriptural tradition, such as *Abhidhānottaratantra, Cakrasaṃvaratantra, Caturyoginīsampuṭatantra, Jñānodayatantra, Ḍākārṇavatantra, Yoginījālatantra, Yoginīsaṃcāratantra, Vajraḍākatantra, Vārāhīkalpatantra, Saṃvarodayatantra, Sampuṭodbhavatantra*, and *Herukābhyudayatantra*. The earliest *tantra* among them is the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (also called *Herukābhidhānatantra* or *Laghusaṃvaratantra*), which was compiled probably around the 9th century CE in the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent. *tantras* belonging to this scriptural cycle have in common the following: instructions on the Heruka *maṇḍala* consisting of 62 deities and 24 holy sites that have various traditional Buddhist meanings, instructions on variant forms of that *maṇḍala*, or instructions in which components of the Heruka *maṇḍala* serve as core teaching elements. The main deities of this *maṇḍala*, are Lord Heruka (or his variant forms called Saṃvara, Cakrasaṃvara, etc.), his consort Vajravārāhī (or her variant forms), and the four *ḍākinīs*, named Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī, respectively.

The Term *Saṃvara* or *Śaṃvara*

In Tibetan Buddhism and modern scholarship, the word *saṃvara* or *śaṃvara* (Tib. *bde mchog*) is often used to refer to the scriptural tradition beginning with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (*Tantra* of the *Saṃvara* of the Circle). While this is not an error per se, in the early stages of the scriptural tradition in question, the word *saṃvara* used as the title of a scripture generally indicates solely the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* (*Tantra* of the *Saṃvara* of the Network of *Ḍākinīs* Completely United with All Buddhas), *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* for short, which does not belong to the scriptural tradition beginning with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. The *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* was composed in the 8th century CE, and it is the first scripture that regards Heruka as an important deity. There are some parallel passages between the *Sarvabuddhasamayogatantra* and *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. These suggest that the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* played a certain role in the compilation of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. However, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* does not have instructions of the Heruka *maṇḍala* and its systems of meaning taught in the scriptural tradition of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. The *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* is rather a common origin of multiple scriptural cycles of the *yoginītantra* literature, such as the Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara, and other scriptural cycles in which Heruka (or his variant forms) is identified as the highest deity. Indeed, in relatively late Buddhist texts composed in India such as Ariṣṭadhīmat's ritual manual on the Heruka *maṇḍala*, we can find examples of the usage of the term *saṃvara*, indicating that certain *tantras* belong to the scriptural tradition of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. Below, the scriptural tradition or cycle in question is called the Cakrasaṃvara scriptural tradition or cycle, beginning with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and excluding the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*.

The word *saṃvara* generally means "discipline," but it has other, specific meanings in *yoginītantra* literature, for example as repeatedly found in the phrase *ḍākinījālasaṃvara*, which can be translated "the *saṃvara* of the network of *ḍākinīs*." Here the term *saṃvara* is something related to the network (which is generally interpreted as a gathering) of *ḍākinīs*.

There are two old and important etymological explanations for the term *saṃvara*. The first initially appears in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, in which the word *saṃvara* or *śaṃvara* is a combination term of *śam* (bliss; Tib. *sham*) and *vara* (supreme; Tib. *mchog*), together meaning "the supreme bliss" (see D 366, vol. *ka*, ch. 1, 151b6-b7/P 8, vol. *ka*, ch. 1, 164b4-b5). The word in question is hardly ever *śaṃvara* in the extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition. However, the explanation in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* suggests a possibility that *śaṃvara* is the original and *saṃvara* its derivation. In texts of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition (and the Hevajra tradition as well), similar glosses of *saṃvara* (or *śaṃvara*) are found with the meaning "supreme bliss" (*sukhavaram, paraṃ sukham*).

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The other etymological explanation regards the term *saṃvara* as derived from the verb *saṃ + vṛ-*, "to conceal," "to protect." According to Jayabhadra's *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*, the oldest, word-for-word commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the word in question means "concealment" or "protection" (Sugiki, 2001). In contrast to the first, this second etymological explanation corresponds to the majority reading of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, which have *saṃvara* and not *śaṃvara*.

The Standard Form and Meanings of the Heruka *Maṇḍala*

Some *tantras* are grouped under the title "the Cakrasaṃvara scriptural cycle," as they have core teachings in common. All these *tantras* give instructions on the Heruka *maṇḍala*, whose standard version consists of 62 deities and 24 holy sites that have traditional Buddhist or Mahāyāna meanings, such as the ten levels (*daśabhūmi*), the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*), and the 37 conditions that contribute to awakening (*saptatriṃśadbodhipākṣikad harma*). Some *tantras* teach the *maṇḍala*'s archaic forms (e.g. the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*), some teach its matured and standard form, some teach its variant forms, and some teach only some parts or components (e.g. the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, which teaches a Heruka *maṇḍala* consisting of 13 deities).

The standard version of the Heruka *maṇḍala* consists of five concentric circles, in order from the innermost to the outermost:

1. the great pleasure circle (*mahāsukhacakra*);
2. the mind circle (*cittacakra*);
3. the speech circle (*vākcakra*);
4. the body circle (*kāyacakra*); and
5. the vow circle (*samayacakra*).

The Great Pleasure Circle

The innermost circle is named the great pleasure circle (*mahāsukhacakra*). In it Lord Heruka (with four faces, three eyes on each face, and 12 arms) embraces his consort Vajravārāhī (with one face, three eyes, and two arms). Heruka and Vajravārāhī are surrounded by four *ḍākinīs* from the four cardinal directions. They are Ḍākinī (east), Lāmā (north), Khaṇḍarohā (west), and Rūpiṇī (south). The central pair and the four *ḍākinīs* represent the five aggregates (*pañcaskandha*), the five elements (*pañcabhūta*), and other fivefold concepts. Four skull-bone vases filled with immortal nectar (*amṛta*) are placed on the four intermediate directions.

The 24 holy sites (*pīṭhādi*; i.e. *pīṭha* etc.) are grouped into ten categories:

1. *pīṭha* (seat);
2. *upapīṭha* (near seat);
3. *kṣetra* (land);
4. *upakṣetra* (near land);
5. *chandoha* (probably derived from *saṃdoha*, milking);
6. *upacchandoha* (near milking);
7. *melā* (assembly);
8. *upamelā* (near assembly);
9. *śmaśāna* (graveyard); and
10. *upaśmaśāna* (near graveyard).

These ten categories of holy sites are identical with the ten levels (*daśabhūmi*), beginning with the level *pramuditā* (joyous) and ending with the level *dharmameghā* (cloud of teachings). The *ḍākinīs* residing at these ten groups of sites represent the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*), beginning with *dāna* (charity) and ending with *jñāna* (gnosis).

The 24 pairs of *ḍākinīs* (female deities) and *vīras* (heros, i.e. male deities), which are assigned to the 24 sites, form three concentric circles named *tricakra* (three circles). Each circle consists of eight pairs of *ḍākinīs* and *vīras*. These circles are called mind circle (*cittacakra*), speech circle (*vākcakra*), and body circle (*kāyacakra*), in order from the innermost to the outermost circle. The mind circle is conceptualized as being located in the sky (*ākāśa*), the speech circle is on the ground (*bhūrloka*), and the body circle is underground (*pātāla*). Hence, the *ḍākinīs* residing in these three circles have the following aliases:

1. *khecarī* (a woman moving in the sky);
2. *bhūcarī* (a woman moving on the ground); and
3. *pātālavāsinī* (a woman living underground).

The three circles mentioned above are conceptualized within the body of a practitioner as well. This implies that one's body is complete with the potential of the ten levels and ten perfections. The 24 holy sites mentioned above are identified with the 24 body areas (*sthāna*), beginning with the head and ending with the knees. The 24 *ḍākinīs* are also equated with inner channels (*nāḍī*) running in the body. The 24 *vīras* appear in the body in the form of bodily components (*dhātu*), such as the fingernails, teeth, hair on the head and body, and so on. The body areas identified with the holy sites are located in the upper, middle, and lower parts of the body, which corresponds to the distribution of the external holy sites in the three spheres (i.e. sky, ground, and underground). One's body is seen as the microcosm in this system.

The Mind Circle, the Speech Circle, and the Body Circle

Three circles	Ten levels: Ten perfections	*Pīṭhādi*	Holy sites	Body parts	*Ḍākinī* (= Inner channels)	*Vīra*	Body parts and bodily substances (= *Vīra*)
Mind circle (sky goer)	*Pramuditā: Dāna*	*Pīṭha*	Pullīramalaya	head	Pracandā	Khaṇḍakapālin	fingernails, teeth
			Jālandhara	top of the head	Caṇḍākṣī	Mahākaṅkāla	hair on the head and body
			Oḍyāna	right ear	Prabhāvatī	Kaṅkāla	skin, dirt
			Arbuda	back of the head	Mahānāsā	Vikaṭadaṃṣṭrin	flesh
	Vimalā: Śīla	*Upapīṭha*	Godāvarī	left ear	Vīramatī	Surāvairin	muscle
			Rāmeśvara	brows	Kharvarī	Amitābha	bones
			Devīkoṭa	eyes	Laṅkeśvarī	Vajraprabha	liver
			Mālava	shoulders	Drumacchāyā	Vajradeha	heart
Speech circle (earth goer)	*Prabhākarī: Kṣānti*	*Kṣetra*	Kāmarūpa	armpits	Airāvatī	Ankurika	eyes
			Oḍra	breasts	Mahābhairavā	Vajrajaṭila	bile
	Arcismatī: Vīrya	*Upakṣetra*	Triśakuni	navel	Vāyuvegā	Mahāvira	lungs
			Kosala	tip of the nose	Surābhakṣī	Vajrahūṃkāra	intestines
	Abhimukhī: Dhyāna	*Chandoha*	Kaliṅga	mouth	Śyāmādevī	Subhadra	ribs
			Lampāka	throat	Subhadrā	Vajrabhadra	stomach
	Sudurjayā: Prajñā	*Upacchadoha*	Kāñcī	heart	Hayakarṇā	Mahābhairava	feces
			Himālaya	penis	Khagānanā	Virūpākṣa	middle-of-the hair parting
Body circle (those living underground)	*Dūraṅgamā: Upāya*	*Melāpaka*	Pretapurī	sex organ	Cakravegā	Mahābala	mucus
			Gṛhadevatā	anus	Khaṇḍarohā	Ratnavajra	pus
	Acalā: Praṇidhi	*Upamelāpaka*	Saurāṣṭra	thighs	Śauṇḍinī	Hayagrīva	blood
			Suvarṇadvīpa	shanks	Cakravarmiṇī	Ākāśagarbha	sweat
	Sādhumatī: Bala	*Śmaśāna*	Nagara	toes	Suvīrā	Śrīheruka/ Mārāri	fat
			Sindhu	soles	Mahābalā	Padmanarteśvara	tears
	Dharmameghā: Jñāna	*Upaśmaśāna*	Maru	big toes	Cakravartinī	Vairocana	phlegm
			Kulatā	knees	Mahāvīryā	Vajrasattva	snivel

The Vow Circle

The outermost circle is named the vow circle (*samayacakra*), which leads to the four *maṇḍala* gates. Eight *ḍākinī*s reside in this circle, of whom four are gatekeepers: Kākāsyā (east gate), Ulūkāsyā (north gate), Śvānāsyā (west gate), Śūkarāsyā (south gate), Yamadāḍhī (southeast), Yamadūtī (southwest), Yamadaṃṣṭrī (northwest), and Yamamathanī (northeast). These eight *ḍākinī*s represent the eight vows (*samayas*; see below) that a practitioner must observe according to the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* – the likely reason why this circle is called the vow circle.

The central pair of Heruka and Vajravārāhī and the four *ḍākinī*s in the great pleasure circle, the 24 pairs of *ḍākinī*s and *vīra*s in the three circles, and the eight *ḍākinī*s in the vow circle (which amounts to 37 in total) represent the 37 conditions that contribute to awakening (Sugiki, 2007).

Textual History

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ā	Vajradeha	heart
	Ankurika	eyes
ā	Vajrajaṭila	bile
	Mahāvira	lungs
	Vajrahūṃkāra	intestines
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	Vajrabhadra	stomach
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	Mahābala	mucus
	Ratnavajra	pus
	Hayagrīva	blood
i	Ākāśagarbha	sweat
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	Vairocana	phlegm
	Vajrasattva	snivel

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Textual History

There are many *tantras* that can be regarded as belonging to the Cakrasaṃvara scriptural cycle. Some of the scriptures and commentaries on those scriptures mention the existence of a legendary root *tantra*, variously titled the *Khasamatantra* (100,000 verses), *Herukābhidhānatantra* (100,000 verses), *Abhidhānatantra* (300,000 verses), or *Mahāyoginītantra* (12,000 verses), and insist that they are selections from such a large root *tantra*. However, there is no solid evidence that proves the actual existence of such a legendary root *tantra*.

The Earliest *tantra*: The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*

The extant *tantra* that can be considered the actual starting point of the Cakrasaṃvara scriptural tradition is the *Herukābhidhānatantra* (different from the legendary *Herukābhidhāna* mentioned above), *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, or *Laghusaṃvaratantra*. The date of compilation of this *tantra* is a controversial topic. However, there seems to be some consensus that it was compiled around the 9th century CE (Gray, 2007; 2012; Szántó, 2008; Sanderson, 2009; Sugiki, 2010).

According to its extant Sanskrit manuscript (MS 13290 at the Oriental Institute, Vadodara), this *tantra* consist of 51 chapters and is called *Śrīcakrasaṃvaranāmamahāyoginītantrarāja* (The King of *Mahāyoginītantras* Named Lord Cakrasaṃvara) toward the end of the final chapter. However, there is a possibility that *Cakrasaṃvara* is not the original title of this *tantra*. Evidence – such as the change of its title from *Herukābhidhāna* to *Cakrasaṃvara* in chapter 51 and the fact that the *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Jayabhadra does not mention the second half of chapter 50 and chapter 51 – suggests that an older version of this *tantra* contained only chapters 1 to 49 and the first half of chapter 50 (MS 13290 37a3; Skt. ed. 50.18); in chapters 1 to 50, this *tantra* is called *Herukābhidhāna*. It is also called *Laghusaṃvara* in other texts, such as its Tibetan translation and the *Ḍākārṇavatantra*. In this article, it is called *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Sugiki, 2001; 2010; Sanderson, 2009).

Most elements common to the *tantras* belonging to the Cakrasaṃvara tradition are present in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, but they are not yet thoroughly organized. The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* does not expound psychosomatic practices based on the subtle body system consisting of inner channels (*nāḍī*) and circles (*cakra*), which are regarded as one of the core practices in several *tantras* after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. The effects of practices taught in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* are mostly mundane, as the following sentence shows: "He can attain immediately all the things that might occur in the three worlds" (MS 13290 8a7; Skt. ed. 9.1). The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* seems to be a scripture for mundane purposes rather than for attaining liberation (see also below).

The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* contains many passages that are the same as or similar to passages found in the Buddhist *Sarvabuddhassamāyogatantra*, in the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭhatantras (such as the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Brahmayāmala*, and *tantrasadbhāva*), in the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, and in other Cakrasaṃvara scriptures (particularly the *Abhidhānottaratantra* and *Vajraḍākatantra*; Sanderson, 1995; 2001; 2009; Sugiki, 2001; 2008).

Scriptures after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*

The scriptures of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition composed after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* can be grouped into two:

1. the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (*Tantra* Posterior to the *Abhidhāna*), *Caturyoginīsampuṭatantra* (*Tantra* of the Union with the Four *Yoginīs* [i.e. *Ḍākinīs*]), *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (*Tantra* of the Passage of *Yoginīs*), *Vajraḍākatantra* (*Tantra* of the Lord Vajraḍāka), *Sampuṭodbhavatantra* (*Tantra* of the Born of the Union), and *Herukābhyudayatantra* (*Tantra* of the Arising of Heruka);
2. the *Jñānodayatantra* (*Tantra* of the Appearance of Gnosis), *Ḍākārṇavatantra* (*Tantra* of the Sea of *Ḍākas*), *Yoginījālatantra* (*Tantra* of the Net of *Yoginīs*), *Vārāhīkalpatantra* (*Tantra* of the Rituals of Vārāhī), and *Saṃvarodayatantra* (*Tantra* of the Appearance of the Supreme Bliss).

The scriptures of the first group were probably compiled around the 10th century CE. Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (11th cent.) translated the *Abhidhānottaratantra* into Tibetan and wrote a commentary on Lūyīpāda's *Cakrasaṃvarābhisamaya*, which is closely related to the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (esp. ch. 14) and *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (Sugiki, 2007, 15–21). The *Caturyoginīsampuṭatantra* was translated into Tibetan by Cings yon tan 'bar, who may be the same Cings yon tan 'bar who translated the *Herukābhyudayatantra* into Tibetan together with Advayavajra (10th–11th cents.). The *Sampuṭodbhavatantra* and the *Vajraḍākatantra* are mentioned in the *Muktāvalī* of Ratnākaraśānti (11th cent.; Skt. ed. 18–19).

Among these scriptures, the *Sampuṭodbhavatantra* contains many passages and ideas that appear in the *Hevarjatantra* and related works and can be said to belong to both the Hevajra and the Cakrasaṃvara scriptural cycle.

Most, if not all, scriptures of the second group can be analyzed to have been compiled after the scriptures of the first group. The *Ḍākārṇavatantra* mentions the *Vajraḍākatantra, Herukābhyudayatantra,* and *Sampuṭodbhavatantra* in section 4 of chapter 50, proving that the *Ḍākārṇavatantra* was composed after those scriptures of the first group. There are many parallel passages among the *Saṃvarodayatantra, Ḍākārṇavatantra, Yoginījālatantra,* and *Vārāhīkalpatantra*:

- instructions on the death signs in the *Saṃvarodayatantra, Ḍākārṇavatantra,* and *Vārāhīkalpa-tantra*;
- instructions on inner channels in the *Ḍākārṇavatantra* and *Yoginījālatantra*;
- instructions on the Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala* in the *Ḍākārṇavatantra* and *Vārāhīkalpatantra*; and
- instructions on the inner wheel of time in the *Saṃvarodayatantra* and *Vārāhīkalpatantra*;

Comparative studies of these parallel passages show a possibility that the *Saṃvarodayatantra* and *Ḍākārṇavatantra* were composed before the *Yoginījālatantra* and *Vārāhīkalpatantra* (see Sugiki, 2007). Furthermore, Tibetan translations of the *Yoginījālatantra, Vārāhīkalpatantra,* and *Jñānodayatantra* (which has one of the most developed teachings on the internal practice) are not found in the Kanjur, suggesting that they were compiled in a late stage of the textual history of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition (Sugiki, 2007).

Contents of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*

The Heruka *Maṇḍala* and Its Main Rituals

The opening paragraphs of chapter 1, the *Maṇḍalāvatāra* (Descent of the *Maṇḍala*), include a verse that describes the lord and his place of residence:

> He resides without cease in the secret, supreme, and blessed body of all. He is a being made of all *ḍākinīs*. He is an adamantine being (*vajrasattva*). He is the highest pleasure. He is indeed Svayambhū ("Self-existing"), Bhagavān ("Lord"), and a *vīra*. He is the supreme bliss of the network of *ḍākinīs*. (MS 13290 1b2; Skt. ed. 2–3)

This verse, or similar ones describing the lord and his place of residence, can also be found in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* and some other scriptures belonging to the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, and it is interpreted in various ways by numerous commentators. Jayabhadra's *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*, the oldest commentary on this *tantra*, gives an interpretation (Skt. ed. 1.6–1.10) that Lord Heruka is forming a blissful *maṇḍala*, consisting of *ḍākinīs* and *vīras*, that represents the whole universe (i.e. the three worlds). At the end, chapter 1 lists places that are suitable for drawing the *maṇḍala*, namely mountain (*giri*), cave (*gahvara*), arbor (*kuñja*), bank of a great sea (*mahodadhi*), or graveyard that is perfect since time immemorial (*ādisiddhaśmaśāna*).

Chapter 2, the *Cakrapūjā* (Oblation to the Circle), explains how to draw and meditate on a *maṇḍala*, and how to make oblations to the *maṇḍala*. A qualified practitioner is defined as having right knowledge (*samyagjñāna*), having understood *tantras* (*tantrajña*), having learned the mantras of the glorious Heruka (*śrīherukamantrajña*), being free from anger (*akrodha*), being purified (*śuci*), being able (*dakṣa*), being familiar with yoga (*yogajña*), and having attained gnosis (*jñānapāraga*). Having created the *maṇḍala*, a practitioner starts making oblation to it. The practitioner prepares nine decorated vases; eight of the vases are put at the four gates of the *maṇḍala*, and the ninth vase is located at the center of the *maṇḍala*. Precious things such as gems and gold items are scattered onto the *maṇḍala*, and various articles such as perfumes, one hundred lamps, and so on are offered to it.

The topics of chapter 3, the *Dakṣiṇābhiṣeka* (Ritual Fee and Initiation), are the *abhiṣeka* (initiation ritual) and the *dakṣiṇā* (ritual fee) to a master as reward for officiating the initiation ritual. First, disciples who wish to be initiated give offerings to their master as often as they can. Then, having made offerings to the *maṇḍala*, the master covers the face of every disciple with a cloth as a blindfold, makes them hold a flower with their hands clasped in prayer, makes them stand in front of the *maṇḍala*, and lets them drop the flower from their hands onto the *maṇḍala*. Each disciple's lineage affiliation (*kula*) as an initiated practitioner is determined by the specific area of the *maṇḍala* where the flower has fallen. Subsequently, the text gives a very brief explanation on a sexual ritual in which a *mudrā* (female) plays a certain role. After that, having bowed to both the master and the *maṇḍala*, the initiates offer presents and finally dedicate themselves to the master, saying, "From today on, I am a servant. I dedicate myself to you." The *ḍākinīs* are thus pleased, and the initiates are ensured to attain perfection (*siddhi*).

Although chapters 2 and 3 deal with *maṇḍala* rituals, they do not give detailed explanations on the elements of the *maṇḍala*. The names of the 24 *ḍākinīs* are taught in chapter 4, the *Vīrayoginyādvaya*

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Principal Mantras

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chapter 5, the *Mūlamantr*
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the *Mantroddhāra* (Extr
chapter 25, the *Mūlaman*
Mantra to be Kept Secret

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> of a *kalpa*, who wears the
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> arms, who holds up an a
> spear and a *khaṭvāṅga* st
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> *kara*. *Kuru kuru* [or "Do, d
> frighten. Shake, shake. *H*
> *Pheṃ pheṃ*. *Phaṭ phaṭ*.
> Eat, eat. For [you who] cl

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chapter 4, the *Vīrayoginyādvaya*

(The Nonduality of *Vīras* and *Yoginīs*). The names of the 24 *vīras* are given in chapter 48, the *Sarvavīraḍākinyālayagopyamaṇḍala* (The Secret *Maṇḍala*, Which is the Abode of All *Vīras* and *Ḍākinīs*). The names of the 24 holy sites are given in chapter 41, the *Caturviṃśatyakṣaramaṇḍalanyāsa* (The Setting of the *Maṇḍala* Consisting of the 24 Letters).

Inner meanings of holy sites and *ḍākinīs* are explained in chapter 50, the *Vaśyahomapīṭhādibhūminirdeśa* (The Fire Oblation of Bewitching and the Instruction on Lands Such as *Pīṭha* and So On). The holy sites are grouped into ten (see above) and correspond to the ten levels (*daśabhūmi*); the *ḍākinīs* are equated with the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*). Through the external and internal practices centered on the *maṇḍala*, one attains the state of Heruka.

The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* does not give a clear and detailed explanation of how these elements of the Heruka *maṇḍala* mentioned above (i.e. the three spheres, the 24 *ḍākinīs*, the 24 *vīras*, the 24 holy sites, its ten categories, etc.) are interconnected and how they are organized into one integrated system of deities and meanings. The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* mentions the eight *ḍākinīs* beginning with Kākāsyā, but it does not specify their precise locations in the Heruka *maṇḍala*. It is hard to know exactly what form of the Heruka *maṇḍala* is described in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, though most core elements that constitute its standard version are mentioned.

Principal Mantras

Heruka and other deities mentioned above have their own mantra(s). The root or fundamental mantra (*mūlamantra*) of Heruka is taught in chapter 5, the *Mūlamantrasyākṣaroddhāra* (Extraction of Letters of the Root Mantra), chapter 7, the *Mantroddhāra* (Extraction of Mantra), and chapter 25, the *Mūlamantrasarvagopya* (The Root Mantra to be Kept Secret Completely):

> *Oṃ*. Salute to the lord, who is the ruler of *vīras*; who has the appearance of the great fire at the end of a *kalpa*, who wears the crest of twisted hair, who looks violent and horrible with his mouth open to show the tusks, who is shining with one thousand arms, who holds up an axe and a rope and has a spear and a *khaṭvāṅga* staff, who wears a garment of the skin of a tiger, and who is marvelously beautiful like the great smoke-colored darkness. *Kara kara*. *Kuru kuru* [or "Do, do"]. Bind, bind. Frighten, frighten. Shake, shake. *Hrauṃ hrauṃ*. *Hraḥ hraḥ*. *Pheṃ pheṃ*. *Phaṭ phaṭ*. Burn, burn. Roast, roast. Eat, eat. For [you who] cling to the fat, blood, and entrails. Grasp, grasp. Or, threaten, threaten the snakes residing in the seven underworlds. Heap, heap. *Hrīṃ hrīṃ*. *Jñoṃ jñoṃ*. *Kṣmāṃ kṣmāṃ*. *Hāṃ hāṃ*. *Hīṃ hīṃ*. *Hūṃ hūṃ*. *Kili kili*. *Sili sili*. *Cili cili*. *Dhili dhili*. *Hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. (Skt. ed. 148–149)

In the texts composed after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* in general, the sequence of words from "*kara kara*" to "*dhili dhili*" of the above mantra is divided into 24 parts, and these 24 parts are used as the mantras of the 24 *vīras*. The 24 *ḍākinīs*' mantras are given in chapter 4 as "*oṃ* [the Ḍākiṇī's name] *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*."

Chapter 6, the *Ṣaḍvīrakavacoddāra* (Extraction of the Six Heroic Armors), chapter 8, the *Viparītayoginīmantroddhāra* (Extraction of the Mantras of Yoginīs in Reverse Order), chapter 30, the *Murajabandhanamantroddhāra* (Extraction of a Mantra on a Drum Design), and chapter 48 (see above) teach other important mantras of the related deities. However, some instructions are too brief to know the details of the mantras that are taught.

In the texts after the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, these mantras are generally arranged in the following way:

1. Heruka's heart mantra (*hṛdayamantra*);
2. Heruka's quasi-heart mantra (*upahṛdaya*);
3. Vajravārāhī's heart mantra;
4. Vajravārāhī's quasi-heart mantra;
5. the six armor mantras (*kavaca*) of *vīras* for protection;
6. the six armor mantras of *ḍākinīs* for protection; and
7. the mantra named *trailokyavijaya* (subjugation of the three worlds) for taming evil beings.

The Eight Vows and the Practice Observance

Chapter 26, *Śiṣyaparīkṣāsaṃvara* (Examination of Disciples and Precepts), which can be restored from a commentary, explains the eight vows (*samaya*) that a practitioner must observe and emphasizes the significance of these vows – they are a cause for perfection, are common to all *tantras*, and are only obtained by faith. However, the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*'s description of the contents of the vows is obscure. According to Jayabhadra's *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*, the eight vows can be summarized as follows:

1. to move on the left side of *ḍākinīs*, perform left-side practices (e.g. use their left hand in rituals), realize that nothing is superior to the yoga of Heruka, see one's teacher as the mother of yoga, and revere other practitioners;
2. not to practice systems of other schools;
3. to stop distinguishing one's self from others;
4. not to be interrupted;

5. to have a desire for goddesses;
6. to engage in sexual yoga;
7. to be free from attachment when practicing *bodhicitta* (awakening mind); and
8. not to be angry at the time of receiving the *bodhicitta*.

These eight vows are symbolically connected with the group of eight *ḍākinī*s, beginning with Kākāsyā.

Chapter 27, *Caryāvratapūjābali* (Practice Observance, Oblation, and *Bali* Offering), teaches the practice observance (*caryāvrata*), a framework of daily conduct of an initiated practitioner. A male initiated practitioner travels from one village to another to find *dūtī*s (appropriate female partners). After rising early in the morning, he meditates on the concept that he exists in the mind only and that he protects himself by means of the armor mantras. Having prepared thus, he starts traveling, reciting mantras all the way. He recognizes *dūtī*s and communicates with them by means of secret codes. The *dūtī*s are the agents of perfection for the male practitioner when he engages with them in sexual practices. At night he is naked. He eats *caru*, a kind of food used for oblations. Generally it is made of some cereal crop with milk and butter, but in this context, it is the fivefold ambrosia (made of the semen, blood, excrement, urine, and human flesh).

The 14 Truths

Chapter 51 (no title), the final chapter, teaches the 14 truths, representing the 14 core elements of the Cakrasaṃvara system:

1. garment (*nivasana*) such as a tiger skin;
2. symbolic ornaments such as the five seals (*pañcamudrādi*; necklace, diadem, armlet, earring, and the sacred thread, which symbolize the five *tathāgatas*);
3. a *dūtī* representing gnosis (*prajñāṅga*);
4. a peg (*kīla*) used or visualized to protect the ritual space;
5. a cage (*pañjara*) visualized to protect the ritual space;
6. the contemplation that cause and other components of our experiences are all empty (*hetvādiśūnya*);
7. the recitation of vowels and consonants (*ālikālim uccārya*);
8. the visualization of the *nāda* (sound) from which all phenomena originate;
9. the yoga of absorption (*saṃhārayoga*);
10. the meditation on the accumulation of the immortal nectars in the practitioner's body in order to experience bliss (*amṛtāpyāyananivṛti*);
11. the worship of the hand (*hastapūjā*), that is the installation, in meditation, in one's own hand, and the worship of, mantras or deities;
12. the initiation (*abhiṣecana*);
13. the meditational protection by means of the armor mantras (*kavaca*); and
14. the oblation by means of all the mantras (*sarvamantreṇārcanam*), that is worshipping deities by means of their own mantras and other related mantras.

The fruits of these practices are described as follows: the practitioner is thoroughly purified and attains the level of a Tathāgata in this life and future lives, born in the Tathāgata lineage. He becomes a king of dharma. He fulfills all his wishes on earth. He attains enjoyments of heavens and the state of the universal monarch (*cakravartin*). When he dies, Heruka and his retainer *ḍākinī*s and *vīra*s, who have various kinds of flowers, banners, and flags and are playing music, come to him and take him to the abode of the *khecarī*s, a kind of paradise.

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Tsunehiko Sugiki

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Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara

The *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (henceforth *Śaṃvara*) is a significant transitional scripture between what later came to be viewed as the *yogatantra* and the *yoginītantra* (or *yoganiruttara*) classes (Tanaka, 2010, 340); in modern scholarship, it is sometimes referred to as the "proto- *yoginītantra*" (Tomabechi, 2007, 904; Sanderson, 2009, 147). Along with the *Guhyasamājatantra*, it bridges the gap between the type of esoteric Buddhism that by and large still operates within the realm of ritual purity and that of transgressive, antinomian esoteric revelation. The *Śaṃvara* was instrumental in introducing significant Śaiva elements into Buddhism, including the practice of enacting the pantheon in communal worship, the imagery of the cremation ground, and the almost the almost fully versified compositional style as opposed to mixed verse and prose (Sanderson, 2009, 148–156). The text already existed in some form in the early 8th century (Giebel, 1995, 179–182; Tomabechi, 2007, 904–905; Sanderson, 2009, 145–146).

Sources and Related Works

Until very recently, access to the *Śaṃvara* was possible only through its Tibetan translation (*Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud bla ma*; D 366/P 8) and scattered testimonia (both quotations and incorporations) of a few dozen verses in the original Sanskrit. However, it is now known that, although long overlooked (having been purchased in Nepal in 1898; Lévi, 1899, 85), one manuscript (Ms. SL 48) kept at the Collège de France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'études indiennes, is an almost complete *codex unicus* of the *Śaṃvara*. It contains only the first nine of the text's ten chapters. Despite the long chapter 9 being copied with the omission of an extensive passage and the short chapter 10 missing entirely, at least 90% of the text is now available in the original. Judging on the basis of paleographical and codicological features, the manuscript was most likely copied during the late 11th century and was a product of a scriptorium located in the Pala Empire, or a Nepalese scriptorium closely imitating the style of Pala scribes and manuscript production. An edition is in preparation (Griffiths, Sanderson & Szántó, forthcoming).

The circumstances behind the creation of the Tibetan translation are not clear. The text is transmitted in both the "old" (*rnying ma*) and the "new" (*gsar ma*) canons, that is to say the Nyingma Gyubum (*Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*) and the Kanjur (*Bka' 'gyur*), but only the former names the translators as the Indian Vajrahāsa and the Tibetan Rin chen mchog of the Sma clan. It is possible that there was a complete earlier translation made during the Tibetan Imperial Period, which was later revised. To date, only a part of chapter 5 has been identified as a translation of the *Śaṃvara* among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Tanaka, 2010, 330), which otherwise contain ample evidence that the *Śaṃvara* was well known at least after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire (Dalton & van Schaik, 2006, 196, 291). Furthermore, the **Adhyardhaśatikāṭīkā* (D 2647/ P 3471), a treatise by Jñānamitra translated during the Imperial Period, also refers to the *Śaṃvara* and its etiological myth (Kanaoka, 1966; Davidson, 2002, 242–245). Thus Tibetan awareness of the text must date back still further.

The *Śaṃvara* was not transmitted to China, but the text did not remain entirely unknown there. In fact, the earliest known reference to the text is in a Chinese work, the *Jingangding jing yujia shibahui zhigui* (金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸; Introduction to the Yoga of the 18 Sections of the *Vajraśekharatantra*; T. 869 [XVIII] 286c9ff.), composed by Amoghavajra between 746 and 774 CE (Giebel, 1995, 179–182; Tomabechi, 2007, 904–905; Sanderson, 2009, 145–146; Tanaka, 2010, 330). The passage in question is a short description of the scripture, with a very clear reference to teachings contained in chapter 1 and, as shown by Tanaka (2010, 330–332, reiterating earlier publications in Japanese), chapter 9.

While no such classification seems to have gained currency in Indian exegesis, the Tibetan canon calls the *Śaṃvara* a "continuation *tantra*" (*uttaratantra*), which would suggest that the *Śaṃvara* we now have is not the "basic *tantra*" (*mūlatantra*), despite this being the way in which at least one 9th-century Indian author refers to it (Wedemeyer, 2007, 477).

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There is, however, a supplementary scripture, the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* (*Rtog pa thams cad 'dus pa zhes bya ba Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma bde ba'i mchog gi rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma*; D 367/P 9), which the Tibetan tradition classifies as the "continuation to the continuation *tantra*" (*uttarottaratantra*). However, this supplementary scripture is referred to as the *Śaṃvarottara* by at least one Indian exegete, Ratnākaraśānti (Dwivedi & Rinpoche, 1992, 17).

The situation is made even more complex by the fact that the "old" canon preserves a short text simply called the **Buddhasamāyoga*, which is arranged in this canon as if it were the lost basic *tantra*. Moreover, the five chapters of the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* are numbered 18 to 22, implying a seven-chapter lost text between the ten-chapter *Śaṃvara* and itself.

The *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* is certainly an Indian work, the original Sanskrit of which appears to be lost, with the exception of a handful of quotations. Besides the translation of the scripture, the Tibetan canon preserves a translated commentary (*Rtog pa thams cad 'dus pa zhes bya ba Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog gi rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma rnam par bshad pa*; D 1662/P 2534) to this text by the exegete Ānandagarbha (perhaps late 8th or early 9th cent.). The *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* deals mostly with the encoding and decoding of mantras (*mantroddhāra*) of the *Śaṃvara* cycle. The encoding system taught here is an adaptation from the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, making this passage one of the earliest instances of tantric Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality (Tomabechi, 2007; see also Woodward, 2009, 30–34).

There were several commentaries to the *Śaṃvara*, none of which are known to have survived in the original, although some remain accessible in Tibetan. The *Sarvabuddhaṭīkā* of Ānandagarbha is perhaps completely lost and known only from a reference in Mahāmatideva's unpublished *Tattvaviśadākhyā nāma Ḍākinīvajrapañjarapañjikā* (National Archives, Kathmandu 5–20, fol. 7r). The longest known commentary (*Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde mchog gi rgyud kyi don rnam par bshad pa*; D 1659/P 2531), that of one Brgya byin sdong po (Sanskritized as *Indranāla), is very likely not a genuine translation but rather a work authored in Tibet. *Pramuditavajra's commentary (*Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde mchog gi 'grel pa Mnyam sbyor gyi rgyan*; D 1660/P 2532) is not very early, since he refers to previous commentators, Ānandagarbha and *Praśāntamitra, and later (9th–10th cents.) scriptures, such as the *Herukābhidhāna/Laghuśaṃvara*, the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, and the *Vajraḍākatantra*. Śākyamitra's commentary (*Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*; D 1661/P 2533) is recorded under the name of his master Indrabhūti. Parts of this work, a versified question-answer session between master and disciple, possibly dating to the 9th century, survive "scripturalized," as part of the *Saṃpuṭatilaka* (transmitted together with the *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra* in Royal Asiatic Society Ms. Hodgson 37; Welcome Institute Library Ms. ε 2; Asiatic Society Calcutta G 3828), a text that may also contain materials from Ānandagarbha's lost commentary. *Praśāntamitra's commentary (*Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba'i dka' 'grel*; D 1663/P 2535) likely dates from the 9th century, since tradition identifies him as a disciple of Jñānapāda, and because he does not quote works that can be suspected to be later than the 10th century.

Among satellite texts, the Tanjur preserves eight ritual manuals (D 1664–1671/P 2536–2543) attributed to the *siddha* *Kukurarāja or *Kukurāja (on whom, see Kanaoka, 1966), a ritual manual concerning communal worship (D 1672/P 2544) attributed to (an) Indrabhūti (parts of which have been translated and discussed in Davidson, 2002, 318–320), five manuals by *Hūṃkāravajra (D 1674–1678/P 2546–2550) – possibly written in Tibet during the late Imperial Period – and several other, minor works. Satellite texts surviving in Sanskrit include an important, yet still unedited, meditation manual centered on the deity Heruka called *Vajrajvālodayā Sādhanopayikā*, by Ānandagarbha, which was not translated into Tibetan (for a partial edition and discussion, see Sanderson, 2009, 148–154; also see Isaacson, 2009, 112–113), two less detailed *sādhanas* of Heruka (ed. Bhattacharya, 1925–1928, 468–471), one by Kalyāṇagarbha and the other by an anonymous author, most likely Jñānapāda (Kikuya, 2000,1), and several minor works.

Precursors and Influence

The *Śaṃvara* is still deeply rooted in the traditions of the *yogatantra*s: this is evident from its liturgy (Sanderson, 2009, 145–146), its great concern with hand gestures and other ritual minutiae, and several dozens of verses that it incorporates from earlier texts. These include scriptures of the *Paramādya* cycle (Tomabechi, 2006, 103; 2007, 904,

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Language and Style

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918–921; Tanaka, 2010, 340), most notably the text that is now known as the **Paramādyamantrakalpakhaṇḍa* (D 488/P 120), the *Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāra* (D 490/P 123), parallels with which have already been noticed and discussed by Tanaka (2007), although he argues for the borrowing to have happened the other way around, and the *Trisamayarājakalpa* (D 502/P 134), an early and influential *kriyātantra* from which the *Śaṃvara* not only borrows but to which it also makes explicit reference. The composition of the text in light of these precursors still awaits detailed study (Griffiths, Sanderson & Szántó, forthcoming).

The influence of the *Śaṃvara* is only slightly better studied. A whole host of *yoginītantras* incorporate verses from it, sometimes verbatim. These scriptures include the *Herukābhidhāna/Laghuśaṃvara* (Sanderson, 2009, 154), which also seems to refer to it explicitly, the *Vajraḍākatantra* (Sugiki, 2002, 85, 105–106, 108–109), the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (Sugiki, 2002, 105–106, 108–109), and the *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra* (Tomabechi, 2006, 143–144; Szántó, 2013, 352, 354, 361). Many significant exegetical works and treatises quote the *Śaṃvara* with or without reference. The popularity of the text seems to have reached its apogee in the 9th century, after which it slowly faded away in favor of the newer *yoginītantras*. Works from the 9th century that refer to the *Śaṃvara* or incorporate passages from it include the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* of Vilāsavajra (Tanaka, cited in Tribe, 1994, 406), the *Ātmasādhanāvatāra* of Jñānapāda (D 1860/P 2723), the *Sūtaka* or *Sūtakamelāpaka* (better known under the unattested title **Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*) of Āryadeva (Tomabechi, 2006, 87–90, 160, 206, 212, 279–282, 288–289; Wedemeyer, 2007, 365–366, 373–374, 466–468, 477–479; Sanderson, 2009, 145, 154), the *Jñānasiddhi* of (an) Indrabhūti (Tomabechi, 2006, 138, 164, 206; Sanderson, 2009, 155–156), the *Pradīpoddyotana* of Candrakīrti (Chakravarti, 1984, 20), the *Vajrasattvaniṣpādanasūtra* of the same (Luo & Tomabechi, 2009, 13–15, 28), the *Pañcakrama* of Nāgārjuna and Śākyamitra (Tomabechi, 2006, 38, 80, 132, 143, 160–162, 164–165), the *Viṃśatividhi* of Nāgabuddhi (Tanaka, 2010, 648–649), and the *Tattvasiddhi* of deutero-Śāntarakṣita (Moriguchi, 1993, 181–184; Tomabechi, 2006, 160, 206).

Language and Style

Excluding chapter colophons and short, identifying prose passages such as those containing the names of hand gestures (*mudrās*), the text is entirely in verse. This is a significant feature for a text of this age, since it marks a clear break from earlier scriptures such as the *Guhyasamājatantra* or the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, which are cast in mixed verse and prose. By far the most common meter is *anuṣṭubh*, other meters (e.g. *mañjubhāṣiṇī*, *nardaṭaka*, *āryā*, and some still unidentified) occurring only rarely. The chapters are of varying length: around 25 verses (chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 10), around 70 verses (ch. 7), and around 100 verses (chs. 5 and 6); chapter 9 comprises more than half of the entire text; the total is approximately 1,000 verses.

The language is on the whole regular Sanskrit, although there are several features coinciding with those of the *aiśa/ārṣa* register, such as double *saṃdhi* (e.g. *prāpyatehaiva janmani*), hypermetrical lines that can be scanned through contraction (e.g. reading *tathāgatasya pravacane* as *tathāg'tasya pravacane*), hypometrical lines that can be resolved with an epenthetic vowel (e.g. reading *parṣatsaṃniveśaḥ syāt* as *pariṣatsaṃniveśaḥ syāt*), irregular stems (e.g. *adhva* for *adhvan*), and special declension endings (e.g. *bhāvavān* becomes *bhāvāṃ*; presumably *balasā* means *balena*). The *Śaṃvara* is probably the first Buddhist tantric text to employ Apabhramsha (at least seven passages, the first in ch. 6 and the rest in ch. 9). Cliché lines abound: some of these have become "hallmark" verses of the text and often are among those adopted by later scriptures. All chapters end with the line "thus spoke the blessed one, the glorious Vajrasattva."

The tone of the *Śaṃvara* is even more arcane than that of other scriptures of its kind. The text was clearly intended from the outset to be susceptible to multiple interpretations. A synopsis of contents can only be tentative, even with the help of commentaries, since only very rarely can we find exegetical consensus about the buildup of the text, the sequence of topics, the boundaries between them, and their intended purpose.

Synopsis of Contents

The text is referred to in a variety of ways, including the full title. The most often-used designation is *Śaṃvara* or *Saṃvara* (either consciously or through scribal dialect, with or without the honorific *śrī-*, sometimes followed by *-tantra*). This has caused some confusion in modern scholarship, as *Śaṃvara* was taken to be a reference to a related, but later, text – the *Laghuśaṃvara/Herukābhidhāna* (Szántó, 2008, 216–217; Tanaka, 2010, 329). We encounter less often the designations *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* (Tomabechi, 2006, 143) and *Mūlatantra* (Wedemeyer, 2007, 477).

The unwieldy title *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* is often used as a refrain in the text, forming precisely one *anuṣṭubh* hemistich. The intended meaning of this title is uncertain; the text's exegetes have analyzed it in a variety of ways. The compound appears to be a fusion of two Vidyāpīṭha Śaiva scriptural titles, the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga* and the *Yoginījālaśaṃvara* (Sanderson, 2009, 156). *Sarvabuddha* means "all buddhas," but the compound may also allude to an older designation of Vairocana, the primordial buddha of the *yogatantras*. In its very first verse, the text also describes its supreme deity, Vajrasattva, as consisting of all buddhas. *Samāyoga* means "union," so the compound *sarvabuddhasamāyoga* could mean "the union of all buddhas," but for instance the Tibetan translation suggests that it was understood as "union *with* all buddhas." The word *ḍākinī* (usually translated as goddess, female spirit, and even witch) is interpreted in verse 7 of chapter 1, where it is derived from the verbal root *ḍai-*, "to go in the sky," as indicating the supernatural accomplishment of flying through space. However, the next verse interprets the word to mean the union of or with all buddhas, with the following verse giving an interpretation fusing the two above. One of the meanings of *jāla* is net, but references to the concept of illusion (*māyā*) in chapter 1 make it likely that trickery or magic was the intended meaning. The word *śaṃvara* is analyzed as supreme (*vara*) bliss (*śaṃ*). However, since in eastern India the palatal and dental sibilants are not reliably distinguished in writing, the word can also be read as *saṃvara* meaning covenant, vow, or binding, enveloping (for this probably intentional ambiguity, see Sanderson, 2009, 166–169). The wide range of possible meanings for each word and the multiple possibilities offered by the analysis of compounds allowed exegetes great freedom in their interpretations of this formula.

Chapter 1

The text starts unusually for a Buddhist scripture, inasmuch as it lacks the traditional etiological passage beginning with "Thus I have heard" (*evaṃ mayā śrutam*). Instead, it launches into a nearly theistic description of the chief deity, Vajrasattva. He is described as abiding eternally in everything, consisting of all buddhas, supreme bliss, self-born, the blessed one, the sole supreme deity, and neither passion nor dispassion, but nothing in the middle either. This is followed by an interpretation of the title. The text then returns to describing Vajrasattva, who is now both passion and dispassion, both desire and liberation, the three times, the three worlds, and so on. The method taught here is said to grant all-buddhahood (i.e. liberation) in a single lifetime. The worship of external deities such as cast images is spoken of disapprovingly, as a true seeker obtains liberation through the seeker's own person, in this very life.

Chapter 2

The next chapter continues much in the same vein, adding that buddhahood is reached through pleasure (*sukha*), and so there is no need for ascetic practices or restrictions in behavior, deeds, or diet. Instead, at all times one should maintain self-identification with the deity. Even men of small merit will thus reach accomplishment, and they incur no sin, whatever they do. The same applies to women as well. One should freely enjoy the sense objects and worship oneself.

Chapter 3

The idea of enjoying sensual pleasures is continued, here focusing on the enjoyment of women, for whom the practitioner will become irresistible. He will become able to fly in their company and will become known as a universal emperor.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 continues with extolling the benefits of following the teachings of the scripture. All kinds of worldly and supernatural powers will be enjoyed by the practitioner, including taking the consorts of rival deities (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Kāma) and bestowing them on devotees. He will become able to display the deeds of the Buddha.

Chapter 5

After some formulaic initial verses, chapter 5 introduces one of the most significant innovations of the *Śaṃvara*, namely the practice of communal worship (usually called *gaṇacakra*, but here *gaṇamaṇḍala*). The practitioner is enjoined to host this event on a regular basis (daily, monthly, or yearly, presumably according to means). The practice is essentially an enactment of the pantheon, or rather, one of the six clans of deities that the text teaches. Should the number of participants not reach the desired number of deities, the missing places are to be occupied by simulacra made of metal or wood. The text

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stops abruptly from going into further detail and instead teaches six sets of verses called "consolation" or "encouragement" (*āśvāsa*), one for each of the six chief deities: Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Heruka, Padmanarteśvara, Vajrasūrya, and Paramāśva. The technical term used here does not have the same meaning as in the context of initiation, where it is a ritual assurance of the newly initiated by the officiant. Rather, the sets of verses contain a mixture of praises, doctrinal matters, practical injunctions, and myth (for an example, see Sanderson, 2009, 155–156).

Chapter 6

This chapter returns to the topic of communal worship and teaches further details, such as setting up the ritual space, preparing the participants and the substances to be used (including human blood and other transgressive substances in a skull-bowl), the songs and dances that are to be performed, and the mantras to be recited. Seemingly discussed in the same context, the rest of the chapter contains verses that are more characteristic of the initiation ritual. The disciple is led blindfolded in front of the *maṇḍala*, he is made to cast a flower to establish affinity with a clan of deities (although here a single goddess is mentioned), the blindfold is removed, and he is sprinkled with water. He is made to taste the transgressive substances, is given pledges and vows, and is instructed not to torture himself with ascetic practices but to enjoy pleasure without fearing sin. The disciple then worships the officiant, who puts him into a state of possession (*āveśa*). The benefits of this practice are praised.

Chapter 7

The chapter begins with recommending various places for practice and/or for constructing the *maṇḍala*, with customizations for each of the six clans. Various details for constructing the *maṇḍala* are given: shape, size, and colors. After praises of each of the six chief deities, aspects of the initiation rite are discussed. The disciple requests entry, which is granted, provided that he has paid the requisite fee. This is described in further detail: whatever is dearest should be offered, including one's wife, who is then ransomed with an appropriate sum. Other offerings include livestock, jewelry, clothing, and chariots. The disciple is then given a tiara (*makuṭa*). Elements of the drawn *maṇḍala* are given, such as the symbols to be used for the physical shape of the deities and the implements that they hold. Although texts such as the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* or Ānandagarbha's *Vajrajvālodayā Sādhanopayikā* describe the subsidiary retinue in detail, the *Śaṃvara* itself does not offer a clear-cut description or even a precise enumeration of any deities with the exception of the six principal ones.

Chapter 8

The initial verses describe various gestures displayed to honor the six chief deities and to overpower Brahmanical gods. After this, a verse claims that all gestures described in dramatic treatises (*nṛtyaśāstra*) are gestures pertaining to Vajrasattva. The rest of the chapter describes further gestures and their respective benefits.

Chapter 9

The penultimate chapter makes up more than half of the entire text with nearly six hundred verses. It is at the same time the worst transmitted portion of the manuscript, with a large passage altogether omitted. This is available in Tibetan, and at least one verse can be recovered from a quotation (Wedemeyer, 2007, 373–374).

According to the numerous topical colophons, the chapter deals primarily with *mudrās*. However, here the term does not simply mean hand gestures, although a large number of these are also taught. The semantic range of the word is much extended to include iconographical implements, bodily postures, the color of deities, modes and articles of worship, sounds, types of gazes and smiles, spells, songs (in both Sanskrit and Apabhramsha), doctrinal outlooks that the practitioner should adopt, scales and rhythmical patterns, secret sign language, secret code words, and much other miscellaneous material.

Chapter 10

The final chapter is not available in Sanskrit, but it can be reconstructed relatively easily. It is rather short and teaches nothing truly new, as most verses here are simply reiterations of clichés from previous passages. The last two verses represent the exception; these can be recovered from a quotation (Tanaka, 2010, 648–649).

The Pantheon

The *Śaṃvara* itself does not describe the iconography of its deities lucidly. What is clear is that there are six *maṇḍalas* headed by each of the six chief deities. When these are arranged in a super *maṇḍala*, it is presumably the chief deity of the respective practitioner who takes center stage; the affinity between the practitioner and one of the six deities is established during initiation. There is some evidence to suggest that the *maṇḍala*s were also worshipped separately (Tanaka, 2010, 339). Clearer descriptions of the precise number of the respective retinues (usually 20, but one family, that of Paramāśva, has 22), their mantras and iconographical description can be found in the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* and various satellite texts. The pantheon has been shown to be an expanded version of that of the *Paramādya* (Tomabechi, 2007, 919–921; Tanaka, 2010, 337–340).

Compared to other tantric cycles, portrayal of the pantheon in paintings or statuary is relatively scarce. One very significant group of artifacts in this respect is a hoard of bronze statuettes from Surocolo (Java, Indonesia), which was identified by Keiji Matsunaga as remains of a three-dimensional *maṇḍala* of the Vajrasattva family (discussed in Tanaka, 2010, 339).

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Péter-Dániel Szántó
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ARLO GRIFFITHS

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha

The Mahāyāna *sūtra* entitled *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Compendium of the Reality of All Tathāgatas) is said to have taken its primary shape in the second half of the 7th century, slightly after the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, in South India (Yoritomi, 2005, 44). *Sarvatathāgatatattva* (the reality of all tathāgatas) refers to tantric methods to attain a buddha's awakening (see Horiuchi, 1983, 23). Although the scripture refers to itself as a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, its contents are typically tantric and teach tantric practices, rituals, and *maṇḍala*s. Its tantric features are highly systematized in comparison with those tantric scriptures that appeared before this text, and its impacts on later tantric texts are clearly traceable (Inui, 2004; Kawasaki, 2005).

For instance, the scripture teaches the practice of visualizing a buddha's wisdom in the form of a *vajra* through which one then identifies oneself as a buddha. This tantric yoga technique of self-identification triggered the later developments of tantric practices and its iconographical system of the five buddha families (see below) and had a deep impact on the later *tantra*s (see below).

With regard to these pioneering roles, this scripture is considered a milestone in the history of Buddhist tantric literature. *Buddhaguhya (late 8th cent.) classifies this text as a *yogatantra* that acted as the basis for the later tantric scriptures of the highest yoga class (*yoganiruttaratantra*).

In the Japanese Shingon (真言) tradition, this scripture has been transmitted along with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, and together they have been referred to as "the pair of great scriptures" (*ryōbutaikyō* [両部大經]). While the impact of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* faded in the course of time in India, the tradition of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* firmly established itself in the mainstream of Indic tantric traditions.

Sources

In Sanskrit this work is available in the form of a palm-leaf manuscript of 150 folios, currently preserved in the Kesar Library in Kathmandu, written in post-Gupta or Siddham script sometime between the 9th and the 10th century. Two facsimile editions have been published, and a recent apograph of the manuscript was also published as a facsimile edition (for these three facsimile editions, see Tsukamoto et *al.*, 1989, 189). Horiuchi Kanjin (1974 and 1983) and I. Yamada (1979) published editions on the basis of the same palm-leaf manuscript.

A Tibetan translation of the text, entitled *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na nyid bsdus pa* (D 479/P 112), was produced by Rin chen bzang po (954–1055) and the Kashmiri Śraddhākaravarman in the 10th or 11th century. The translation corresponds well with the Sanskrit text.

There are three Chinese translations:

1. *Jin'gangding yugazhong luechu niansong jing* (金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經, The *Sūtra* Extracted from and Recited in the *Vajra*-Peak Yoga[tantra]; T. 866) by Vajrabodhi (Chn. Jin'gangzhi [金剛智]; 671–741 CE);
2. *Jin'gangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* (金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經; The *Vajra*-Peak: The Compendium of the Reality of All Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Beings the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings; T. 865; trans. Giebel, 2006) by Amoghavajra (Chn. Bukong [不空]; 705–774 CE); and
3. *Yiqie rulai zhenshishe dasheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* (一切如來真實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經; The Compendium of the Reality of All Tathāgatas and the Meditative Stabilization of Realization of the Great Vehicle, Beings the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings; T. 882) by Dānapāla (Chn. Shihu [施護];?–1017).

Among these three, the most full-fledged translation corresponding to the respective Sanskrit and Tibetan texts is that of Dānapāla, which was translated in 1015. The text of Amoghavajra's rendering, dated to 753/754, is an equivalent to chapters 1–5 of the Sanskrit text. Vajrabodhi's version of 723 is actually less a translation than a manual for tantric practice and an initiation ritual on the basis of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Concerning their respective dates, Vajrabodhi's is the earliest among the three and thereby serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the scripture's existence – precisely

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speaking, the *terminus ante quem* is 720, the year of Amoghavajra's arrival at Changan (長安; because he would have had the Sanskrit manuscript of the text in hand when he arrived).

Commentaries by Indian Authors

There are three Indic commentaries on the scripture available:

1. the *Tantrārthāvatāra* (D 2501/P 3324) of *Buddhaguhya (late 8th cent.);
2. the *Kosalālaṃkāra* (D 2503/P 3326) of Śākyamitra (8th–9th cents.); and
3. the *Tattvālokakarī* (D 2510/P 3333) of Ānandagarbha (8th–9th cents.).

While Śākyamitra and Ānandagarbha gloss the words of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* one by one, *Buddhaguhya gives an overview and analyzes the entire contents of the scripture. The interpretational differences of the three pertain to, for instance, iconographic issues. Especially Ānandagarbha's iconographical interpretations can be traced in *maṇḍala* images of Buddhist monasteries in Western Tibet and Southeast Asia (Yoritomi, 2005, 58–59). Later in Tibet, Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) would call these three main commentators "*yogatantra* experts" (Inui, 2004, 5).

Furthermore, additional *sādhanas* and manuals of *maṇḍala* rituals connected with this scripture are found in the Tanjur. Among them, Ānandagarbha's *Sarvavajrodaya* (D 2516/P 3339) is important in view of its rich contents and due to the fact that Sanskrit fragments of the original are available. The *Sarvavajrodaya* is said to share striking features with Vajrabodhi's Chinese translation (Yoritomi, 2005, 58).

Title

The title Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha is rendered by Amoghavajra as *Jin'gangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing*, in which "*yiqie rulai zhenshishe*" (一切如來真實攝) is equivalent to *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and "*dasheng xianzheng*" (大乘現證) stands for *Mahāyānābhisamaya* (Realization of the Great Vehicle), the title of the first part (chs. 1–5) of the scripture; "*jin'gangding*" (金剛頂; Skt. *vajraśekhara* [*vajra* peak]) does not directly stem from the scripture itself, although the Japanese Shingon tradition uses this title and calls the scripture *Kongōchōkyō* (金剛頂經; Inui, 2004, 7–9).

What then is this *Jin'gangding jing*? According to Vajrabodhi, it is a set of tantric scriptures with the extent of 100,000 stanzas and consists of 18 different scriptures. This huge corpus is outlined in the *Jin'gangding yugajing shibahui zhigui* (金剛頂瑜伽經十八會指歸; Essential Points of the 18 Settings of the *Vajra*-Peak *Yogatantra*; abbreviated to *Shibahui zhigui*; T. 869; the translation is attributed in the text itself to Amoghavajra). The *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is listed as the first of these 18 scriptures and thus referred to in the Shingon tradition as the *Sho'e kongōchōkyō* (初會金剛頂經; First Setting [*hui* (會)] of the *Vajraśekhara*]) or Shorter *Vajraśekhara*.

On the basis of the outline provided in the *Shibahui zhigui*, both the second and third settings of the *Jin'gangding jing* are identified as the *Vajraśekharatantra* (D 480/P 113), the fourth as the *Trailokyavijayakalparāja* (D 482/P 115), the fifth as the *Durgatipariśodhana* (D 483; 485/P 116; 117), the sixth to the eighth as the *Śrīparamādya* (D 488; 490/P 120; 123), the ninth as the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (D 366/P 8), the 13th as the *Āryasarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānahṛdayaguhyadhātukaraṇḍamudrānāmadhāraṇīmahāyānasūtra* (D 883/P 141, 508), the 15th as the *Guhyasamājatantra*, and the 16th as the *Sarvatathāgatacittajñānaguhyārthagarbhavyūhavajratantrasiddhiyogāgamasamājasarvavidyāsūtramahāyānābhisamayadharmaparyāyavyūhanāmasūtra* (T. 887; D 452/P 87; Kawasaki, 2005, 19); the 10th to the 12th, the 17th, and the 18th are yet to be identified. The *Shibahui zhigui* bears witness that urtexts of these 18 scriptures had existed before the time of Amoghavajra.

Contents

According to the structural analysis of the entire text by Ānandagarbha and Śākyamitra, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* consists of five parts: the preamble (*nidāna*), the main part (*mūlatantra*), the manuals of ritual and practice (*uttaratantra*), the supplemental manuals (*uttarottaratantra*), and the closing part (*upasaṃhāra*). The main part is further divided into four subparts (called *mahākalparāja*): chapters 1–5 (*sarvatathāgatamahāyānābhisamaya*), chapters 6–14 (*sarvatathāgatavajrasamaya*), chapters 15–18 (*sarvatathāgatadharmasamaya*), and chapters 19–22 (*sarvatathāgatakarmasamaya*). In Shingon tradition, the four subparts are called *Kongōkaibon* (金剛界品; The Text Part Thematizing the *Vajradhātu*; Skt. *Vajradhātu*), *Gōzanzebon*

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Preamble

Vairocana abides in his
heavenly realm. He is
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praised by all tathāgatas.

Chapters 1–5

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the Bodhi tree) and has b
ascetic practice called *āsph*
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sarvatathāgatatattva (real
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Vajradhātu. He then re
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four buddhas (Akṣobhya,
and Amoghasiddhi) and re
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teen bodhisattvas, the
eight offering deities, and
thus visualizing 37 deitie
the same *maṇḍala* in the

On request of all ta
Vajradhara explains the
the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
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seal; i.e. body gesture),
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vows), *dharmamudrā*

Jin'gangding jing? According
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raha consists of five parts: the
the main part (mūlatantra),
and practice (uttaratantra), the
ls (uttarottaratantra), and the
hāra). The main part is further
parts (called mahākalparāja):
thāgatamahāyānābhisamaya),
tathāgatavajrasamaya), chap-
hāgatadharmasamaya), and
arvatathāgatakarmasamaya).
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(降三世品; The Text Part Thematizing the Subduer of the Triple Worlds; Skt. *Trailokyavijaya*), *Henchōbukubon* (遍調伏品; The Text Part Thematizing the Conqueror of the Entire World; Skt. *Sakalajagadvinaya*), and *Issaigijōjubon* (一切義成就品; The Text Part Thematizing the All-Accomplishing One; Skt. *Sarvārthasiddhi*). Most parts of the scripture are concerned with describing *maṇḍala* practices, with a few exceptions such as chapters 1 and 6, which teach the dramatic scenes of Sarvārthasiddhi's awakening and Vajrapāṇi's conquest of non-Buddhist deities, respectively. The entire text can be summarized as follows.

Preamble

Vairocana abides in his palace in the Akaniṣṭha heavenly realm. He is surrounded by countless bodhisattvas, and his numerous manifestations are praised by all tathāgatas.

Chapters 1–5

All tathāgatas approach the bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi, who rests on the Bodhi throne (i.e. under the Bodhi tree) and has been devoting himself to an ascetic practice called *āsphānakasamādhi* (unfluctuating meditative stabilization). They instruct him on the *sarvatathāgatatattva* (reality of all tathāgatas), which is the five-step visualization to attain the supreme awakening of buddhas (*pañcākārābhisaṃbodhi*; see below). Sarvārthasiddhi quickly attains the supreme awakening and becomes a tathāgata, Vajradhātu. He then rests on the lion throne in the palace on the peak of Mount Sumeru. After receiving empowerment, he is surrounded by four buddhas (Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi) and reveals the *vajradhātu(mahā)maṇḍala* from the lunar disc in his heart – the sixteen bodhisattvas, the four *pāramitā* deities, the eight offering deities, and the four gatekeepers. After thus visualizing 37 deities, he then makes manifest the same *maṇḍala* in the reality of this world.

On request of all tathāgatas, the bodhisattva Vajradhara explains the procedures of establishing the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* – the performances associated with the *maṇḍala* ritual, the process of initiation, and the disciples' accomplishments (*siddhi*) obtained from initiation. He gives further instructions on the four *mudrās* (the four kinds of methods for expressing *maṇḍala* deities): *mahāmudrā* (the great seal; i.e. body gesture), *samayamudrā* (the pledge seal; i.e. hand gestures permitted to those who hold vows), *dharmamudrā* (the dharma seal; i.e. the mantra), and *karmamudrā* (the action seal; i.e. gestures that express the deities' actions), followed by miscellaneous instructions on ritual procedures.

This completes the explanation of the first *maṇḍala*, the *vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala*, and is simultaneously the basic structure of each of the following chapters. This pattern is repeated for the other 27 *maṇḍalas* in the following chapters.

This basic structure consists of four parts: visualization, initiation, the four *mudrās* (*caturmudrā*), and miscellaneous instructions. The visualization in turn consists of three processes: the preparatory visualization (*ādiyoga*), the visualization of producing the *maṇḍala* deities (*maṇḍalarājāgrī*), and the visualization of self-identification with the central deity of the *maṇḍala* (*karmarājāgrī*).

After these instructions on the *mahāmaṇḍala* (*da mantuluo* [大曼荼羅]) of Vajradhātu in the first chapter, chapters 2–5 teach the other five types of *maṇḍalas* of Vajradhātu: the *guhyamaṇḍala/samayamaṇḍala, dharmamaṇḍala/sūkṣmamaṇḍala, karmamaṇḍala, caturmudrāmaṇḍala*, and *ekamudrāmaṇḍala*, each of which again exhibits the same basic structure mentioned above (i.e. visualization, initiation, the four *mudrās*, and miscellaneous instructions). Since the names of this sixfold model are not consistently referred to in the scripture itself, I follow the names attested in the associated Chinese and Japanese commentarial traditions. The Sanskrit equivalents of these Chinese expressions are attested in the Sanskrit of the scripture itself.

In the *mahāmaṇḍala*, all 37 deities are depicted in human form (buddhas, bodhisattvas, etc.); in the *samayamaṇḍala*, they are represented as *dhāraṇīs* (in the form of female deities); in the *dharmamaṇḍala*, they are illustrated as meditating; and in the *karmamaṇḍala*, they are represented as offering deities. The *caturmudrāmaṇḍala* and *ekamudrāmaṇḍala* are abbreviated versions of the *mahāmaṇḍala*.

Chapters 1–5 thus teach the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in six different forms. This set of six is likewise associated with the sets of six in the other three *kalpas* – governed by Trailokyavijaya, Sakalajagadvinaya, and Sarvārthasiddhi – each of which is taught in chapters 6–14, 15–18, and 19–22, respectively. Furthermore, chapters 6–14 have four additional *maṇḍalas*, called **ājñāmaṇḍala* (commanding *maṇḍala; kyōchoku maṇḍala* [教勅曼荼羅]) in the Shingon tradition: *trilokacakramahāmaṇḍala, sarvavajrakulavajramaṇḍala, sarvavajrakuladharmasamayamaṇḍala*, and *sarvavajrakulakarmamaṇḍala*.

Chapters 1–5	Chapters 6–14	Chapters 15–18	Chapters 19–22
mahāmaṇḍala	*mahāmaṇḍala*	*mahāmaṇḍala*	*mahāmaṇḍala*
samayamaṇḍala	*samayamaṇḍala*	*samayamaṇḍala*	*samayamaṇḍala*
dharmamaṇḍala	*dharmamaṇḍala*	*dharmamaṇḍala*	*dharmamaṇḍala*
karmamaṇḍala	*karmamaṇḍala*	*karmamaṇḍala*	*karmamaṇḍala*
caturmudrāmaṇḍala	*caturmudrāmaṇḍala*	*caturmudrāmaṇḍala*	*caturmudrāmaṇḍala*
ekamudrāmaṇḍala	*ekamudrāmaṇḍala*	*ekamudrāmaṇḍala*	*ekamudrāmaṇḍala*
	Four *ājñāmaṇḍalas*		

Chapters 6–14

Requested by all tathāgatas, Vajrapāṇi manifests himself in a wrathful appearance to subdue the non-Buddhist deities headed by Maheśvara. Vajrapāṇi, displaying his *vajra* weapon, commands Maheśvara to take refuge in the three jewels, but Maheśvara gets angry and does not follow his command. Vajrapāṇi receives the permission from the tathāgatas to recite a subduing mantra (*huṃ/hūṃ*). Upon its recitation, Maheśvara is subdued and dies. Vajrapāṇi thus frightens the other non-Buddhist deities, subjugates them to the Buddha's teaching, and resurrects Maheśvara with a mantra (*vajrāyuḥ*).

Next follows a description of the six kinds of *maṇḍala*, closely repeating what was taught in chapters 1–5 (from the *mahāmaṇḍala* up to the *ekamudrāmaṇḍala*), however replacing the *maṇḍala* deities with Trailokyavijaya and his various wrathful manifestations. To this are added the descriptions of four kinds of *ājñāmaṇḍalas* (chs. 11–14).

Chapters 15–18

Requested by all tathāgatas, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara teaches the six kinds of *maṇḍala* as mentioned above, replacing the *maṇḍala* deities with Avalokiteśvara and his various manifestations.

Chapters 19–22

Requested by all tathāgatas, Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha teaches the same six *maṇḍalas*, replacing the *maṇḍala* members with Ākāśagarbha and his various manifestations.

Chapters 23–25

These chapters are called *uttaratantra* and explain the procedures for the rituals and practices taught in the main part (*mūlatantra*, i.e. chapters 1–22). Chapter 23 teaches those associated with the *mahāmaṇḍala*, chapter 24 those associated with the *dhāraṇīmaṇḍala*, and chapter 25 those associated with the *dharmamaṇḍala* and the *karmamaṇḍala*.

Chapter 26

This final chapter, called *uttarottaratantra*, explains the *maṇḍalas* of the five buddha families and miscellaneous rituals.

The Closing Part

Conforming to the the needs of the world, Vairocana displays his activity of awakening thisworldly beings and teaches the practice of the five-step visualization.

Visualization

The five-step visualization (*pañcākārābhisaṃbodhi*) as taught in chapter 1 has close parallels to the well-known scenes of Gautama Siddhārtha's awakening under the Bodhi tree. The name of the bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi paraphrases Siddhārtha, and the name of the ascetic meditation *āsphānakasamādhi* abandoned by Sarvārthasiddhi is the same as the one abandoned by Siddhārtha before his awakening. The present scripture thus paraphrases the scenes of awakening in the life of Siddhārtha. However, it replaces the method of awakening with the central practice of this scripture: the five-step visualization, which brought about Sarvārthasiddhi's/Siddhārtha's awakening. The five steps are the following:

1. one visualizes one's own mind as a lunar disk;
2. one confirms that the lunar disk is naturally luminous and is nothing but the resolve to become a buddha (*bodhicitta*);
3. on the lunar disk, one visualizes a *vajra*, which symbolizes a buddha's wisdom;
4. all buddhas enter the practitioner's body and mind via the *vajra*, and the practitioner's mind (the lunar disk) and buddha's wisdom (the *vajra*) unite; and
5. the practitioner confirms that he himself is nothing but Vairocana.

Two further visualizations follow after this preparatory visualization (*ādiyoga*): the visualization of producing the 37
(*maṇḍalarājāgrī*) and the
of the practitioner and t
maṇḍala (*karmarājāgrī*).

Maṇḍala

This scripture teaches 28
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16 bodhisattvas, 4 perfect
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the *Vajraśekharatantra*,
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beginning with the aspec
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been precisely stated in
including the *Mahāyānas*
The five buddhas ride on
horse, peacock, and Garu

The four buddhas (all
rounded by 16 bodhisa

Five buddhas	Di
Vairocana (1)	ce
Akṣobhya (2)	ea
Ratnasaṃbhava (3)	so
Amitābha (4)	w
Amoghasiddhi (5)	nc

The 16 bodhisattvas

Vajra family
Vajrasattva (6)
Vajrarāja (7)
Vajrarāga (8)
Vajrasādhu (9)

Chapters 19–22
mahāmaṇḍala
samayamaṇḍala
dharmamaṇḍala
karmamaṇḍala
a *caturmudrāmaṇḍala*
ekamudrāmaṇḍala

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tion of producing the 37 deities of the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍalarājāgrī*) and the visualization of the unity of the practitioner and the central deity of the *maṇḍala* (*karmarājāgrī*).

Maṇḍala

This scripture teaches 28 *maṇḍalas*. Their core is the 5 buddhas, who in turn are surrounded by the 16 bodhisattvas, 4 perfections (*pāramitā*), 8 offering deities (*pūjādevī*), and the 4 gatekeepers – the number of the deities in total is accordingly 37. Vajradhātu refers to Vairocana, who possesses the *vajra* (i.e. buddha's wisdom) as his fundamental element (*dhātu*) and who is located at the center of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*. The five buddhas are associated with cardinal directions, *samayas* (symbols), families, *mudrās* (hand gestures), and mantras.

According to Bodhivajra, Amoghasiddhi, and the *Vajraśekharatantra*, among others, the body colors of the five buddhas are, in order, white, dark blue, yellow, red, and green; these five represent a buddha's fivefold wisdom (i.e. *dharmadhātujñāna, ādarśajñāna, samatājñāna, pratyavekṣaṇajñāna*, and *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*), which expresses five different functions of a buddha's intellectual activities, beginning with the aspect of his awakening up to his compassion aspect (the last four of which had been precisely stated in classical Yogācāra works, including the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* [IX.67–76]). The five buddhas ride on five beings: lion, elephant, horse, peacock, and Garuḍa.

The four buddhas (all but Vairocana) are surrounded by 16 bodhisattvas (nos. 6–21), while Vairocana is surrounded by four *pāramitā* (perfection) deities (nos. 21–25). Vairocana worships the four buddhas through the internal four offering (*pūjā*) deities (nos. 26–29), while the four buddhas make offerings to Vairocana through the external four offering deities (nos. 30–33). The four gatekeepers protect the gates of the four directions of the *maṇḍala* (nos. 34–37).

The four *pāramitā* deities are Sattvavajrī (22), Ratnavajrī (23), Dharmavajrī (24), and Karmavajrī (25).

The eight offering deities are Vajralāsyā (26), Vajramālā (27), Vajragītā (28), Vajranṛtyā (29), Vajradhūpā (30), Vajrapuṣpā (31), Vajrālokā (32), and Vajragandhā (33).

The four gatekeepers are Vajrāṅkuśa (34), Vajrapāśa (35), Vajrasphoṭa (36), and Vajrāveśa (37).

Formation

This scripture reinterprets a buddha's awakening in terms of tantric visualization and utilizes the scenes of Śākyamuni Buddha's awakening as its motif. The stance of this reinterpretation is particularly similar to that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*.

Inui Hitoshi (1998) summarizes previous studies on the Mahāyāna forerunners of this scripture. These include the *Buddhāvataṃśaka*, which teaches that Vairocana is a universal buddha, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* and the *Guanfo sanmei jing* (觀佛三昧經; The *Sūtra* of Meditative Stabilization in which One Visualizes Buddhas; T. 643), which teach the primary iconographic form of the five buddhas, the *sūtras* that explicitly refer to Akṣobhya, such as the *Akṣobhyavyūha* and *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*,

Five buddhas	Direction	Family	Symbol	*Mudrā*	Mantra
Vairocana (1)	center	Buddha	stūpa	*jñānamuṣṭi*	*vaṃ*
Akṣobhya (2)	east	Vajra	*vajra*	*bhūmisparśa*	*hūṃ*
Ratnasaṃbhava (3)	south	Ratna	*maṇi*	*dāna*	*traḥ*
Amitābha (4)	west	Dharma	*padma*	*dhyāna*	*hrīḥ*
Amoghasiddhi (5)	north	Karman	*viśvavajra*	*abhayadāna*	*aḥ*

The 16 bodhisattvas

Vajra family	Ratna family	Padma family	Karma family
Vajrasattva (6)	Vajraratna (10)	Vajradharma (14)	Vajrakarma (18)
Vajrarāja (7)	Vajratejas (11)	Vajratīkṣṇa (15)	Vajrarakṣa (19)
Vajrarāga (8)	Vajraketu (12)	Vajrahetu (16)	Vajrayakṣa (20)
Vajrasādhu (9)	Vajrahāsa (13)	Vajrabhāṣa (17)	Vajrasandhi (21)

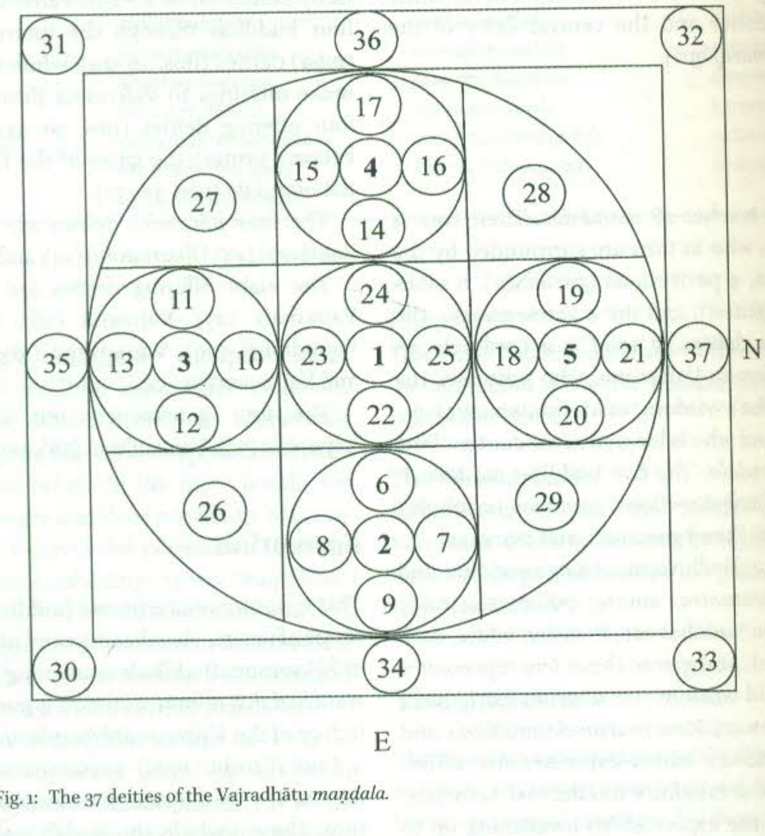

Fig. 1: The 37 deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*.

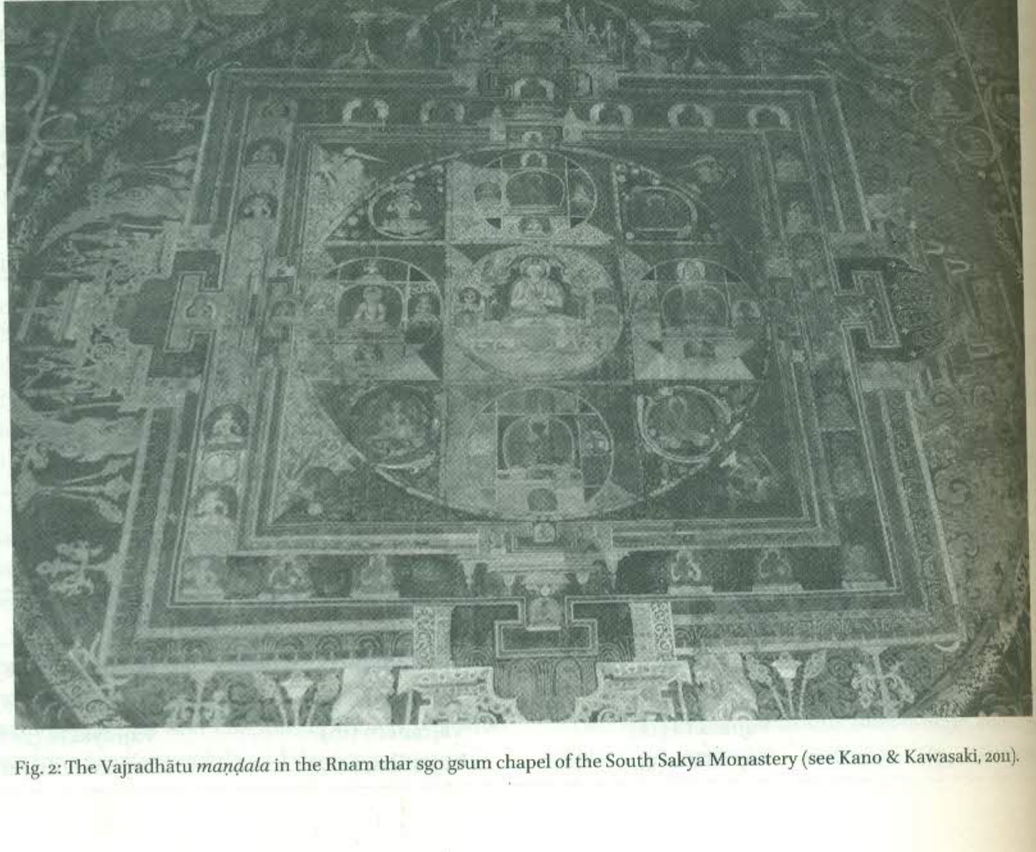

Fig. 2: The Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in the Rnam thar sgo gsum chapel of the South Sakya Monastery (see Kano & Kawasaki, 2011).

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Influence on Later I

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Vairocana with Akṣobhya
and six arms.

Spread in South As

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tery (see Kano & Kawasaki, 2011).

the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, which specifically characterizes Vajrapāṇi, the *Samantamukhaparivarta* chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which teaches Avalokiteśvara's various manifestations, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, which mentions the bodhisattva Nityaprahasitapramuditendriya (who is regarded as the primary form of the bodhisattva Vajrahāsa of this scripture), and the *sūtras* of the buddha-nature doctrine, which provide the basic philosophical notions that are regarded as a background of this scripture. It is also evident that this scripture is influenced by earlier tantric literature, including the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka* and the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, as well as by non-Buddhist texts such as the *Devīmāhātmya*.

From an iconographical point of view, the five buddhas are said to have developed from the triad of statues of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi (or alternatively the Buddha, Brahmā, and Indra; Inui, 1998; Yoritomi, 2005; Tanaka, 2010).

Influence on Later Developments

Influences of this scripture on the later tantric developments are significant (Tanaka, 2010). With regard to *yogatantra* texts, for instance, the *Vajraśekharatantra* is regarded as a *vyākhyātantra* (Explanatory *Tantra*) on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, whereas the *Trailokyavijayamahākalparāja* (D 482/P 115) and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (D 485/P 117; D 489/P 121; T. 939) are classified by Bu ston as *vyākhyātantras* of chapters 6–14 of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Moreover, the *Adhyardhaśatikā* (or *Rishukyō* [理趣經]) shares a number of striking features with this scripture, including even their respective opening sentences. With regard to the highest *yogatantra* texts (*yoganiruttaratantra*), the *Māyājālatantra* teaches the five buddhas in a more esoteric form with plural heads and arms, and the *Guhyasamājatantra* replaces the central figure of Vairocana with Akṣobhya in a form with three heads and six arms.

Spread in South Asia

Several sources suggest that this scripture originally took shape in South India (Yoritomi, 2005, 44). The spread of its worship to eastern India is attested by stone statues of Vairocana of the Vajradhātu found at Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in Odisha as well as in regions in which some commentators of this scripture are known to have been active. Its spread up to Kashmir is known from its Tibetan translators (see above) and from what is called the Kashmiri style of Vajradhātu *maṇḍalas* depicted on murals of monasteries in Ladakh and West Tibet.

Spread in Tibet

Although the tradition of this scripture had been known in Tibet through both its commentaries and its initiation ritual during the Imperial Period in the late 8th to early 9th centuries, Rin chen bzang po's (954–1055) role in the transmission of this scripture is significant (Kawagoe, 1983). He translated the scripture itself as well as its commentaries in collaboration with his Kashmiri teacher Śraddhākaravarman. Tibetan Buddhist traditions in general have focused more on later tantric scriptures, such as the *Guhyasamāja, Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*, but they regard this scripture as one of the fundamental *tantras* – Bu ston's *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzins*, for instance, includes a detailed exposition of this scripture (Weinberger, 2003), and Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa's (1357–1419) *Sngags rim chen mo* maintains that the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is the root for all *yogatantras* (Yoritomi, 2005, 350).

The Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* has been found in several mural paintings in Tibet that date back to the 11th century CE, including those in Ladakh, Spiti, and Guge, as well as in the Rnam thar sgo gsum chapel of the South Sakya Monastery (see above), in the Gzhal yas khang palace in the Zha lu Monastery from the 14th century, and in the Dpal 'khor chos sde Temple at Gyantse of around the 15th century. Among these, those in Zha lu and Dpal 'khor chos sde preserve all the 28 *maṇḍalas*. The tradition of the initiation ritual based on this scripture continues to date in Tibetan Buddhism.

Spread in East Asia

China

Kūkai (空海; 774–835 CE) in his *Himitsu mandalakyō fuhōden* (秘密曼荼羅教付法傳; see *Teihon Kōbōdaishi zenshū* [定本弘法大師全集], vol. I) lists the eight propagators of tantric teaching: (1) Vairocana, (2) Vajrasattva, (3) Nāgārjuna (龍猛菩薩), (4) Longzhi pusa (龍智菩薩), (5) Vajrabodhi (金剛智), (6) Amoghavajra (不空), (7) Huiguo (恵果; 746–806 CE), and finally (8) Kūkai. Among

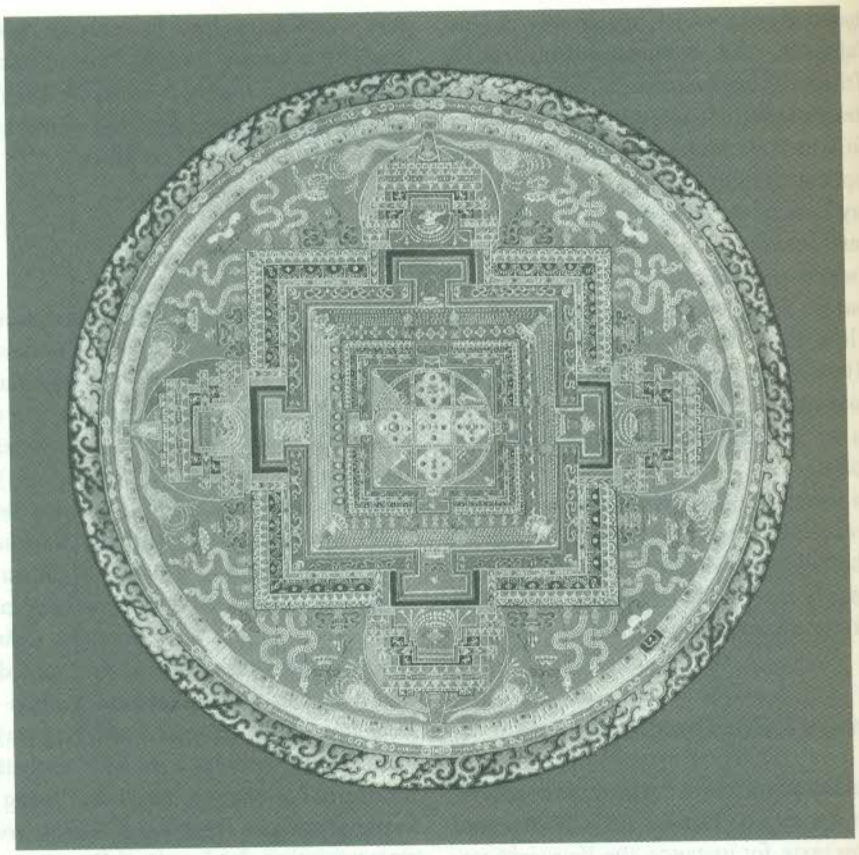

Fig. 3: Tibetan sand *maṇḍala* of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* prepared for an initiation ritual performed by the Dalai Lama (Kōyasan University, 2012).

them, Vajrabodhi transmitted the tradition of this scripture from India to China by translating practice and ritual manuals including the *Jin'gangding yugazhong luechu niansong jing* (金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經; T. 866) and the *Jin'gangding yuga xiuxi piluzhena sanmadefa* (金剛頂瑜伽修習毗盧遮那三摩地法; T. 876). Amoghavajra's partial translation corresponds to chapters 1–5 (*Jin'gangjie pin* [金剛界品]) of the Sanskrit text, while Dānapāla's translation includes the full text (T. 882).

The spread of worship of this scripture into China is known from evidence such as a scroll manuscript containing a collection of drawings of the deities of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, entitled *Wubu xinguan* (五部心觀; Visualization of the Essence of the Five [Buddha] Families), and a square relics case covered with gold and unearthed from the Famen si (法門寺; Famen Temple) in Shanxi province (陜西), Fuhui county (扶回). The scroll manuscript contains drawings of the deities of the six *maṇḍala*s in chapters 1–5, transmitted to China by Śubhākarasiṃha (or Śubhakarasiṃha; Chn. Shanwuwei [善無畏]; 673–735). A copy of this manuscript was given to Enchin (圓珍; 814–891) by Faquan (法全; *fl.* 800–870) in 855 at the Qinglong Monastery (青龍寺) in Chang'an and was brought to Japan by Enchin, where it is preserved until today. The relics case is from the period of the Tang (唐) dynasty, and its four sides feature reliefs of the four buddhas and the 16 bodhisattvas, whereas its top side features those of Vairocana and the four *pāramitā* deities.

Japan

The *Shōsōin monjo* (正倉院文書), an old manuscript collection written between 736 and 756 CE and held at the Tōdaiji (東大寺), contains a copy of Bodhivajra's translation/manual (T. 866), and Senkei (仙憬) of the Saidaiji (西大寺) borrowed the manuscripts of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* from the Tōdaiji in 772 as lecture materials (Ishida, 1966). It was Kūkai who systematically transmitted the tradition of

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Amoghavajra's translation
source of the *Sarvatathāgat*
Kūkai brought a number
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including the *Sokushinjōb*
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Vairocana of the *Sarvat*
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transmitted the tradition of

this scripture from China to Japan. The Japanese Shingon tradition established by him basically takes Amoghavajra's translation as the main scriptural source of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

Kūkai brought a number of precious materials of the tantric tradition from China, including manuscripts and *maṇḍala* drawings, and also composed two brief commentaries, entitled *kaidai* (解題), on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (see *Teihon kōbōdaishi zenshū*, vol. IV). In his major works, including the *Sokushinjōbutsugi* (即身成佛義; see *Teihon kōbōdaishi zenshū*, vol. III), he repeatedly quotes passages from this scripture and regards it as one of the most important tantric scriptures, pairing it with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*. After Kūkai, this scripture has remained one of most significant tantric scriptures in the esoteric Buddhist traditions of Shingon and Tendai, which have developed their own interpretations. For instance, Ennin (圓仁; 794–864) in his commentary *Kongōchōkyōso* (金剛頂經疏) introduces the doctrinal position of Yuanzheng (元政; 8th cent.), who identifies Vairocana of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* with Śākyamuni of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

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KAZUO KANO

Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (Vairocana's Awakening), composed before 674 CE, is one of the earliest scriptures with the specific features of tantric Buddhism (specifically with regard to doctrine, meditative practice, ritual, and iconography), and bridges the gap between earlier and less developed tantric literatures (e.g. *Dhyānottarapaṭala*, *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, *Susiddhikara*, and *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka*) and full-fledged *tantras* (e.g. *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*). In the late 8th century CE, Buddhaguhya classified the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* as *caryātantra* (or *ubhayatantra*) and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* as *yogatantra*. While the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* gradually faded in importance in South Asia after the tradition of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* became predominant, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* together with the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* have remained a set of fundamental scriptures in East Asia after the late 8th century CE, for this reason the two being referred to as a set in Japanese as *ryōbu taikyō* (両部大経), the two great scriptures.

Sources

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is more fully titled *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtrendrarājanāmadharmaparyāya* (Dharma Discourse Called "Mahāvairocana's Awakening and His Empowerment of Miracles," King of the Best of the Extensive Scriptures; see also, Ochi, 1998). Although it is often called *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* by later Indian commentators, the work does not call itself a *tantra*. It stresses, however, its continuity within the Mahāyāna tradition. The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in its original Sanskrit is not extant, though fragments are preserved (Sakurai, 1989, 181; Wedemeyer, 2007, 388–390, etc.). The full text of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is known only in the form of Chinese and Tibetan translations.

The Chinese translation (T. 848; *Da piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* [大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經]) is credited to the Indian monk Śubhākarasiṃha (or Śubhakarasiṃha; Chn. Shanwuwei [善無畏]; 673–735 CE) and his Chinese disciple Yixing (一行; 683–727 CE) in Fuxian near Xi'an in 725 CE. But according to Yijing's (義浄; 635–713 CE) record of his travels (see Yamamoto, 2012, 88) and the scripture catalogue *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (釋經錄; T. 2154, vol. LV, 572a) composed in 730 CE, the *terminus ante quem* of the text is 674 CE. Both of these sources relate the story of the Chinese monk Wuxing (無行), who died in India when he was setting out to return to China in 674 CE. The Sanskrit manuscripts that Wuxing collected, among them the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, were brought back to China at the behest of the Chinese emperor.

The Tibetan translation (D 494/P 126; *Rnam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa rnam par sprul pa byin gyis rlob pa shin tu rgyas pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs*) is credited to Śīlendrabodhi and Dpal brtsegs in the early 9th century CE. It is listed in the *Lhan dkar ma* and *Phang thang ma* catalogues, which were compiled during the Imperial Period (9th cent. CE).

The Chinese and Tibetan translations have a number of differences, probably due to differences in their respective Indian sources:

1. The Chinese translation includes the *Uttaratantra* (see below) and append it to the basic text of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, the so-called *Mūlatantra*, while the Tibetan does not;
2. The Chinese translation has 31 chapters (excluding the *Uttaratantra*), while the Tibetan translation has 29 chapters; and
3. the order of chapters is different.

English translations of the Chinese text were published by C. Yamamoto (1990) and R. Giebel (2005), and the Tibetan text was translated into English by S. Hodge (2003). Japanese translations of Chinese and Tibetan texts and previous studies are concisely surveyed by Y. Matsunaga (2010).

Commentaries by Indian Authors

Four originally Sanskrit commentaries on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* have come down to us: two by Śubhākarasiṃha (extant in Chinese translation) and two by Buddhaguhya (late 8th to early 9th cents. CE; extant in Tibetan translation).

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Śubhākarasiṃha's commentaries deal with the *Mūlatantra* and the *Uttaratantra*. The first was dictated by Śubhākarasiṃha himself and written down by his disciple Yixing, probably between 725 CE and 727 CE, respectively the years that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* was translated and that Yixing died. It is preserved in two versions: Yixing's draft version (*Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing su* [大毘盧遮那成佛經疏]; T. 1796) and a revised version by Zhiyan (智儼) and Wengdu (溫古; *Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing yishi* [毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經義釋]; see Matsunaga, 2010, 54). Yixing's draft version was carried from China to Japan by the Shingon patriarch Kūkai (空海; 774–835 CE), while the revised version was transmitted by the Tendai monks Ennin (圓仁; 794–864 CE) and Enchin (圓珍; 814–891 CE). Śubhākarasiṃha's commentary on the *Uttaratantra* entitled *Da piluzhena jing gongyang cidi fa shu* (大毘盧遮那經供養次第法疏; T. 1797) was dictated by Śubhākarasiṃha to, and written down by, the Korean monk Pulga Saŭi (不可思議; *fl.* 8th cent. CE).

Buddhaguhya's commentaries are (1) the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantrapiṇḍārtha* (*Rnam par snang mdzad mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa'i rgyud kyi bsdus pa'i don*; D 2662), a kind of synopsis translated into Tibetan in the early 9th century CE by Śīlendrabodhi and Dpal brtsegs, and (2) the *Vairocanābhisambodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānamahātantrabhāṣya* (*Rnam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa rnam par sprul pa'i byin gyis brlabs kyi rgyud chen po'i bshad pa*; D 2663), an extensive commentary translated in the early 9th century CE as well. The latter commentary (2) was later revised by Gzhon nu dpal in 1461 and is found in the Peking Tanjur (P 3490) but not in the Derge edition.

Ritual Manuals by Indian Authors

One of the earliest ritual manuals of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* is the *Uttaratantra*, which is originally an independent Sanskrit ritual manual (*pūjāvidhi*) and, as mentioned above, appended to the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* in its Chinese translation (T. 848). The *Uttaratantra* is also available in Tibetan (D 2664: almost similar to the Chinese version), which is separate from the basic text of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* (D 494) and whose authorship is attributed to Dpal bzang rab dga'. Other ritual manuals of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* are:

1. the *Da Piluzhe'na fo shuo yaolue niansong jing* (大毘盧遮那佛說要略念誦經; T. 849) translated by Bodhivajra [菩提金剛]);
2. the *Darijing chisong cidi yigui* (大日經持誦次第儀軌; T. 860; trans. unknown);
3. the *He da piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing ru lianhua taicang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbianhui* (攝大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會; T. 850) translated by Śubhākarasiṃha;
4. the *Da piluzhe'na jing guangda yigui* (大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌; T. 851) translated by Śubhākarasiṃha;
5. the *Rnam par snang mdzad kyi sgrub pa'i thabs kyi cho ga* (the **Vairocanasādhanopāyikā* by Jayaprabha; D 2665; trans. unknown).

Contents

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is for the most part a dialogue between Vairocana and Vajrapāṇi. Among its 31 (in Tibetan 29) chapters, the first focuses on philosophical/doctrinal aspects, while the following chapters deal with practices of meditation and worship.

Chapter 1: After a narrative representation of the setting of the discourse in which Vairocana is sitting on a lion-throne surrounded by 19 *vajradharas* ("the holders of *vajra* [thunderbolt, diamond, etc.]") and four bodhisattvas (Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Sarvāvaraṇaviṣkambhin), Vairocana teaches at the request of Vajrapāṇi that *bodhicitta* (the resolve to become a buddha) is the cause of the Buddha's wisdom or omniscient gnosis (*sarvajñajñāna*) with compassion as its bedrock. This notion is epitomized by the name of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*: the **mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhavamaṇḍala* (*dabei taicang sheng manchaluo* [大悲胎藏生漫荼羅]; the *maṇḍala* arisen from the matrix of great compassion). It is partly for this reason that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is often regarded as a scripture focusing on compassion, in contrast to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, which is regarded as focusing on wisdom, these two being the standard pair of concepts central to Mahāyāna soteriology. Vairocana also teaches that *bodhicitta* is to be sought in one's own mind, not elsewhere. In reply to Vajrapāṇi, who asks how to generate *bodhicitta*, Vairocana explains that one generates *bodhicitta* by comprehending the various levels of philosophical/doctrinal understanding, including the mundane (*laukika*, i.e. non-Buddhist) ones and the supramundane (*lokottara*, i.e. Buddhist).

Chapter 2: Replying to Vajrapāṇi's request, Vairocana teaches a series of procedures for the performance of *maṇḍala* worship leading to omniscient wisdom.

Chapter 3: Vajrapāṇi asks Vairocana three questions: (1) how does one overcome obstacles in order to perform *maṇḍala* worship?; (2) how does one accomplish mantra recitation?; and (3) what is the result? Replying to (1), Vairocana explains the procedure for invoking Acala (a wrathful deity), who removes obstacles.

Chapter 4: Replying to (2), Vairocana imparts 121 kinds of mantras for various deities.

Chapters 5–7: Replying to (3), Vairocana explains the procedure for realizing mundane accomplishments (*siddhi*) and supramundane accomplishments – paralleling a passage in the *Dhyānottarapaṭala* (D 808), one of the scriptures that precedes the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (Sakai, 1973). In chapter 6, Vairocana imparts one of the most central mantras in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, "*namaḥ samantabuddhānāṃ āḥ vīra hūṃ khaṃ*," which was uttered by all attending deities at the moment of the Buddha's awakening under the Bodhi tree, and describes the practice of *mantranyāsa*: the application of the mantra's seed syllables (i.e. *a, va, ra, ha*, and *kha*) to the practitioner's body, which transform the practitioner into Vairocana himself (see also below).

Chapter 8: Vairocana shows the *maṇḍala* of *mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava* in which deities take the shape of seed syllables (*bījas*).

Chapter 9: Vairocana teaches more than 130 kinds of *mudrās* (ritual hand gestures) of deities.

Chapter 10: Vairocana gives instructions for the meditation on the circle (*mālā*) of 108 syllables/letters (*akṣaras*), beginning with the core seed syllables *a, sa*, and *va* (i.e. Buddha, *padma*, and *vajra*).

Chapter 11: Vairocana explains that the core syllable *a* is the fundamental cause for the rise of the universe and gives instructions for the meditation on the five *cakras* (meeting points of the subtle energy channels). He also describes the *mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava* as a *maṇḍala* in which deities take the shape of symbolic icons (*samayas*) as well.

Chapter 12: Vairocana explains the procedure of initiation into the secret *maṇḍala* – that is, imaginally placing the seed syllable *ra* to the disciple's body, thereby purifying all obscurations.

Chapter 13: Vairocana describes the internal *maṇḍala*, which is to be realized in one's own mind. This *maṇḍala* consists of four buddhas (Ratnaketu, Saṃkusumitarāja, Dundubhighoṣa, and Amitābha) and four bodhisattvas (Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Sarvāvaraṇaviṣkambhin) sitting on a lotus flower with eight petals.

Chapter 14: Vairocana teaches the *mudrās* and mantras of each of the four buddhas and four bodhisattvas.

Chapter 15: Vairocana clarifies the six-month practice of keeping vows (*vratas*).

Chapter 16: Vairocana defines the characteristics of a master (*ācārya*), who should comprehend the seed syllable *a* as the quintessence of reality and as the origin of all other seed syllables.

Chapter 17: Vairocana illustrates the application (*nyāsa*) of 34 seed syllables on the practitioner's own body, through which he will attain awakening.

Chapter 18: Vairocana discloses the discipline of the bodhisattvas (*śikṣāpada*).

Chapter 19: Vairocana imparts the hundred seed syllables as originating from the seed syllable *a*.

Chapter 20: Vairocana describes the omnipresence of Śākyamuni's compassionate activities as resulting from the hundred seed syllables.

Chapter 21: Vairocana explains that the world emanating from the seed syllable *a* is in reality nothing but one's own mind immersed in emptiness.

Chapter 22: Vairocana clarifies the meanings of 32 seed syllables and equates them with the 32 aspects of Mahāpuruṣa ("The Great One," i.e. the Buddha).

Chapter 23: Vairocana discloses that the seed syllable *a* is Vairocana as well.

Chapter 24: Vairocana explains that the seed syllable *a*, the lord of mantras, is all pervasive and does not need any other support, like space, and that one will reach buddhahood by not conceptualizing it.

Chapter 25: Vairocana defines two sets of *trisamaya* (translated e.g. as "three vows"). The first set comprises (1) nonexistence of nature/phenomena, (2) disregard of conceptualization, and (3) compassion. The second set is (1) Buddha, (2) dharma, and (3) saṅgha.

Chapter 26: Vairocana defines the bodhisattva as one who seeks awakening, being free from all conceptualizations, and tathāgata as one who destroys ignorance by means of wisdom.

Chapter 27: Vairocana divides the *homa* (fire ritual) into two categories: (1) the external *homa* consisting of 44 non-Buddhist types and 12 Buddhist types, and (2) the internal *homa* that is to be performed within one's own mind.

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he internal *homa* that is to be per-
ne's own mind.

Chapter 28: Vairocana describes the meditative concentration in which the practitioner is equated with deities that have the shapes of seed syllables, symbolic icons, and human forms – each of which is of two kinds: with form and formless.

Chapter 29: With respect to the formless concentration, Vairocana teaches that the practitioner should understand everything as characterized by emptiness.

Chapter 30: Vairocana describes the variety of mantra-recitation practices.

Chapter 31: Vairocana defines the qualification of prospective disciples. Having been worshipped by the assembly, on their request, Vairocana imparts a mantra for the benefit of the world. Having listened to the mantra, the assembly expresses its profound indebtedness to Vairocana.

Vairocana

Iconographically, statues of Vairocana often depict him as a bodhisattva wearing twisted hair as a crown (*jaṭāmukuṭa*), and not as a buddha (i.e. a monk shape). This is because Vairocana is a buddha who represents the image of Śākyamuni at the very moment of awakening (i.e. becoming a buddha) under the Bodhi tree. This is explicitly stated in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*. Vairocana's mantra (*a vīra hūṃ khaṃ*) is praise by mundane deities, such as Brahmā, for Śākyamuni who has just conquered demons (*māra*; Sakai, 1973, 84–86). Moreover, earlier scriptures, such as *Mahāvastu, Buddhāvataṃsaka*, refer to Śākyamuni by his epithet Vairocana, "The Luminous One" (Ōtake, 2013, 226–227); this also confirms a close relation between Śākyamuni and Vairocana.

Mantranyāsa

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*'s mantra practices are taught in chapters 5, 6, 10, 16, 17, 19–24, and 28 (Otsuka, 1993). Beside mantra-recitation practices, a distinct practice is the *mantranyāsa* or the practice of adornment of the body by the five seed syllables (*goji gonshin kan* [五字嚴身觀] according to the Shingon tradition). Although the relevant passages are separately taught in different chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, when they are taken together as depicting a system, we can understand this practice as a kind of *mantranyāsa* (placement of mantras on one's own body parts), in which one places five seed syllables of Vairocana, *a va ra ha kha* (the initial syllables of the core mantra *a vīra hūṃ khaṃ*), on five parts of the one's own body, comprehends the syllables as being five elements and as having five shapes, and finally realizes himself as identical with Vairocana (see below).

Syllable	Element	Shape	Body part
a	earth	square	lower body
va	water	round	belly
ra	fire	triangle	heart
ha	wind	half-moon	between the eyebrows
kha	space	jewel	top of head

This practice has been transmitted in East Asia as one of the most significant related to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, because it clearly teaches the identification of a practitioner with a buddha in this life/body (what is referred to especially in the Shingon school as *sokushin jōbutsu* [即身成仏]; "becoming a buddha in this very body"). This idea is distinguished from the traditional Mahāyāna doctrine in which one can reach awakening only after practice lasting three aeons (*kalpas*). Although the idea that one can become a buddha in this very life had already been taught in earlier tantric literature, such as in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* and the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is the first text that clearly states a concrete method of practice to attain this end.

The practice in the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka* is said to be the direct predecessor of the *goji gonshin kan* (D 496, 115b5–117a4; Sakai, 1973, 53–58), which, in turn, borrowed the mantra of Vairocana (*a vīra hūṃ khaṃ*) from the *Trisamayarāja* (D 502, 218b6; Sakai, 1973, 88).

Maṇḍala Worship and Initiation

Maṇḍala worship is extensively taught in chapter 2 and partially in chapters 8, 11, 12, and 13. The purpose of this worship is to make disciples take part in the buddha family by giving initiation, so that a disciple can experience the awakening of, and perform compassionate activities as a buddha. The *maṇḍala* worship of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is more developed than that taught in earlier *tantras*, such as the *Guhyatantra* and the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka*, although they share the same fivefold structure, as discussed below (Otsuka, 2013).

Maṇḍala worship in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, chapter 2, consists of the following five steps (Otsuka, 1993): (1) selecting appropriate disciples, place of worship, and time; (2) preparation of the *maṇḍala*; (3) worship of deities in the *maṇḍala*;

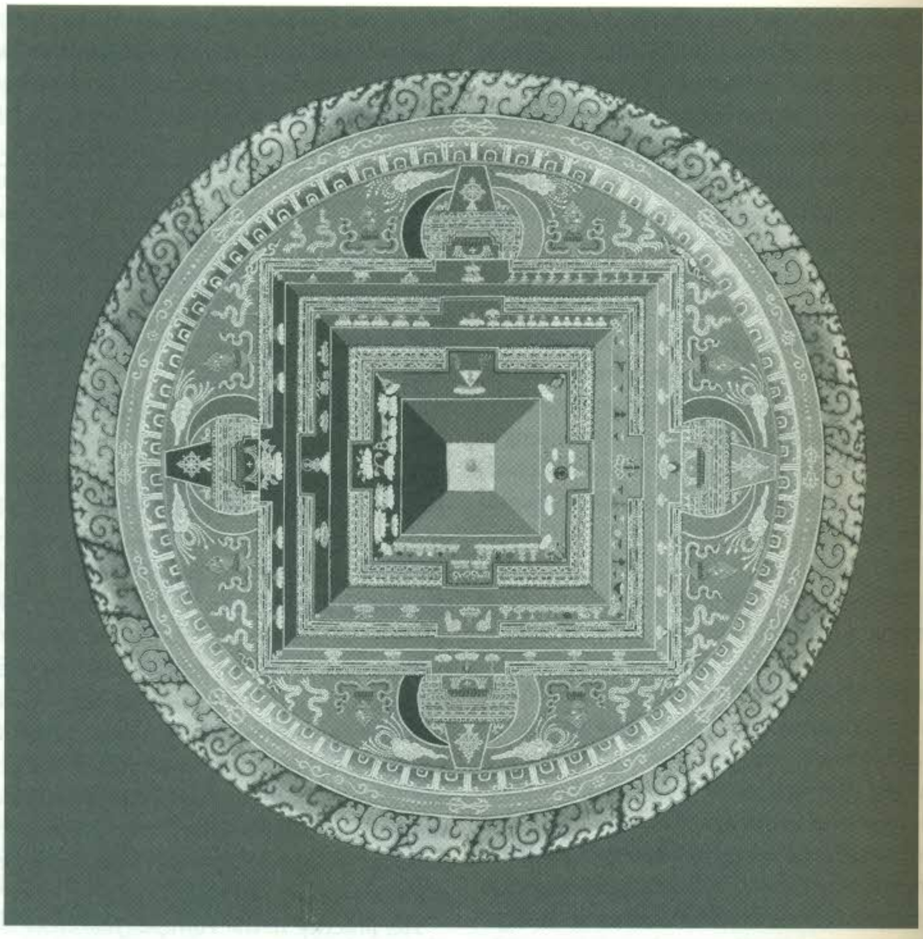

Fig. 1: Tibetan sand *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*. Photo by Kōyasan University (高野山大学).

(4) inviting disciples into the *maṇḍala*; and (5) initiation of disciples.

Before drawing the *maṇḍala* on the ground in step (2), the master (*ācārya*) builds the visual image of the *maṇḍala* in his mind, and for the meditation, he undertakes the *nyāsa* practices described above (esp. that of ch. 17), which enable the *maṇḍala* to be embodied in his own body.

Chapters 2, 8, and 11, respectively, teach the deities in the *maṇḍala* as having the shape of human beings (ch. 2), their seed syllables (*bījamantra*; ch. 8), and their symbol icons (ch. 11), which correspond to the body, speech, and mind *maṇḍalas*. The worship taught in the *Uttaratantra* of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is mostly based on chapter 2.

Iconography

The way in which deities are arranged in the *maṇḍala* named *mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhavamaṇḍala* in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* shows one of the most developed stages of the "triad construction" that consists of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara (*padma*, "lotus"), and Vajrapāṇi (*vajra*). This construction had been one of the most common arrangements of deities in earlier Buddhist *tantras* but later was substituted by the fivefold system (adding *ratna* "jewel" and *karman* "activity") after the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

The *maṇḍala* transmitted in Tibet is depicted literally in accordance with the description of chapter 2, while that in East Asia is drastically rearranged by adding the central lotus to the *maṇḍala* of chapter 2 and deities not stated in the scripture itself (Yoritomi, 2000, 125–166).

Formation

A preliminary survey on the relation between forerunner scriptures and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is represented by S. Sakai (1973, 221):

Vajravidāraṇādhāraṇī (D 75
↓
Dhyānottarapaṭala (D 808)
↓
Trisamayarāja (D 502)

Other preceding scriptures in
as the *Guhyatantra* (T. 897; D
(T. 895; T. 896; D 805), and
D 807), and non-tantric Mah
as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and
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of *mantranyāsa* (the self-tran
by means of placement of
body) from early Śaiva Tant
Einoo, 2005).

Spread in South Asia

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s and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is
. Sakai (1973, 221):

Vajravidāraṇādhāraṇī (D 750)
↓
Dhyānottarapaṭala (D 808) → *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka* (D 496) → *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*
↓
Trisamayarāja (D 502)

Other preceding scriptures include early *tantras*, such as the *Guhyatantra* (T. 897; D 806), *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (T. 895; T. 896; D 805), and *Susiddhikara* (T. 893; D 807), and non-tantric Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*. The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (ch. 3) implicitly admits the importation of tantric rituals from outside of Buddhism (though it insists on their origin as dating back to the Buddha; Sanderson, 2009, 128; D 177a1–3). This *tantra* probably integrates the idea of the ritual of *mantranyāsa* (the self-transformation into a deity by means of placement of mantras on one's own body) from early Śaiva Tantrism (see Davis, 1992; Einoo, 2005).

Spread in South Asia

We cannot conclusively determine the original place where the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* was composed or compiled but can only approximately assume it on the basis of fragmental traces that show the spread of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (and this only if we can assume that the area of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*'s origin is near the traces of its later existence).

Most of the text's later traces are found in Magadha and Odisha and comprise the areas where authors who comment, quote, or refer to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* were active and the areas where statues whose iconographic features accord with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* have been found. From the first, we learn something of the spread of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and from the second, we can presume the spread of worship following the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* cycle. We see evidence of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*'s transmission in Nālandā from the circa 7th to the 9th century CE in a stone statue of Vairocana in *dhyānamudrā* bearing a mantra inscription "*ā sa hūṃ*," which corresponds to chapter 10 of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (Yoritomi, 2000, 307). The Chinese monk Wuxing (無行; d. 674 CE), who carried the manuscript of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, once visited Nālandā (Yoritomi, 2000, 37); Śubhākarasiṃha (673–735 CE) from Orissa studied at Nālandā; and Kamalaśīla (740–795 CE) of Nālandā quotes passages from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in his works (*Bhāvanākrama I*; D 3815, 157b3–4).

During the circa 9th to 13th centuries, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is known to have circulated in Vikramaśīla, for it is cited in works including those of Atiśa (982–1054 CE; D 3930, 3959) and Abhayākaragupta (d. 1126; D 1198, 3140) and those attributed to Ratnākaraśānti (c. late 10th to early 11th cent.; D 1826) and Jñānaśrī[mitra?] (c. late 10th to early 11th cent.; D 3714). From the scholarly circle associated with Vikramaśīla, Atiśa's master Bodhibhadra (D 3924) and Muniśrībhadra of Jaggadala (13th cent.; D 1813) also quote the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*.

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is also quoted by tantric masters who flourished in Magadha, including Vilāsavajra (8th cent. CE; D 2533), Buddhaguhya (the late 8th cent. CE; D 2662, 2663, 2670), Vimalamitra (8th–9th cents. CE; D 3818, 3938), Śākyamitra (8th–9th cents. CE; D 1834), Vitapāda (early 9th cent. CE; D 1873), Āryadeva (early 9th cent. CE; D 1803), Candrakīrti (c. 9th–10th cents.; D 1785, 1786), Bhavyakīrti (late 10th cent.; D 1793), Nāropāda (c. 11th cent.; D 1186, 1187), Jñānakīrti (early 11th cent.; D 3709, 3922), Kuladatta (c. 12th–13th cents.), Jagaddarpaṇa (D 3305), Raviśrījñāna (D 1395), Śāntarakṣita (D 3708), Jñānavajra (D 4019), Abhayākaragupta (c. 12–13th cent.; D 1198), though the places where they flourished are not necessarily limited to this area. A systematic study on references to or quotations from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in Indic works is yet to be done (among above-mentioned sources, D 3140, 1813, 2533, 1803, 3305, 1395, 3708 are extant in Sanskrit, too).

In addition to its presence in Magadha, we can also trace the spread of *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* worship during the Pala dynasty in Odisha from stone statues discovered there. The most striking is a Vairocana statue found at Lalitagiri with an inscription of the core mantra of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, "*namaḥ samantabuddhānāṃ āḥ vīra hūṃ khaṃ*." There is also a Vairocana statue in *dhyānamudrā* and a triad statue (Vairocana, Vajrapāṇi, and Avalokiteśvara) at Ratnagiri, and two sets of statues of Vairocana with the eight bodhisattvas at both Ratnagiri and Udayagiri (Yoritomi, 2000, 50–55; Matsunaga, 2010, 15).

We do not known much about the text in other areas of South Asia. However, in Ellora (cave 12), there is a stone relief that may be of Vairocana and the eight bodhisattvas (Yoritomi, 2000, 43); Y. Matsunaga (2010, 16) refers to what may be a Vairocana statue from northwest India (its iconographic features correspond to those described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*). Another piece of evidence regarding the Indian tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is verse quotations in Sanskrit from this *tantra* in the *Sang hyang kamahāyānan mantranaya* composed in Java (Yoritomi, 2000, 332).

Although the tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* became less dominant after the 8th century in India, being replaced by the highest *yogatantras* (*yogānuttara*), direct successors of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, we can trace its transmission until the final phase of Indian Buddhism around the 13th century (e.g. Abhayākaragupta quotes the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in his *Āmnāyamañjarī*, D 1198, 34a6ff., 79b4ff., 109a2).

Spread in Tibet

Before the Tibetan translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in the early 9th century, Buddhaguhya sent a letter (D 4194) together with Sanskrit manuscripts including a commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* addressed to the Tibetan king Khri Srong lde'u btsan (742–797 CE) in the late 8th century CE (Dietz, 1984, 79–84, 358–399).

While Buddhaguhya's tradition was predominant in the earlier diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism, the tradition of Ba ri lo tsā ba Rin chen grags (1040–1111) became more popular in the later diffusion. This tradition was transmitted to Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) via masters from the Mchims clan of Snar thang Monastery, and it was later transmitted to the La brang bkras shis dkyil Monastery, which possesses a Thangka of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*. The *maṇḍala* is also found in the Ngor Maṇḍala collection. Manuals of *maṇḍala* worship were composed by Bcom ldan ral gri (1227–1305) of Snar thang, Bu ston, Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1378–1451), and Pan chen I and III (see Yoritomi, 2000, 326–329). These manuals witness the continuity of the tradition of the *tantra* in Tibet.

As in India, the worship of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in Tibet has been rather minor compared with that of the highest *yogatantra* class, though this tendency contrasts to that in East Asia, where the worship of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* has been very popular.

Spread in East Asia

China

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* was transmitted to China through its Chinese translation in 725 CE. Faquan (法全; *fl.* 800–870 CE) received the teaching of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* from Farun (法潤; 768–840 CE?) and compiled two ritual manuals of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*: one at Xuanfa Monastery (玄法寺; T. 852), the other at Qinglong Monastery (青龍寺; T. 853), circa 847–859 CE.

Although many texts relevant to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and its religious objects, including statues and *maṇḍalas*, were lost due to repeated prohibitions of Buddhism in China (e.g. 842–846 CE and 955 CE), some escaped the destruction by being brought to Japan by Japanese monks, and it is noteworthy that especially copies of *maṇḍalas* are well preserved.

Japan

Although there are earlier manuscripts of the Chinese translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* in Japan (the earliest of which was copied in 730 CE according to the *Shōsōin monjo* [正倉院文書]; Matsunaga, 2010, 6), it was Kūkai (774–835 CE) who systematically transmitted the doctrine and worship of tantric Buddhism to Japan on the basis of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. According to tradition, he received the teaching of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* from Huiguao (恵果), composed his major works (the *Sokushinjōbutsugi* [即身成佛義], *Jūjūshinron* [十住心論], *Hizōhōyaku* [秘藏寶鑰], etc.) on the basis of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, and wrote seven commentaries on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* entitled *Dainichikyōkaidai* (大日經開題) (see *Teibon kōbōdaishi zenshū* [定本弘法大師全集], vols. 2–4, Koyasan University, 1991–1997). The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* has been intensively studied in Japan in both the Shingon and the Tendai schools, and more than 35 Japanese indigenous commentaries have come down to us (Matsunaga, 2010, 60–62). The practice of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* still survives in the Shingon tradition today, for instance in

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Asia

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the worship of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* embedded in the monastic program of practice (*shidokegyō* [四度加行]), or the tantric meditation on the seed syllable *a* (*ajikan* [阿字観]; see Yoritomi, 2000, 194–215).

The teaching of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* has been widely spread in Japanese culture down to the public level, being found, for instance, in the worship of the tombstone *gorintō* (五輪塔; tower of fivefold *cakra*), which is an iconographic representation of the *goji gonshin kan* of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*.

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KAZUO KANO

Rnying ma Tantras

Tibetan scholars conventionally divide their canonical tantric literature under two major rubrics: the old *tantras* (*rnying ma*) of the earlier spread of the doctrine (*bstan pa snga dar*) and the new *tantras* (*gsar ma*), of the later spread of the doctrine (*bstan pa phyi dar*). The terminology developed after many previously unknown translations of Indian texts began to enter Tibet from the late 10th century onward, becoming known as the new *tantras*: hence the tantric traditions that had appeared before became known as the old *tantras*.

This distinction applied only within the most esoteric types of *tantras*, mainly those that had begun to appear after the 8th century, and which accepted prominent use of charnel ground (*kāpālika*) symbolism. Doctrinally, they were associated with a radical non-dualism, that could, if not understood, be misconstrued as subversive of conventional morality. Doxographical classification in tantric Buddhism has never been uniform, so that precise definitions are difficult. Nevertheless, at slight risk of generalisation, one can say that the term old *tantras* nowadays implies texts from the three categories of *mahāyoga*, *anuyoga*, and *atiyoga*, indicating progressive gradations of subtlety and inwardness: *mahāyoga* focuses on deity meditation and visualisation; *anuyoga* on more inward yogas of subtle physical veins and wheels (*nāḍī*, *cakra*); and *atiyoga* (also known as *rdzogs chen*) on the highest formless meditations on the ultimate nature of reality. The term new *tantras* usually implies texts classified as *rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud* (equivalent to the Sanskrit terms *yogottaratantras*, *yoginītantras*, or *yoganiruttaratantras*; Sanderson, 2009, 146). The more exoteric *tantras*, which had appeared in India in earlier centuries, categorized by different authorities in various ways and under various rubrics, including *kriyātantras*, *caryātantras*, *upāyatantras*, *ubhayatantras*, and *yogatantras*, were, along with the Mahāyāna and, in Tibetan parlance, so-called Hīnayāna scriptures, mainly accepted as a shared common heritage of all Tibetan Buddhism.

Issues of Canonicity

The distinction between new *tantras* and old *tantras* is more than merely a chronological designation, since despite a considerable overlap of shared materials and approaches, the old and new tantric traditions can also reflect differences of ethos and doctrine. While the new *tantras* adopted a simple lexical approach to translation privileging text autonomy, the old *tantras* reflect the earliest efforts at transplanting tantric culture in a much broader sense from India to Tibet, thus privileging target audience needs, and involving a significant degree of adaptive localization to Tibetan culture and civilisation (Mayer, 1996, 1–153). As a consequence, although they were compiled largely from Indic materials and to Indic templates, there existed in many cases no exact Indian equivalent texts from which the old *tantras* had originally been translated. A related and more important factor was that the old *tantras* persisted in celebrating an original Indian tantric vision (Gray, 2010), of a canon that was in theory unclosable, since infinite quantities of *tantras* as yet unknown would always remain in the buddha fields, whence they could be transmitted to fortunate human *siddhas* (perfected masters) at any time. A moderate number of new tantric scriptures thus continue to appear within the old *tantra* tradition until the present day, amongst the revealed treasure literature (*gter ma*). By contrast, and especially after the decline of Buddhism in India, the new *tantras* eventually became associated with the conception of a canon that was in theory closable, in the sense that all the Buddha's teachings intended for Tibet had already been uttered, even if a small number might still remain to be collected.

As a result, the canonicity of the old *tantras* has sometimes been questioned by those who believe exclusively in a closable canon. Thus, very few old *tantras* were included in the original redaction of Kanjur (*Bka' 'gyur*), the 14th-century scriptural compilation which marked Tibet's first effective attempts at canonical closure. Partly inspired by the decline of Buddhism in India, and partly by the example of a state-regulated canon in China, at least according to tradition the Tibetan Kanjur was

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initiated at Narthang (Snar thang) by a Bka' gdams pa follower of the new *tantras*, Jamyang ('Byams dbyangs), who was at the time serving in China at the court of the Yuan Emperor Renzong (仁宗) or Buyantu Khan (r. 1311–1320), and who sent funds back to Narthang together with requests urging that such a canon be made (Harrison, 1996, 74–76; see also Gzhon nu dpal, 1984–1985, 410–412). However, some slightly later Kanjurs, following the 14th-century Tshal pa redaction, did begin to accept a small segregated old *tantras* section, while a regional late 17th-century Kanjur from Tawang, connected with the fifth and sixth Dalai Lamas, includes many more old *tantras* amongst the main body of its collection (Samten, 1994).

There is little evidence for a closed canon of Vajrayāna texts in the great Indian centers of learning to which Tibetans had traditionally turned, such as the monastic universities of Nālandā or Vikramaśīla, or, for that matter, even of a closed Indian canon for Mahāyāna scriptures. On the contrary, the Indian *siddhas*' vision was more often one of unlimited tantric scriptures existing in the buddha fields, which could be progressively revealed to human *siddhas* on earth over the course of time. A model for a closed canon was of course supplied by the Tripiṭaka of mainstream texts. However, there is little evidence this model was applied by the early Indian missionaries to the tantric scriptures they brought to Tibet; for at that time, from the late 8th century to the 10th century, Indian Tantrism was still in its most productive phase, so that for the first two hundred years and more of tantric Buddhism in Tibet, numerous new tantric Buddhist scriptures were still being revealed in India, some of which, like the *Hevajratantra* and the *Kālacakratantra*, were to become highly influential in many parts of Asia.

In China, by contrast, a systematic control of the Buddhist canon modelled on secular precedents had first been attempted as early as the 6th century, and in subsequent centuries, the regulation of the Buddhist canon increasingly became a significant aspect of Chinese governance, supported by a growing bibliographical literature that sought to identify undesirable texts by virtue of their non-Indic origins or their excessively transgressive tantric content (Lancaster, 1989, 187; Tokuno, 1990).

A major difference between the old and new *tantra* traditions is thus that while the former remained conservatively attached to the original Indian model of an open, somewhat distributed, and only informally regulated tantric scriptural literature, the latter promoted the reforming, modernizing agenda of a single monolithic and highly regulated set of *tantras* to be included in a single canon alongside the *sūtras* and other non-tantric Buddhist scriptures which, while different from the Chinese model in its internal arrangement of texts, its rejection in most cases of multiple translations, and its inclusion of esoteric *tantras*, nevertheless resembled the Chinese canon in its basic rationale of regulation, normalization, and centralization, and in its adoption of the proven existence of an exact Indian equivalent, as the only valid criterion of orthodoxy.

While for these reasons excluded from the prestigious new Kanjur (the so-called Old Narthang), many old *tantras* continued to be preserved within their original collections, simply known as *tantra* collections (*rgyud 'bum*) or, after a while, old *tantra* collections (*rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*). Some texts are preserved in more specialized collections, such as the *Vairo Rgyud 'bum* and the *Rgyud bcu bdun*, which have only *atiyoga* texts, or the *Rnying ma Bka' ma*, which was compiled slightly later and has a few tantric scriptures accompanied by many more commentaries. Other old *tantras* have never joined such collections, but have simply remained dispersed within various collections of revealed treasure literature (*gter ma*). It is not known when the first large collections of old *tantras* appeared, but it was probably quite early: there is, for example, mention of an 11th- or 12th-century collection of old *tantras* at the seat of the Zur family, a famous Rnying ma hereditary lineage (Mayer, 1996, 224). A collection in 30 volumes containing 335 texts (or 375 by another count) is also mentioned in the biography of the Rnying ma master Nam mkha' dpal (1171[?]–1237[?]), who is said to have compiled it on the occasion of the death of his father, the great codifier of the old *tantras*, Nyang ral nyi ma 'i 'od zer (1124–1192), although this collection seems to have also included a number of new *tantras* (Nyang ral, vol. I, 1977, 55–59). Over succeeding centuries, many further collections of old *tantras* were made, which varied in both size and contents. A notable development was the old *tantra* collection in 42 volumes organized by Ratna Gling pa in the 15th century, based on the Zur family collection mentioned above, which is said to be the basis of modern recensions and transmissions (Mayer, 1996, 225).

The surviving old *tantra* collections still vary in size and contents, between 929 texts in 46 volumes, in the probably 17th-century Bhutanese manuscript recension, and 448 texts in 26 volumes in the late 18th-century Sde dge xylograph. Excluding the unknown number of scriptures preserved only within *gter ma* collections, the total number of different texts within the extant old *tantra* collections per se has recently been estimated by the University of Virginia's online Tibetan and Himalayan Library as 1,133, of which 478 are classified as *rdzogs chen*, 45 as *anuyoga*, 568 as *mahāyoga*, and 42 as supplementary texts (*kha skong*). No other categories of texts are included within the old *tantra* collections other than these three most esoteric types of *tantras*, all of which are believed to record the utterances of or dialogues between enlightened buddhas. The modern study of the old *tantra* collections is not so advanced as that of the Kanjur, and their study is additionally hampered by the destruction since the 1950s by the Chinese of about 95% of old *tantra* collection witnesses (personal communication, E.G. Smith). While every Rnying ma monastery of substance once sought to own an old *tantra* collection, nowadays, only 13 witnesses are known to survive, all but two in Bhutan and Nepal. Collectively, they fall within six different doxographical redactions (see below, where they are listed within their groupings).

Being largely excluded from the Kanjur does not seem to have adversely affected the status or circulation of the old *tantras*. Their carefully honed adaptations to Tibetan culture garnered popularity, not only within the Rnying ma school, but across the other traditions too. Although notionally based upon the new *tantras*, the important Bka' brgyud traditions in particular have made copious use of the old *tantras*, to the extent that in some cases, they practice as much or even more old *tantra* than new *tantra*. The 'Khon clan hierarchs, hereditary heads of the Sa skya school which notionally upholds a new *tantra* orthodoxy, retain the old *tantra* cycle of Rdo rje Phur pa as their main meditational deity (*yi dam*), and the great Dge lugs monastery of Se ra, one of Tibet's major institutions and notionally based on the new *tantras*, also took the old *tantra* cycle of Rta mgrin yang gsang (Hayagrīva) as its main meditational deity (Dreyfus, 2003, 348n48). Several Dalai Lamas, notably the fifth, thirteenth, and fourteenth, have been active promoters of the old *tantras*, not least because the visionary old *tantra* usage of Tibetan national narratives has rendered them a key element in attempts at national reunification, throughout Tibetan history (Kapstein, 2000, 141–162). So while some might assume Tibet to have a notionally closed canon, the actual historical reality is more complex: the case was rather that of a dual system in which notionally closed and open tantric canons co-existed in parallel. If some advocates of the closed canon rejected the open canon as apocryphal, and if some advocates of the open canon likewise deprecated the closed canon as including texts inferior to their own (Ogyan Tanzin, 2013), and as having lost its revelatory vitality, it seems more probable that over the longer course of Tibetan history, an overall majority of lamas have de facto accepted in parallel the simultaneous validity of both open and closed canons.

Historical Origins

Tibetan historiography associates the old *tantras* with the great state-sponsored introduction of Buddhism that began in the late 7th century, when Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan invited many famous Buddhist teachers to Tibet, including some masters of Tantra. Yet the evidence from this period is by no means unambiguous. More exoteric tantric systems were indeed translated, and some of these were actively promoted, for example, the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* as a part of state ritual, and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* as a mortuary text to replace the traditional funerary rite. However, the more esoteric forms of tantric Buddhism (Vajrayāna) that made prominent use of charnel ground imagery, which were still relatively new and controversial even in India at that time, seem to have been controlled (Ishikawa, 1990, 4). The two surviving official catalogues of texts translated (*'Phang thang ma* and *Ldan dkar ma*/*Lhan dkar ma*) show little sign of the vast repertoire of highly esoteric *mahāyogatantras*, *anuyogatantras*, and *atiyogatantras*, which the later Rnying ma tradition takes as its most prestigious and important scriptures, and upon which it is founded (although we cannot say whether some such texts might have appeared in the third catalogue that is no longer extant, the *Mchims phu ma*; Hermann-Pfandt, 2002, 129–149; Halkias, 2004, 46–105). Likewise, esoteric Vajrayāna translational terms were not systematically included in the official lexicographic tracts prepared to facilitate and standardise translation. One of them, the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* of 814 CE, specified that such *tantras* should be kept secret by order of the state because of their unsuitability for the spiritually immature, and then observed that the existing translations of such *tantras* had already caused damage through their concealed meanings not being understood, so that further translation should stop (Ishikawa, 1990, 4). It is noteworthy also that an important early

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historical source, the *Dba' bzhed* (Testament of Ba), describes how the great master of Vajrayāna, Padmasambhava, was invited to Tibet by the emperor, but created alarm through his inordinate and frightening displays of miraculous powers, and so was sent back to India after only a short time (Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000, 52–60). Elsewhere the same text mentions that the translation was banned of the type of teachings with which Padmasambhava was associated, the *mahāyogatantras* (Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000, 88),

It is unfortunate that a serious dearth of sources renders the early history of the old *tantras* frustratingly obscure. After the collapse of the Tibetan Empire in the mid-9th century, disorder prevailed across most of the region for nearly a 150 years, in a period known as the "Time of Fragments" (*bsil ba'i dus*), when the historical record became largely erased. It is therefore very hard to ascertain if *kāpālika*-style Vajrayāna was entirely banned during the empire, or if it was merely restricted to small elite circles who had already obtained it, or if it was at first restricted, and later allowed more widely. Scholars are still struggling to understand the early history of the old *tantras*.

Proto-Rnying ma texts at Dunhuang

That Vajrayāna did become successful quite early on is established by a partial glimpse into the latter part of the "Time of Fragments," offered by an ancient sealed document store which remained undisturbed in Dunhuang, a cave temple site at the Chinese side of the Silk Routes, until its recovery in the 20th century. The numerous largely 10th-century tantric manuscripts amongst its holdings reveal a snapshot from shortly before the *phyi dar*, of what one might call a flourishing proto-Rnying ma, already showing many of the texts, named personages, doctrines, and tantric doxographical categories, associated with the later Rnying ma school.

For example, the greater part of the Dunhuang materials on the popular *phur pa* rituals reappeared within later Rnying ma texts (Cantwell & Mayer, 2008), and the longest of them (IOL Tib J 331.III) became quite prominent, through its incorporation complete and verbatim into the definitive 12th-century codification of Rnying ma *mahāyoga*, Nyang ral nyi ma'i 'od zer's *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* (see below).

Another influential survivor from Dunhuang is the *'Phags pa Thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng gi don bsdus pa* (henceforth *Thabs zhags*), which together with its commentary, comprises IOL Tib J 321 in the British Library (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012). This unique manuscript, intact in 85 folios, gives us our most fully comprehensive, detailed, and entirely unmodified view into proto-Rnying ma Tantrism before the *phyi dar*. The *Thabs zhags* has remained canonical for the Rnying ma, who consider it one of their 18 *tantras* of *mahāyoga*, a core grouping of highly prestigious texts, several of which are referred to amongst the Dunhuang finds (Almogi, 2014). As ever, the dating of tantric texts is difficult, but here we can take advantage of the Indological work of A. Sanderson. The *Thabs zhags* and others among the 18 *tantras* of *mahāyoga* share several historical indicators with the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, a version of which is also mentioned at Dunhuang, and which itself also became one of the 18 *tantras* of *mahāyoga*. A. Sanderson has established this text to be historically intermediate between the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the *Guhyasamāja* on the one hand, and the full-on *yoginī* or *yoganiruttaratantras* on the other hand. Thus Sanderson locates its production in India from the late 8th through 9th centuries (Sanderson, 2009, 145ff), in other words, broadly contemporaneous with Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan and his successors. So if tantric texts of this type did indeed enter Tibet at that time, they will still have been very new in India, and not yet universally accepted there.

The *Thabs zhags* still retains reasonably clear doctrinal connections with the earlier more exoteric *yogatantras*, of the type that had not been banned by the Tibetan emperor. It maintains two parallel pantheons: a *maṇḍala* (circle) of fifty peaceful deities which was an adaptation of the 37 deity *maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* basic to *yogatantra*, but here, the male and female figures are paired as consorts, and a number of further female deities are added to complete the set. Then there is a parallel more esoteric *maṇḍala* of terrifying charnel-ground deities, whose central form is the ferocious Śrī Heruka still familiar to modern Rnying ma, with 9 heads and 18 arms, surrounded by the still popular ten wrathful deities (*Khro bo bcu*), each accompanied by two zoocephalic female emanations. The central terrifying female is specified in the commentary as Ral gcig ma (Ekajaṭā), still to this day the main *ma mo* or wrathful female deity of the Rnying ma pantheon.

IOL Tib J 321 has a marginal note connecting the revelation of the *Thabs zhags* root scripture with Padmasambhava, the highly mythologised founder of Tibetan tantric Buddhism, here already presented as a uniquely great enlightened being. Another marginal note cites Śāntigarbha, an Indian *yogatantra* master whom later Rnying ma tradition describes as one of Padmasambhava's *gurus*, praising either Padmasambhava or his work. The concluding verse of the commentary is a praise of Padmasambhava as the "Lotus King" (*padma rgyal po*), which verse was later incorporated into the mainstream Padmasambhava hagiographical tradition (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012, 93).

The doctrinal ethos of the *Thabs zhags* is not at all dissimilar to that of later Rnying ma authors, such as Rong zom pa (11th cent.; exact dates unknown) and Klong chen pa (1308–1362), who cite it several times. One of its principal concerns is to interiorize ritual, as we can see, for example, in the empowerment rite of chapter 3. Usually, tantric empowerments are described as complex external ritual procedures engaging numerous material implements. But here, it is redefined as essentially an interiorized contemplative process, based upon the spiritual qualities naturally innate to the human mind.

Another preoccupation is to integrate the pragmatic rituals so typical of tantric literature, and ostensibly for worldly ends such as wealth and power, with doctrine. More than half of all the chapters of the *Thabs zhags* commentary (chs. 18–40) are dedicated specifically to the encoding of mainstream abstract Buddhist doctrines within a wide range of quotidian pragmatic rituals, so that the rehearsal of those doctrines was rendered inseparable from and integral to the performance of such rituals (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012, 78–82).

The *Thabs zhags* version of *mahāyoga* bears a close resemblance to the doctrine of the sameness of all dharmas (*mnyam pa'i chos*) of the *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po* or **Guhyagarbhatantra*, which is nowadays considered the most prestigious of all *tantras* by the Rnying ma school. Like the *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po*, the *Thabs zhags* too, on numerous occasions, uses terminology built around the words *mnyam pa* or *mnyam pa nyid* or *mnyam nyid* ("even," "evenness," or "sameness"). Hence it is not surprising that later doxographers often paired the *Thabs zhags* with the **Guhyagarbha*. This famous doctrine, which involves realising all phenomena of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa alike as primordially pure, is seen by some modern scholars (Karmay, 1988, 11) as one of the historical roots of the Rdzogs chen ("Great Perfection") mysticism of the Rnying ma pa.

Recent modern research into Dunhuang documents has now shown that despite all the traditional uncertainties about their origins, the old *tantra* traditions extant today do reflect at least some genuinely old traditions, including several that were already well developed by the time the Dunhuang caves were sealed in the 11th century; and moreover that a small but important core of old *tantra* texts did have close Indian counterparts, even if further redactions might have been made to them in Tibet.

There are in fact direct suggestions within some Dunhuang sources that early Tibetan tantric scriptures were deliberately redacted by Indian *siddhas* to suit Tibetan audiences. PT44 describes Padmasambhava redacting the full textual corpus of the *Kīla* ("Stake") deity that he had procured from the Indian monastic university of Nālandā into a new arrangement for transmission to his Tibetan and Nepalese disciples, now redacted to incorporate Himalayan protector deities that he himself had newly tamed (Cantwell & Mayer, 2008, 41–68). Likewise, IOL Tib J 321 seems to suggest Padmasambhava as the revealer of the *Thabs zhags* scripture (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012, 91–99). If so, this could be of interest because it is the earliest known text to introduce the distinctively old *tantra* form of the winged Heruka. References to such winged Herukas seem to be extremely infrequent in Indian sources, unless in rare hybridized forms with Garuḍa; yet the classic old *tantra* form of Heruka is both independently winged and quite ubiquitous. This seems significant because birds, wings, and avian symbolism in general, are fundamental to indigenous Tibetan religion, so that the highly accentuated presence of wings on the old tantric Herukas might have originated as a means of adaptive indigenization.

Some Differences between Old *Tantras* and New *Tantras*

It seems likely that most old *tantras* were produced in Tibet through the 9th and 10th centuries, by Tibetan masters quite possibly emulating their Indian *siddha* counterparts, who during that period produced many new *tantras* in India. We thus witness two Vajrayāna traditions proliferating at a similar time and under similar conditions of political instability, but largely independently: In the political chaos of postimperial Tibet, what were to become Tibet's old *tantras* were compiled in Tibetan, while in India, in the political chaos between the first and second Pala empires, what were to become Tibet's new *tantras* were compiled in Sanskrit.

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predilection (Cantwell
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intertextual amongst t
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cal organization into a s
but the most widely pr
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cal fierce Heruka deiti
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t their origins, the old *tantra* tra-
y do reflect at least some genu-
s, including several that were
pped by the time the Dunhuang
n the 11th century; and moreover
portant core of old *tantra* texts
an counterparts, even if further
ave been made to them in Tibet.
direct suggestions within some
that early Tibetan tantric scrip-
tely redacted by Indian *siddhas*
liences. PT44 describes Padma-
g the full textual corpus of the
that he had procured from the
iversity of Nālandā into a new
ansmission to his Tibetan and
now redacted to incorporate
or deities that he himself had
well & Mayer, 2008, 41–68). Like-
seems to suggest Padmasamb-
er of the *Thabs zhags* scripture
2012, 91–99). If so, this could be
it is the earliest known text to
nctively old *tantra* form of the
erences to such winged Herukas
ly infrequent in Indian sources,
lized forms with Garuḍa; yet the
rm of Heruka is both indepen-
quite ubiquitous. This seems sig-
ds, wings, and avian symbolism
lamental to indigenous Tibetan
highly accentuated presence of
ntric Herukas might have origi-
adaptive indigenization.

ces between
d New *Tantras*

ost old *tantras* were produced in
h and 10th centuries, by Tibetan
sibly emulating their Indian
s, who during that period pro-
ntras in India. We thus witness
itions proliferating at a similar
lar conditions of political insta-
ndependently: In the political
ial Tibet, what were to become
ere compiled in Tibetan, while
ical chaos between the first and
s, what were to become Tibet's
mpiled in Sanskrit.

A number of cultural differences therefore characterize the new and old *tantras*. While the Indian *yoganiruttaratantras* or *yoginītantras* freely incorporated numerous verses directly from Śaiva scriptures (Sanderson, 2001, 41ff), less evidence of such direct verbatim reproduction of Śaiva wording has so far been discovered in the numerous old *tantras* that were redacted in Tibet. By contrast, they show occasional evidence of the absorption of indigenous Tibetan ritual categories, such as the protective deities that hover around the body (*'go ba'i lha lnga*; Mayer, 1996, 132) and a type of fierce female deity known as *gze ma* (Cantwell & Mayer, 2007, 27–28, 196–203). While many *yoganiruttaratantras* or *yoginītantras* became increasingly concerned to invert the peculiarly Indian ritual notions of purity and pollution, thus becoming increasingly violent, sexual, and linguistically crude, the old *tantras* tended to be less directly concerned with such inversions. Hence they could appear less extreme, often connecting wrathful *maṇḍalas* with peaceful ones, and even including the vast genre of *atiyoga*, comprising one third of all old *tantras*, which were not necessarily transgressive of Indian ritual notions of purity at all, but dedicated only to the poetic description of Buddhism's formless ultimate truths about the nature of mind. No comparable genre to *atiyoga* was ever developed in India, and there are no new *tantra* equivalents; and several scholars have discussed their affinity with Chinese Chan Buddhism (van Schaik, 2004, 2012). While the Indian *yoganiruttaratantras* or *yoginītantras* introduced new inner yogas involving subtle physical veins and wheels (*nāḍī*, *cakra*), these do not seem to have been prominent in the earliest old *tantras*, since there is little sign of them at Dunhuang, although the Rnying ma tradition did subsequently absorb the methods. By contrast, the old *tantras* considerably accentuated the use of narrative within ritual, an indigenous Tibetan predilection (Cantwell & Mayer, 2009). While the *yoganiruttaratantras* or *yoginītantras* were often intertextual amongst themselves (as well as with Śaiva texts), they showed little sign of iconographical organization into a single grand unified system; but the most widely practiced genre of old *tantra*, known as *mahāyoga*, did at some stage become organized into a symmetrical set of eight identical fierce Heruka deities, each with three heads, six arms, four legs, and two wings, differentiated mainly by their hand implements. Such systematization is certainly apparent by the time of Nyang ral nyi ma'i 'od zer (1124–1192), a great codifier of Rnying ma Tantrism, but might have had its roots in earlier times. Doctrinal features of *mahāyoga* were also standardized, for example, in the use across numerous of its *sādhanas* of the same sequence of three meditations (*trisamādhi*; *ting 'dzin gsum*) through which the deity is visualized.

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ROBERT MAYER

Gter ma

The Tibetan category of *gter ma* ("treasure") refers to sacred scriptures and ritual objects that are discovered through a visionary process leading to these objects' extraction from the ground, or, in more recent times, memory. By virtue of being concealed and then found, these items are like buried treasure, hence the moniker. Throughout its history, the *gter ma* mode of transmission provided an authoritative venue for Tibetan authors to write poetic and inspired ritual manuals, doctrinal treatises, and histories of religion, facilitating innovation and creativity, responding to needs among their disciples and patrons, and garnering fame and prestige.

The tradition of *gter ma* discovery developed over a period of several centuries and is unique to Tibetan religion. We do have a few examples in Indian Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna literature that indicate an idea of scripture in the form of "treasure" hidden below the ground for future revelation. We also find a few entries in the old Tibetan Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* that provide several Sanskrit analogues for forms of the word *gter ma*, namely a kind of "water treasure" (*jalanidhi*, *chu gter*) in the ocean (Sakaki, 1916, § 4165); an item in a long list of terms (i.e. *nidhānam*, *gter*; Sakaki 1916, § 7304); and an epithet of the Buddha (*āgamaḥ puṇyanidhānām*, *bsod nams kyi gter rnams kyi gzhi*; Sakaki 1916, § 376). But we have no evidence of anything that approaches the tradition of text recovery or revelation that became such a mainstay of certain groups in Tibetan religious history. The distinctively Tibetan mode of producing authoritative revealed texts was employed mostly by those lineages of Tibetan Buddhism, that is, the Rnying ma ("Old School"), that attempted to trace their origins to the Tibetan imperial period of the Yarlung dynasty (ended 9th cent. CE) and by members of Bön traditions who sought to redress what they remembered as the repression of their religion in the 8th century following the introduction of Buddhism to the Tibetan royal court. Most modern scholars regard the full-blown *gter ma* tradition as a way for the Bönpos and Rnying ma Buddhist lineages to present scriptural revelations and make claims of historical priority in the face of the hegemony of other Buddhist groups in Tibet, which were gaining political ascendency and producing many religious scriptures newly translated from Indic languages during the *phyi dar* (later spread) of Buddhism in Tibet. The history and nature of *gter ma* text production in Bön have received less attention than in Buddhism, but important studies have been produced in that area as well (Achard, 2004; Cantwell & Mayer, 2013; Martin, 1994; 2001). This article will mostly address the Buddhist *gter ma*.

The Buddhist texts and objects produced under the rubric of *gter ma* reference themes and practices ascribed to the time of the Yarlung dynasty, primarily during the 7th to 9th centuries, when Buddhism was imported from South Asia, became established in Tibet, and is said to have supplanted Bön traditions. By the 12th century, revealed *gter ma* objects and texts, purportedly hidden during the dynastic period specifically for the future discoverer and unearthed by dint of visionary direction, were put forth in Buddhist communities primarily among Rnying ma groups. In its full-blown form, the tradition and the objects so revealed took on estimable religious significance, as well as serving to promote particular lineages, practices, and especially charismatic teachers. The tradition of revealing scriptures and sacred objects as *gter ma* discoveries has remained a popular modality of Tibetan religion down to the present, and is still producing new meditative procedures and narratives of the past today (Gayley, 2009; Hall, 2012; Germano, 1998). But while the *gter ma* literature is very voluminous, we have little knowledge of the exact practices by which these materials are produced.

Origins and Precedents

The idea of hidden *gter ma*s to be revealed at an appropriate time has notable Buddhist analogues to stories of scriptural revelation known from Mahāyāna texts, such as the recovery of the Prajñāpāramitā literature from under the sea by Nāgārjuna, or the visionary revelation of the teachings of Maitreya to Asaṅga. Attention should also be paid to the theoretical apparatus developed in Mahāyāna materials that legitimizes the word of

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the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) not directly preached by a buddha but rather through a process of inspiration (Schopen, 1978, 166–172). Such precedents are referenced by the *gter ma* apologists themselves. Particularly analogous ideas may be recognized in a long passage in the *Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*, which predicts that the *sūtra* itself will "go into a cave in the ground" until five hundred years later, when a few will propagate it again during degenerate times. Here we see presumptions common to the Tibetan *gter ma* tradition, namely that the future discoverer will be an incarnation of the original recipient of the *sūtra*'s teaching, to whom the Buddha had entrusted the text for future discovery (Harrison, 1990, 96–108). There are also some references in Indic tantric materials to "treasures" (*nidhi*) whose location in the ground may be determined by means of mantra, ritual, and visualization (Giebel, 2001, 79–80). We further find similar ideas in M. Strickmann's analysis of the story of the concealment and subsequent rediscovery of the 5th-century Chinese tantric work *Book of Consecration*, its connection to more widespread Buddhist eschatology, and its affinity with the legitimation of apocryphal *sūtras* in China in general (Strickmann, 1990). However, none of these earlier works displays the distinctive features of the Tibetan tradition, which highlight the role of the *gter ma*'s discovery by a historical individual and which often include detailed autobiographical accounts of the complex process of recovery or visionary revelation whereby the text was rediscovered and then transformed into a cycle of teachings that then came to be followed and preserved by a lineage of practitioners.

There also appear to be early roots of the idea of hiding and later revealing important materials in Tibet, quite apart from the *gter ma* tradition. Some treasure histories, like the *Bka' thang sde lnga*, describe an old practice of concealing royal treasuries in order to preserve them for future kings and generations, and provide minute details of their contents (O rgyan, 1986, 153–208) R. Davidson proposes that this practice is closely connected to the interment of the Yarlung dynasty kings in tombs inside of large tumuli, the remains of which still stand today, although most of their contents have long been plundered. R. Davidson also finds a parallel between the metaphor of the "vase body" in Rdzogs chen ("Great Perfection") *gter ma* meditative practices and the image of the royal tomb, since the early treasuries of the kings were considered to embody and preserve the royal soul or *bla*, and thus were crucial for the flourishing of the nation (Davidson, 2005, 220–224). Tibetan historiography also mentions efforts to protect politically or religiously sensitive materials by concealing them in the ground, in containers, or in temples, albeit with no connection to the *gter ma* tradition. At least by the time of the royal narrative *Dba bzhed* (11th cent. or older), we are told that Lha Tho tho ri gnyan btsan (5th cent.[?]), the first Tibetan king who received Buddhist scriptures, and then again the Buddhist conqueror king Srong btsan sgam po (7th cent.), kept these scriptures concealed in a casket and predicted that they would be rediscovered by their descendants (Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000, 24–27). Similarly, a statue of the Buddha is said to have been buried twice when it seemed to be in danger of destruction during the reign of King Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 755–797[?]). The same king reportedly retrieved important Buddhist works, concealed during the time of his father and grandfather, in order to study them (Obermiller, 1931–1932, part II, 186–187). Furthermore, texts related to the Chinese losers of the Samye debate in Tibet between Indian and Chinese versions of Buddhism are also said to have been concealed as *gter ma* in Samye Monastery (Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000, 87–88n330). In general, scholarly opinion has suggested that such concealments were for pragmatic reasons; perhaps Tibetans even hid sensitive tantric materials from India in temples in central Tibet, which were later rediscovered as well (Davidson, 2005, 215).

We also find Bönpo narratives of hiding *gter ma*, as early as the 12th-century *Grags pa gling grags*. For these Bönpo narratives, the *gter ma* mode of transmission explains the continuity of their traditions during imperial persecution, once by the prehistoric king Dri gum btsan po and then by the Buddhist king Khri Srong lde btsan (Karmay, 1972, 62–62, 93–97). A striking indication of the significance of the *gter ma* modality for Bön is the fact that the large majority of scriptures in the Bönpo canon (the Bönpo *Bka' 'gyur*) are deemed to be *gter ma* (Kvaerne, 1974; Martin *et al.*, 2003).

Supernatural stories of works hidden so as to be discovered in the future by predetermined visionaries are in place in Tibetan Buddhist literature by the 11th century at the latest. One important early example is from the Snying thig ("Heart Sphere") *tantras* that are part of the corpus of "old *tantras*" (Dudjom, 1991, 294–343). This is the *Rig pa rang shar tantra*, said in its colophon to have been hidden by Nyang ban Ting 'dzin bzang po, a Rdzogs chen master from the Imperial Period, and revealed later by Ldang ma lhun rgyal ("Rig pa rang shar chen po'i rgyud," 1991, 100.698). Another putatively early assertion of a *gter ma*-like discovery regards the text *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, which says of itself that it was recovered by the Indian master Atiśa (982–1054) from a pillar in Lhasa in the mid-11th century and underscores its supposed prior association with the 6th–7th-century king Srong btsan sgam po's apotheosis as Avalokiteśvara (Smon lam, 1989; van der Kuijp, 1996, 47). The theme of spiritual connection between discoverer and prior concealer is further elaborated in the *gter ma* text *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, probably revealed in stages by discoverers Dngos grub and Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192) and containing stories of Srong btsan sgam po and a variety of teachings and practices related to Avalokiteśvara. Here the king hides his own teachings on the bodhisattva in various statues in the Lhasa Jokhang Temple for future recovery (Kapstein, 1992).

During the same century, Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer and his followers crafted a different story about *gter ma* that focused on the king Khri Srong lde btsan, Padmasambhava, and their consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal. Padmasambhava is the famed master of tantric Buddhism who, according to Tibetan historiography, came to Tibet from northwest India in the late 8th century to help the king suppress or convert local demons and establish the teachings of Buddhism instead. His historicity is not entirely established, although it is likely that someone with that name was teaching in Tibet during Khri srong lde btsan's reign. Despite a mixed picture of Padmasambhava in earlier sources, which have him mostly connected to the *Mahāyoga tantra Vajrakīla* and related scriptures, and only staying for a short time in Tibet (Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000, 52–59), Nyang ral produced a long hagiography that has Padmasambhava staying in Tibet for years, during which time he transmits many other kinds of tantric and Rdzogs chen teachings as well, and then conceals many of these as *gter ma* with the help of Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Nyang ral, 1989; Ye shes mtsho rgyal, 1993). In fact, recent research has shown that some of the early *gter ma* passages extolling Padmasambhava are already to be found in similar form in manuscripts retrieved from Dunhuang, thus pushing back the roots of the story that places Padmasambhava at the heart of the mature *gter ma* tradition at least into the 10th or 11th century (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012, 92–94). With the work of Nyang ral, the full transformation of the figure of Padmasambhava into the master of the entire Rnying ma dispensation and esoteric transmitter of a wide range of *gter ma* teachings to future discoverers was complete.

Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer was one of the earliest Buddhist *gter ma* discoverers. He produced a robust cycle of teachings and meditative practices on the deities of the Mahāyoga class of Rnying ma *tantras* known as the Bka' brgyad (Dudjom, 1991, 275–283; Kong sprul, 1976a, vols. XXI–XXII) A century later, Gu ru Chos dbang (1212–1270) presented his own version of these teachings, also in *gter ma* format (Kong sprul, 1976a, vols. XXII–XXIII). In addition to these Mahāyoga-related *gter ma*s, the Snying thig *gter ma*s also appeared in this early period. These were connected instead to the Snying thig *tantras* and Rdzogs chen tradition of visionary practices, probably introduced to Tibet by the Indian master Vimalamitra in the 8th century and later patronized by the Tibetan Lce and Zhang clans (Germano, 1994; 2002, 241–248). The Snying thig *gter ma*s came to be codified in the 14th century by the great Rnying ma scholar Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308–1364) in an important collection of *gter ma* cycles known as *Snying tig ya bzhi* (Klong chen, 1975). A prominent merger of the Rdzogs chen practices of the Snying thig tradition with the visualizations of Mahāyoga was produced by the 18th-century 'Jigs med gling pa (1729–1798), based on his own visions and meditative experiences of Klong chen pa (Gyatso, 1998). His *Klong chen snying thig* cycle remains one of the most popular *gter ma* cycles today ('Jigs med, 1973), along with the *gter gsar* (new treasure) revelations of Chos gyur gling pa (1829–1870), Bdud 'joms gling pa (1835–1904), and Bdud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (1904–1987). But there have been many other important *gter ma* cycles as well. Some of the highlights are the Byang gter (northern treasure) revelations of Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can (1337–1409), the work of Ratna Gling pa (1403–1479), who compiled one of the earliest collections of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* (old *tantras*), the revelations of Rdo rje gling pa (1346–1405), and those of the prolific visionary of Bhutan, Pema gling pa (1450–1521; Aris, 1988). Gter bdag gling pa (1646–1714), a prominent master who founded Smin grol gling Monastery in central Tibet and a confidante and teacher of the powerful fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), also produced *gter ma* cycles. In addition to Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas and 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen rtse dbang po, whose outstanding work of compilation and new revelation in the 19th century is discussed below, other leading figures in the *gter ma* movement in recent times have been

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Bsod rgyal las rab gling pa (1856–1926), a teacher to the thirteenth Dalai Lama; Bsod rgyal's reincarnation 'Jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas (1933–2004), who established a very large monastery in 1980 in eastern Tibet (Germano, 1998); Dil mgo mkhyen brtse (c. 1910–1991), reincarnation of 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen rtse dbang po and in turn of 'Jigs med gling pa; the female teacher Se ra mkha' 'gro Bde ba'i rdo rje (1892–1940; Jacoby, 2014); Se ra mkha' 'gro's female reincarnation Ta re lha mo nam mkha'i bu mo (1938–2003; Gayley, 2009); and popular teachers in the West such as Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche (Chos rgyam Drung pa; 1939–1987) and Namkha'i Norbu (Nam mkha'i nor bu; 1938-).

Historiography and Apologetics

Several of the key *gter ma* texts are concerned more with history than with doctrine and practice, or at least the two in equal measure. This is already the case in the *Kha chems ka khol ma* and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, and it is further evidenced by Nyang ral's *gter ma* biography of Padmasabhava and the discoverer O rgyan gling pa's (b. 1323) five books of narratives of the Imperial Period, the *Bka' thang sde lnga*, along with his own biography of Padmasambhava, *Padma bka' thang* (O rgyan, 1986; 1987). While recounting many of the same events that are addressed in more mainstream and comprehensive Tibetan Buddhist historiography, such as the histories called *chos 'byung* (coming of the dharma) and other genre labels, the *gter ma* histories are composed in a prophetic voice and are also distinguished by the orthographical device of the *gter shad* punctuation [༔] instead of the usual *shad* [।] that marks the ends of Tibetan clauses or sentences. They begin with the stories around the early kings and advance in particular the narrative around Padmasambhava, with details about how he was invited from Oḍḍiyāna in northwest India to tame the unruly demons of Tibet by the Indian Buddhist philosopher Śāntarakṣita, who was also in Tibet in the late 8th century. Starting with Nyang ral's rendition of his life, Padmasambhava was portrayed as able to foresee the future, when the people of Tibet would need special tantric teachings. He therefore formulated and transmitted those teachings to specially appointed disciples and proceeded to implant in their minds a key to be held in memory in the future when they would be able to reveal the teachings at the right time. His consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal then helped Padmasambhava to record the main *gter ma* teaching in writing, often condensed into code that could only be deciphered by the appointed discoverer, and then concealed the text where it would often lie for centuries (Gyatso, 1983; 1993). This story is also repeated frequently in summary in the historical sections to be found in many of the individual *gter ma* ritual cycles. Additionally there develops a hagiography around Ye she mtsho rgyal herself. She was a wife of Khri Srong lde btsan and then bestowed as an offering by the king on Padmasambhava (Gyatso, 2006). She became an enlightened master in her own right, as related in several *gter ma* versions of her life, most famously by the 17th-century visionary Stag sham nus ldan rdo rje (b. 1655).

An early sign of a self-consciousness among its adherents that *gter ma* is a tradition in its own right is the history and defense of the *gter ma* mode of textual production written by Gu ru Chos dbang (Gyatso, 1994). This work claimed that *gter ma* was a common mode of transmission even in Indian Buddhism, and that works like Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* are actually *gter ma* texts. It also characterized many kinds of objects and other things as *gter ma*, including hidden forests and water supplies. Another lengthy defense of *gter ma* as well as a brilliant theoretical exposition of its metaphysical grounds, the process of visionary inspiration, and its evocative semiotics was written by the third Rdo grub chen incarnation, 'Jigs med bstan pa nyi ma (1865–1926[?]), in the 19th century (Rdo grub chen, 1975; Thondup, 1997; Gyatso, 1986).

A further sure sign that *gter ma* came to be viewed as a consolidated tradition in its own right is the creation of biographical collections devoted to telling the life stories of the discoverers. While most of these collections may only have appeared in the last two centuries, they are based on earlier lists of prophesied discoverers found in the hagiographies of Padmasambhava, such as that by O rgyan gling pa. Fleshed-out biographies of the *gter ma* discoverers are included in an important five-volume study of the Rnying ma school, compiled in 1807–1809 by Guru Bkra shis (Guru, vol. II, n.d.). These biographies were picked up and expanded by the *Gter rnam brgya rtsa* composed by the great 19th-century polymath Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899; Kong sprul, 1976b). This detailed study of more than one hundred *gter ma* discoverers fills most of the first large volume of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, a massive collection, originally consisting in

63 large volumes of a wide range of *gter ma* cycles of teachings available to Kong sprul in the 19th century (Kong sprul, 1976a; Schwieger, 2010).

The surest sign that *gter ma* was cast as a tradition unto itself, the *Rin chen gter mdzod* stands as a veritable canon of *gter ma* literature, an authoritative corpus of sacred history, religious philosophy, and practice, all presented as revealed scripture. It was put together by Kong sprul with the help of his visionary colleague 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po; both were leaders of the Ris med (nonsectarian) movement that flourished in 19th-century eastern Tibet, and sought out a wide range of esoteric Buddhist teaching traditions in Tibetan Buddhism, largely including all schools save the Dge lugs pas, who enjoyed political ascendency since the rise of the Dalai Lamas (Gardner, 2006). Cogently organized around type of practice, deity on which the practice focuses, and level of metaphysical assumptions about the status of the deity vis-à-vis the practitioner, the *Rin chen gter mdzod* provides a comprehensive survey of the approaches to *guru* yoga, deity yoga, and formless visionary practice as these were formulated by *gter ma* discoverers over the centuries. In particular, it provides a massive array of genre rubrics for kinds of rituals as these were practiced in Tibetan religion.

The Buddhist *gter mas* purport to have been authored originally by the Buddha in some form. This claim, plus the additional contentions that the material was later reformulated by Padmasambhava, concealed for specially prophesied discoverers in the future, and then indeed recovered by those individuals at the appointed time and place, was understandably controversial. Not only was its transmission story implausible, but it also invited the production of apocryphal literature with little quality control. Most of all, the claim that the root *gter ma* texts were originally preached by the Buddha meant that they would be classed as *buddhavacana*, rendering them on a par with the great classics in the Kanjur and threatening the supreme authority of the *sūtras* and *tantras* so carefully collected and translated during the early centuries of Tibetan Buddhism. Among the considered critiques of the entire notion of *gter ma* and the problem of apocrypha is a work by Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704–1787), whose argument includes matters of historical authenticity as evidenced by the lack of mention of the *gter ma* works in early catalogues of scriptural works from the Dynastic Period. This work was critiqued by Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802), who argued against a blanket dismissal of this mode of textual transmission (Vostrikov, 1970, 56–57; Kapstein, 1989). But even prominent members of the Rnying ma school expressed their hesitations, for example the great 19th-century scholar 'Ju Mi pham (1846–1912; Mi pham, 1972).

Nevertheless, the *gter ma* tradition clearly made signal contributions to Tibetan religious culture. In addition to the defenses of the entire tradition as seen in the work of Guru Chos dbang and Rdo Grub chen, most cycles included special texts devoted to recounting the ultimate origin of the *gter ma* in question and to the process of discovery by the historical individual in Tibet. The former were often imaginative explorations of the metaphysics of the truth of the Buddha's teachings and the manner in which such exalted truths were rendered into communicable, linguistic form. The latter consisted in detailed autobiographical accounts of visionary states and much else and probably contributed to the explosion of autobiographical writing more generally in Tibetan literature, in contrast to its paucity in many other Buddhist contexts across Asia (Gyatso, 1993; 1998). Additionally, as the exploration into the visionary dimension of *gter ma* discovery gathered steam, the claim that a physical relic of a centuries-old manuscript was discovered on which the rest of the *gter ma* cycle was based was eschewed in some quarters. Instead, the entire process could transpire in spiritual realms, whereby the core of the *gter ma* cycle would simply be buried deep in the prophesied discoverer's memory, preserved in seminal form over many lifetimes, until it would reemerge on the surface of consciousness at the right time. This eliminated the material dimensions of *gter ma* discovery altogether, and prompted the articulation of the category of *dgongs gter* ("mental *gter ma*"), as opposed to the old idea of *sa gter* ("earth *gter ma*"). Such an approach to scriptural production opened the gates for even more creativity, and was the grounds on which 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po contributed several entire cycles of *gter ma* texts to the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, attributing them, however, to early or obscure discoverers whose revelatory writings were no longer extant.

The *gter ma* mode of transmission also facilitated the ascription of works other than religious texts to a date earlier than that which, from a modern historical perspective, we would judge to be the date of its actual author. One outstanding example is the Tibetan medical classic *Rgyud bzhi* ("Four Treatises"), composed by the 12th-century G.yu thog Yon tan mgon po on the basis of an eclectic set of

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medical traditions available in Tibet at that time. The *Rgyud bzhi* was nonetheless attributed to the medicine buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru and purported to have been composed originally in Sanskrit, translated into Tibetan in the Imperial Period, and then hidden as *gter ma* until its recovery several centuries later by G.yu thog Yon tan mgon po. This claim was hotly contested by later Tibetan medical scholars, on the grounds of the nature of the foods, medicines, and climatic conditions described in the work (Gyatso, 2015). This debate represents a distinctively empirical approach to the entire question of apocryphal scripture.

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Nonscriptural

Commentary

Commentary: Overview

The writing of commentaries has been and continues to be one of the fundamental literary activities of Buddhists everywhere. For more than two thousand years, going back to the earliest days of the tradition, commentaries have been used to learn and teach the words of the Buddha, to transmit their form and content faithfully, and to systematize and develop Buddhist doctrine.

A commentary can be defined as a sustained textual mediation of the meaning and form of a culturally significant root text, or more simply the "continuous explication of text" (Guthmüller, 2013), to distinguish it from the more localized and occasional type of explication represented by glosses. At the same time, the very word "commentary" indicates, for the Western European tradition, a gradual evolution from glosses into the new literary genre of commentary: Latin *commentarium* originally meant "collection of notes (*commenta*)" (*OED*, 2012, *s.v.*; the same relationship holds between the Indian terms *vārttika* and *vṛtti*). It took until the 5th century CE for such notes to develop into the first full-fledged commentary (Servius's commentary on Virgil), and by the 12th century, Latin commentaries had become the "most important form of scholarly literature" in Europe (Guthmüller, 2013). What we have is thus a development from paratext to an independent work that stands in a truly intertextual relationship with its root text, with which it may engage selectively and in a topical order of its own choice. Early Buddhist commentaries not only performed the same task of continuous explication as the Latin *commenta* but also served as a tool for the rational organization of the teachings of the Buddha collected in the early Buddhist canons. From the very beginning, this organization entailed differences of opinion and organizational principles among various authorities. In the course of time, Buddhist commentators gradually assumed a voice of their own and developed original doctrinal and philosophical systems, while keeping to the literary form of commentary. This strategy allowed them to assert continuity with their tradition, while the different layers of root text and commentary facilitated the use of complex argument structures (Slaje, 2007, 73–74; Ganeri, 2011, 114–115); in the history of Buddhist studies, however, it has led to a certain neglect of commentarial literature due to a mistaken assumption of lack of creativity (Kramer, 2013). In the Buddhist world as in the Latin world, the 5th century marks the consolidation of earlier exegetical material into comprehensive commentaries on which following generations of scholars built. In parallel with these "literary" commentaries, the production of "curricular" commentaries rooted in an instructional setting and based on either teachers' or students' notes continued to be a powerful force throughout the history of Buddhism (Ganeri, 2011, 113–114; Krasser, 2011). Some of these curricular commentaries were elaborated and crossed over into the literary tradition; others remained ephemeral, yet formed and continue to form the backbone of local Buddhist instruction (McDaniel, 2008, 191–204).

Principles and Classification

The main subgenres of Buddhist commentary are the following:

1. lexical and grammatical explanation of the language of their root texts;
2. scholastic, philosophical, and juridical elaboration of their root texts' content; and
3. narrative explanation of root texts that could develop a life of its own (as with the explanatory background narratives that have been added separately to the Pali and Chinese versions of the *Dharmapada* verse collection).

While any given commentary can be categorized as primarily belonging to one of these subgenres, commentaries often combine characteristics of more than one subgenre. A basic categorization of the services provided by Buddhist commentaries would consist of linguistic and factual explanation, textual criticism (discussing variant readings), and higher criticism. That is, commentaries attempt to explain terms, provide information on allusions, and so on; or they offer textual information (this may overlap with the first category, e.g. if a term is replaced); or a commentary may reflect on the meaning and message of a text or elucidate its underlying, salvifically relevant meaning, which often involves the

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collection, discussion, and refutation of different authoritative opinions.

The Buddhist traditions of India developed their own formulations of the principles and purposes of commentarial activity. The *Catuṣpratisaraṇasūtra* (Discourse on the Four Resorts), extant in several Sanskrit versions and in Chinese, lays down the following four "resorts" for the commentator: the teaching itself (dharma) should be followed, not the person of any particular teacher (*puruṣa*); the meaning (*artha*) of the teaching should be followed, not its specific formulation (*vyañjana*); teachings with clear meaning (*nītārtha*) should be followed rather than those whose meaning needs establishing (*neyārtha*); and direct knowledge (*jñāna*) should be followed rather than discursive knowledge (*vijñāna*; Lamotte, 1949; Davidson, 1990).

This early canonical set of four "resorts" partly overlaps with four kinds of "discrimination" that the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (Discourse Resolving Difficulties; c. 3rd cent. CE) presents as characteristic of the communicative abilities of a bodhisattva (and thus to be imitated by the ideal commentator): discrimination (*pratisaṃvid*) concerning the words of the teaching (*dharma*), the meaning of the teaching (*artha*), linguistic shape (*nirukti*), such as dialectal differences, and lucidity (*pratibhāna*; Nance, 2012, 59–60). The first two of these abilities are prerequisites for understanding the word of the Buddha, the other two for communicating it to any given audience. A special case of the latter is the translation of Buddhist scriptures into non-Indian languages, and some commentaries were composed to serve precisely this purpose (e.g. the *Udānavargavivaraṇa*; Explanation of the Chapters of Inspired Utterances; see below).

The twin exegetical concerns with dharma and *artha* have an echo in the modern scholarly distinction between *Textpflege* and *Sinnpflege* ("curation of text" and "curation of meaning"; comp. Freiberger, 2000, 24, adopting terminology from Assmann & Assmann, 1987). The third term in the modern classification of commentarial purposes – *Zensur*, the distinction between authentic and unauthentic texts and the establishment of a canon – likewise constitutes a traditional Buddhist concern, as reflected for instance in the *Mahāpadeśasūtra* (Great Discourse on Criteria [for Authenticity]; Lamotte, 1947; Davidson, 1990).

The specific methods employed by commentaries to accomplish these aims are enumerated in Vasubandhu's very influential reflection on interpretation, the *Vyākhyāyukti* (Principles of Exegesis; c. 5th cent.), as (1) establishment of the purpose of the commentary (*prayojana*), (2) statement of the overall meaning (*piṇḍārtha*), (3) explanation of the meanings of words (*padārtha*), (4) demonstration of connections with other Buddhist texts and elements of Buddhist doctrine (*anusaṃdhi*), and (5) refutation of objections (*codyaparihāra*), building on a similar list in the *Vivaraṇasaṃgrahaṇī* chapter of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Nance, 2012, 105–120, 167–212). This Buddhist list of five terms resembles (and possibly inspired) a more general conception of the services of a classical Indian literary or scholastic commentary that persisted into modern times. One may compare for instance the enumeration of five exegetical services in a verse quoted in the 19th-century compendium *Nyāyakośa* (Treasury of Nyāya Philosophy; Jhaḷakîkar, 1893): *padaccheda* (word division), *padārthokti* (stating the meaning of words), *vigraha* (compound resolution), *vākyayojanā* (construal of sentences), *ākṣepasamādhāna* (answering of objections; Tubb & Boose, 2007, 3–5).

As Buddhist commentarial literature developed, a broad range of terminology came into use to distinguish (at least for us today not always clearly) between types and subtypes of commentaries. The earliest types of Buddhist commentary are called *vibhaṅga* and *nirdeśa*. The Sanskrit tradition of mainland India knows the terms *bhāṣya* (with which comp. Patañjali's grammatical commentary *Mahābhāṣya* [Great Commentary]; c. 2nd cent. BCE), *vyākhyā, vṛtti, vivaraṇa, ṭīkā*, and more. The Pali tradition of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia developed a different set of terms: *aṭṭhakathā, ṭīkā, atthayojanā, ganṭhipadavivaraṇa*, and others. Looking beyond Buddhism, the various layers of Jaina commentarial literature present a similar mixture of pan-Indian and specific terminology: *bhāsa, nijjutti*, and *cuṇṇi* for Prakrit commentaries and *vṛtti* and *ṭīkā* for Sanskrit commentaries (Balbir, 2009, 48–53; for the terminology of Sanskrit philosophical literature, see also Ganeri, 2011, 103). This general situation is mirrored in European humanist and Renaissance commentaries: "very many terms applied to [them], not always displaying any clear distinction . . . (*commentarius, interpretatio, enarratio, expositio, explicatio, adnotationes, glossae, scholia* etc.)" (Guthmüller, 2013).

Over time, particularly important canonical texts attracted whole clusters of commentaries. These may be considered "commentarial complexes," because the multiple layers of commentaries and

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The Early Period

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subcommentaries cross-reference and shed light on each other. Moreover, such complexes are socially recognized, since several would typically be used together in teaching and scriptural study. Examples of such complexes that have received recent scholarly attention are the commentaries on the Pali *Brahmajālasuttanta* (Discourse on the Religious Net; Bodhi, 1978), the Pali *Dhammapada* (Word of the Doctrine; Carter & Palihawadana, 1987), the *Heart Sūtra* (Lopez, 1988), and the *Śālistambasūtra* (Discourse on the Rice Stalk; Schoening, 1995). A uniquely elaborate case of a commentarial complex is the Pali *aṭṭhakathā* and *ṭīkā* literature, a carefully planned enterprise commenting on the entirety of the Pali canon (Bond, 1982; Mori, 1984; see below).

The Early Period

The earliest Buddhist commentaries were collections of occasional (and originally oral) glosses (see below on the *Suttaniddesa* [Explanation of the Discourses], commonly called *Niddesa*) and the early Chinese scripture commentaries. In some cases, such glosses also provided the raw material for the gradual expansion of the root texts themselves by means of synonym strings and insertion of literary clichés. A case in point is the observable evolution of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Understanding in Eight Thousand Lines) from its earliest accessible version in Gandhari language through the exemplar of Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation into the transmitted Sanskrit text (Falk & Karashima, 2012; 2013), in the process of which the text grew through such, at times seemingly mechanical, explanatory expansions.

Another starting point for the Buddhist genre of commentary were the root texts – mythologically speaking, the word of the Buddha – themselves since "the sūtra discourses comment on the Buddha's insights and the path" (Mayer, 2004, 166). As the tradition presents the myth of scripture production, in the course of his long teaching career, the Buddha formulated the same insights in different ways for different audiences, in effect providing different commentarial angles on the same topic. Occasionally, the Buddha delegated the explication of his teaching to one of his closest disciples, moving the textual product one step closer to being a commentary. The best-known example is the recitation of the *Saṃgītisūtra* (Discourse on the Recital) by Śāriputra when back pain prevented the Buddha from teaching it himself (as described in the introduction of the discourse; D III 209 in the Pali version). Another example is the *Bhaddekarattasuttanta* (Discourse on an Excellent Single Night) – preserved in the Pali *Majjhimanikāya* (Middle-Length Collection, nos. 131–134) – the teaching of which the Buddha partially delegated to Ānanda and Mahākassapa. The text is divided into *uddesa* (exposition) and *vibhaṅga* (explication), using the technical terminology of early Buddhist exegesis (von Hinüber, 1996, 33). We may view these as (successful) attempts to canonize certain commentarial acts, attributed to the Buddha's closest disciples but possibly executed by later individuals or groups who will remain forever unknown.

Three non-Buddhist traditions also appear to have influenced the development of Buddhist commentarial genres. The Pali *Khandhaka* (Chapters [on Discipline]), the explanation of ritual rules for Buddhist monks and nuns, may have been modeled on the explanation of Brahmanical ritual rules in the pre-Buddhist *brāhmaṇa* ("Brahmanical") literature (von Hinüber, 1996, 17–18). The *jātaka* (stories of the previous births of the Buddha) genre – the embedding of canonical verses in a narrative framework explaining the verses – appears to be indebted to the *ākhyāna* (legend) type of literature, likewise going back to the early Vedic period (von Hinüber, 1996, 56–57). And finally, the Buddhist scholastic practice of an author writing prose commentaries on his own succinct technical treatises follows the procedure of Brahmanical *sūtra* literature in technical fields such as grammar (Schoening, 1995, 111–113; Ganeri, 2011, 112–116).

The earliest example of a *vibhaṅga* (explication) outside the collection of the Buddha's discourses is the *Suttavibhaṅga* commentary on the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (Binding Discourse), the fundamental rules of conduct for Buddhist monks and nuns, which is preserved in Pali and Sanskrit versions and in Chinese, Tocharian, and Tibetan translations. The second early Buddhist commentary type, *nirdeśa* (explanation), is characterized by its concern with synonyms for central doctrinal terms, collecting them into mnemonic building blocks or mapping among them. The two main examples of this genre are the Pali *Suttaniddesa* (Explanation of the Discourses) attributed to Śāriputra (see below) and the Gandhari verse commentaries that refer to themselves as a *nirdeśa* of *sūtra* (see below).

After the Pali *Suttavibhaṅga* and *Suttaniddesa*, which preserve very early material, the oldest preserved Buddhist commentaries are three Gandhari commentaries on early Buddhist verses and one on the *Saṃgītisūtra*. Moreover, in contrast to the Pali texts, which reach us after centuries of redaction and copying, the Gandhari commentaries were discovered in birchbark manuscripts from the 1st century CE and are thus very close to their autographs, and possibly even autographs themselves. These manuscripts owe their survival to the fact that they – together with dozens of other Buddhist texts on birchbark scrolls – were carefully deposited in clay pots and other vessels in the arid region that is now northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan (Baums, 2014a, 208–213). Their unique importance lies in providing firsthand unmediated evidence for the state and craft of Buddhist commentary writing in this very early period, while the loss of comparable early commentaries elsewhere testifies to the ephemeral nature of this type of text.

The verse commentaries contain selections of verses from the *Dharmapada* or *Udāna* (Inspired Utterances), the *Arthavarga* (Chapters on Meaning), the *Pārāyaṇa* (Going to the Far Shore), and other canonical sources. Each section is introduced by the first quarter of the verse in question, followed by the formula *sutro tatra ṇideśo* (Skt. *sūtraṃ tatra nirdeśaḥ*; "[thus] the canonical text; the explanation on it [is as follows]"), indicating a relationship with the exegetical tradition represented by the Pali *Suttaniddesa*, which is also borne out by some shared material.

The main service provided by the verse commentaries is, however, a procedure of "categorial reduction" (Baums, 2014b), whereby the parts of each verse are systematically equated with the members of sets of doctrinal categories, such as the three sources (*nidāna*) lust (*rāga*), hate (*dveṣa*), and delusion (*moha*) or the three categories (*skandha*) virtue (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and understanding (*prajñā*). A very similar procedure (employing a distinct but overlapping set of categories) is taught in the *Nayasamuṭṭhāna* (Operation of Guidelines) chapter of the Pali exegetical manual *Peṭakopadesa* (Instruction for the Piṭaka Master; Ñāṇamoli, 1964; Baums, 2014b, 35) and exemplified in the *Hārasampāta* (Combined Exegesis) chapter of the same work. This text thus seems to occupy a very important place in the history of Buddhist commentary. Linguistic features of the Pali *Peṭakopadesa* (including the peculiar form of its title) suggest that it was translated into Pali from a northwestern language such as Gandhari, a conjecture that is strengthened by the identification of An Shigao's 2nd-century Chinese translation *Yinchirujing* (陰持入經; Commentary on the Discourse on Aggregates, Elements, and Spheres; T. 603) as a version of the *Suttatthasamuccaya* (Summary of the Meaning of the Discourses) chapter of the *Peṭakopadesa* (Zacchetti, 2002a; see below). When one further takes into consideration the untraced quotations from an Indian exegetical manual called *Pile* (毘勒; Piṭaka [Master]) in the 5th-century *Da zhidu lun* (大智度論; Great Treatise on the Perfection of Understanding; T. 1509; Zacchetti, 2002b; see below), the following scenario seems likely: the method of categorial reduction and related exegetical procedures flourished in northwestern India, where we see them employed in the Gandhari commentary manuscripts and where they were probably set out in a number of manuals. The early Chinese translators took an interest in these methods, translating and quoting from some of the Piṭaka manuals, whereas the Theravāda tradition collected and translated them in the Pali *Peṭakopadesa*, reworked their content in the *Nettippakaraṇa* (Guidebook; Ñāṇamoli, 1962), and employed some of their methods in the *aṭṭhakathās*. This method of categorical reduction (or mapping) may have a historical echo in the short-lived early Chinese exegetical method of *geyi* (see below).

The Gandhari *Saṃgītisūtra* commentary employs the same method of categorial reduction as the Gandhari verse commentaries, with many of the same target doctrinal categories. It adds a second level of reduction by mapping each set of ten complete commentary sections to the Four Truths (*satya*) or the Three Courses (*vartman*) in special summary sections. Another prominent service, introducing most commentary sections of the *Saṃgītisūtra* commentary, is the etymological explanation of the root text's doctrinal terms. The order of root terms in the Gandhari commentary corresponds almost perfectly to that of the Chinese translation of the *Saṃgītisūtra* in the *Chang ahan jing* (長阿含經; Discourses of the Long Collection; T. 1), suggesting an affiliation with the Dharmaguptaka school (Salomon, 1999, 171–173).

A prominent feature of both the Gandhari verse commentaries and the Gandhari *Saṃgītisūtra* commentary is their systematic collection and presentation of alternative interpretations for the same part of the root text, sometimes simply introduced by the expression "alternatively," in other cases attributed to "some" or "others." No preference is usually expressed for any of these alternatives, other than possibly by the order in which they are presented.

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This stands in contrast to another group of Gandhari scholastic treatises, such as a commentary on or discussion of the *Dhātuvibhaṅgasūtra* (Discourse on the Explication of the Elements) and especially an independent treatise on existence in the three times (British Library Fragment 28; Cox, 2014, 43-46). Both of these point the way to the later flourishing in Gandhara and Kashmir of polemical commentaries and other scholastic works in Sanskrit (see below).

We know very little about early Buddhist commentarial traditions in the regional languages other than those preserved in Gandhari and Pali. A body of commentaries in Old Sinhalese language was reworked into the Pali *aṭṭhakathās* and subsequently lost, and the Pali commentaries refer to lost commentaries of the South Indian Andhaka school (von Hinüber, 1996, 101–102, 104–105).

Similarly, few Sanskrit commentaries on the early Buddhist canon have come down to us in the form of manuscript fragments, and our knowledge of commentarial activity in this area remains incomplete. The remnants of a Buddhist monastic library discovered at Bamiyan include fragments of a *Dharmapada* commentary (now preserved in the Schøyen Collection), and a number of Sanskrit fragments from the northern Silk Road (including SHT, fragment 922; Sander, 1981, 66) contain commentarial material on the *Udānavarga* (Chapters of Inspired Utterances). It is possible that these commentaries – like the earlier Gandhari commentaries on the same root texts – served pedagogical purposes in the training of Buddhist novices who had memorized the verses that now functioned as vehicles for doctrinal explication. A later Sanskrit commentary on the *Udānavarga* is Prajñāvarman's 8th-century *Udānavargavivaraṇa*, produced to support the translation of the *Udānavarga* root text into Tibetan and now itself only preserved in Tibetan translation (Balk, 1988).

Consolidation and Handbooks

As commentaries and subcommentaries proliferated in Indian Buddhism, the need arose for synthetic treatments of Buddhist doctrine. The first large-scale attempt at such systematization were the Abhidharma (scholastic) treatises of the early Buddhist schools, which use many of the same techniques as the earlier commentaries (von Hinüber, 1996, 68) and in many respects can be regarded as a special kind of commentary on the entire body of the Buddha's teaching rather than on individual texts, an understanding reflected by the title of the Theravāda Abhidharma work *Vibhaṅga*. We have the complete canonical Abhidharma collections of the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda schools and individual works by other schools such as the Dharmaguptaka. Formally, the Sarvāstivāda canonical Abhidharma work *Saṃgītiparyāya* is a commentary on the *Saṃgītisūtra* (Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 67–68), and the Theravāda *Kathāvatthu* appears to have in turn presupposed its own explanatory commentary, now lost (von Hinüber, 1996, 72).

The Sarvāstivāda canonical Abhidharma treatises in turn attracted a very lively commentarial activity, the several layers and summaries of which provided the formal framework for the development of Sarvāstivāda thought. Fragments of the *Prakaraṇabhāṣya* (Commentary on [the Treatise on] Topics), an early commentary on the *Prakaraṇapāda* (Treatise on Topics), were found on the northern Silk Road (Sander, 1981, 65–66). In Kashmir, a tradition of writing scholastic compendia called *vibhāṣā*, all formally commentaries on the *Jñānaprasthāna* (System of Knowledge), flourished and reached its last and most comprehensive expression in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Great Commentary), allegedly compiled and redacted at a Buddhist council convened by the emperor Kaniṣka in the 2nd century CE; the *Mahāvibhāṣā* became the foundational text of the Vaibhāṣika school of Sarvāstivāda scholasticism (Willemen, Dessein & Cox, 1998, 116–121). At the same time in Gandhara, the development of Sarvāstivāda thought found expression in a series of systematic compendia including Dharmaśreṣṭhin's (or Dharmottara's) **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (Treatise on the Heart of Scholasticism; T. 1550), Upaśānta's **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (Treatise on the Heart of Scholasticism; T. 1551), and Dharmatrāta's **Miśrakābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (Mixed Treatise on the Heart of Scholasticism; T. 1281; all three only preserved in Chinese translation). The literary form of the last of these – a verse root text arranged by topic and combined with an autocommentary – was adopted by Vasubandhu (5th cent. CE) in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, which presents orthodox Vaibhāṣika doctrine in the root text and subjects it to Sautrāntika criticism in the commentary. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* became the most successful handbook of Indian Abhidharma and served in translation as the fundamental scholastic compendium throughout Tibet and East Asia, down to today, and was also translated into Tocharian and Uighur (Sander, 1981, 66). The main subcommentaries on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* are Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Commentary on the Treasury of Scholasticism Having Clear Meaning; Wogihara, 1932–1936) and Sthiramati's *Tattvārthābhidharmakośaṭīkā* (Commentary on the Treasury of Scholasticism Having True Meaning; a Sanskrit manuscript of this text has recently been rediscovered in Tibet). Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* (Companion to the Treasury of Scholasticism; D 4094/P 5595; Honjō, 1984; for a complete annotated translation, see Honjō, 2014) collects the numerous canonical citations and allusions of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* as an aid to the reader; Dignāga's *Marmapradīpābhidharmakośavṛtti* (Commentary on the Treasury of Scholasticism Illuminating the Core; only preserved in Tibetan translation; D 4095/P 5596) is a summary of the *Abhidharmakośa*, and the manual *Abhidharmadīpa* (Illuminator of Scholasticism) with the autocommentary *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* (Commentary Illuminating the [Great] Commentary; Jaini, 1977) appears to have been written in response to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

According to the introductions of the Theravāda Abhidharma commentaries *Atthasālinī* (Rich in Meaning), *Sammohavinodanī* (Dispeller of Delusion), and *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (Commentary on Five Works), the famous commentator Buddhaghosa initiated their production in the 4th or 5th century CE, which means that he did not write them himself (von Hinüber, 1996, 149–153). A certain Ānanda of Kalasapura and his pupil Dhammapāla produced sets of subcommentaries on the Abhidharma commentaries in the 5th and 6th centuries CE (or later; von Hinüber, 1996, 166–170). Theravāda Abhidharma commentaries continued to be written into the modern period (von Hinüber, 1996, 149n513).

With the rise of Mahāyāna Budhism sometime around the turn of the new millennium, and the corresponding production of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, came a new production of commentaries as well. A retrospective overview of Indian Mahāyāna commentaries can be gleaned from the Tibetan translation catalogues and extant translation corpus (Schoening, 1996). The *Lhan kar ma* catalog (early 9th cent. CE) lists 51 titles in its section on commentaries on Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and another 8 titles in its section on *sūtra* commentaries translated from Chinese. Approximately 30 of these commentaries are lost and only known from the catalogue. Taking these together with the 90 translations of Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries that are preserved in the Tanjur (Translation of Teachings), a total of approximately 120 Indian Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries are known to have been translated into Tibetan. There are 34 Mahāyāna *sūtras* in the Kanjur (Translation of the Word [of the Buddha]) that have corresponding commentaries in the Tanjur, including eight *sūtras* from the *Prajñāpāramitā* section and 25 other Mahāyāna *sūtras*. At least 20 commentaries in the Tanjur are subcommentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra Prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra* (Instructional Treatise on the Perfection of Understanding [Called] Ornament of Intuition; Schoening, 1996, 115–116), a systematizing verse summary of, probably, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Understanding in 25,000 Lines; Conze, 1978, provides a comprehensive overview of the Prajñāpāramitā commentarial literature in India and Tibet). Examples of other Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries influential either in East Asia or in Tibet are Vasubandhu's **Daśabhūmikasūtropadeśa* (Instruction on [the Discourse on] the Ten Planes; T. 1522), or **Daśabhūmikabhāṣya* (Commentary on [the Discourse on] the Ten Planes), Sthiramati's *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* (Commentary on the Explanation of Akṣayamati; Braarvig, 1993), and Vīryaśrīdatta's *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana* (Treatise on the Discourse Discussing the Meaning; Samtani, 1971). It is nonetheless curious that relatively speaking, Mahāyāna *sūtras* were apparently infrequently commented on in India; in East Asia, however, we witness a positive efflorescence of *sūtra* commentaries, with especially importance given to doctrinally or ritually significant texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Lotus Discourse), *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (Larger Pure Land Discourse), *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (Great Discourse on Vairocana), and the like.

Eventually, these growing bodies of Buddhist commentaries and subcommentaries demanded a further synthesis in the form of comprehensive, systematic handbooks. The classical age for such handbooks were the 4th and 5th centuries CE, prominent examples being Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purity) for the Theravāda tradition, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Ornament of Intuition) for the Prajñāpāramitā literature, and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Commentary on the Treasury of Scholasticism) for Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma. Such handbooks could be designed to help in the production of a set of commentaries (as with the *Visuddhimagga* and the Pali *aṭṭhakathās*), or they could themselves give rise to a second wave of commentaries (as with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* or *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and their subcommentaries).

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Philosophical Commentaries

In the case of the Indian Buddhist philosophical schools, commentaries likewise served as the primary literary form for the back and forth of discussion and the exposition of arguments. The primary root-text reference for the unfolding of Madhyamaka philosophical discussion was Nāgārjuna's (*Prajñānāma*) *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (Root Verses on the Middle Way [Called Understanding]). The *Akutobhayā* (Fearless), attributed to Nāgārjuna himself and translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 409 CE (T. 1564) and into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan, and Buddhapālita's *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (Root Commentary on the Middle Way) are two important early commentaries on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Bhāviveka (c. 500–570 CE) used his commentary *Prajñāpradīpa* (Illuminator of Understanding) on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* for a critique of Buddhapālita, and in his *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (Verses on the Heart of the Middle Way) with the autocommentary *Tarkajvālā* (Flame of Reasoning), he defended the Madhyamaka standpoint against an array of Buddhist and non-Buddhist opponents. Candrakīrti (c. 600–650 CE) composed the *Prasannapadā* (Clear-Worded), another preeminent commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, and further engaged with Nāgārjuna's thought in the *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti* (Commentary on the 70 [Verses] on Emptiness) and the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* (Commentary on the 60 Principles), in addition to writing a commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (Four Hundred [Verses]). The later Madhyamaka philosopher Kamalaśīla (c. 740–795 CE) – famous in the history of Tibetan Buddhism as a proponent of gradual enlightenment in the debate of Bsam yas (c. 792–794 CE), which led to royal support of the Indian form of Buddhism over the Chinese – composed influential commentaries on his teacher Śāntarakṣita's works *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (Ornament of the Middle Way; a synthesis of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka thought) and *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Summary of Truth; a comprehensive doxography of Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools of thought). (For a detailed survey of Indian Madhyamaka literature, see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981.)

The points of departure for Yogācāra commentarial activity were Mahāyāna *sūtras* as well as foundational philosophical treatises. Vasubandhu, for instance, on the one hand composed the *Daśabhūmikabhāṣya* on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (see above) and on the other the *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* (Commentary on the Distinction of the Middle and the Extremes) on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (Distinction of the Middle and the Extremes) attributed to Maitreyanātha. He also wrote a commentary on his older brother Asaṅga's compendium *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Summary of Mahāyāna) and followed the expository strategy of root text with autocommentary in his *Viṃśatikā* (Twenty [Verses]). Similarly, the famous commentator Sthiramati (c. 510–570 CE) is alleged to have written a Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentary in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* (see above) and commentaries and subcommentaries on his recent predecessors' work in the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (Commentary on the Summary of Scholasticism; engaging with Asaṅga) and *Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya* (Commentary on the 30 [Verses] on Consciousness) and *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* (Commentary on the Distinction of the Middle and the Extremes; both responding to Vasubandhu). Here as so often in the history of Indian literature, it is possible that some commentaries by other authors have been retrospectively associated with Sthiramati's name.

In the logico-epistemological school of Buddhism, Dharmakīrti (7th cent. CE) employed the root-text/autocommentary strategy in his *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (Autocommentary on the Commentary on the Means of Knowledge), the first part of his *Pramāṇavārttika* (Commentary on the Means of Knowledge) on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (Compendium of the Means of Knowledge). The combined work attracted subcommentaries by Karṇakagomin (*Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛttiṭīkā* [Commentary on the Autocommentary on the Commentary on the Means of Knowledge]) and Prajñākaragupta (*Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣya* [Commentary on the Commentary on the Means of Knowledge] or *Vārttikālaṃkāra* [Ornament of the Commentary]).

Commentaries and Translation

On the borders of the Indian cultural sphere, Buddhists using non-Indian languages translated Indian commentarial works: the Chinese *Saṃgītiparyāya* (Stache-Rosen, 1968), the Tocharian *Vinayavibhaṅga* (Explication of the Discipline; Pinault, 2008, 61–88), and the numerous Tibetan Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries discussed above may serve as examples. But part and parcel of the general translation activity of Buddhist literature from Indian to non-Indian languages was the production of new commentarial material in the recipient languages. In its simplest form, these were glosses supplied by a translator or member of a translation team to elucidate difficult terms or justify translation choices; at the other end, these were accomplished literary compositions in their own right that would come to shape the new Buddhist idioms of the recipient languages.

There is little doubt that the genre of commentary went hand in hand with translation, as for instance in China when a foreign master elucidated a text in the course of expounding it for translation, this sometimes being a public event. This procedure on the one hand provides a good example of how commentarial glosses may have entered a text and on the other hand emphasizes the inevitable role of translation itself as commentary, since any rendering of words from one language into another involves decisions about meaning.

The earliest Chinese translation procedure as attested in colophons involved a master (usually Indian or Central Asian) providing both *koushou* (口授; oral translation) and *koujie* (口解; oral explanation; Zürcher, 1959, 31). Three products of this procedure from the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE are still extant: An Shigao's (安世高; *fl.* c. 150–170 CE) *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* (阿含口解十二因緣經; Discourse on the Oral Explanation of the 12 Causal Links in the Canon; T. 1508) contains a separate collection of glosses (Zürcher, 1959, 31, 330n69) that constitutes a "record of oral explanations delivered by An Shigao to his students" (Zacchetti, 2004; Nattier, 2008, 63–64). The *Yinchiru jing zhu* (T. 1694) associated with Kang Senghui 康僧會 (*fl.* c. 220–240/260 or 250–280 CE) is based on a root text by An Shigao (T. 603; see above; Zürcher, 1959, 54; Nattier, 2008, 152). Similarly, the *Anban shouyi jing zhu* (安般守意經注; Commentary on the Discourse on Mindfulness in Breathing; T. 602) associated with Kang Senghui is based on a root text (the **Ānāpānasmṛtisūtra* [Discourse on Mindfulness in Breathing]) in An Shigao style recently rediscovered in an ancient Chinese manuscript brought to Japan and preserved in the Kongōji temple in Osaka (Nattier, 2008, 60–61; Zacchetti, 2007) and contains a mix of text and explanation (Zürcher, 1959, 31, 53, 54, 330n68). With these three texts, one may compare the glosses inserted in chapter 1 of the *Da mingdu jing* (大明度經; Great Discourse on the Perfection of Understanding; T. 225) associated with Kang Senghui and Zhi Qian (支謙; *fl.* c. 220–250 CE), the root text of which consists of a mixture of scriptural quotations from meditation and Mahāyāna texts (Zürcher, 1959, 54, 338n162). A special exegetical procedure (reminiscent of the categorial mapping of the early Indian commentaries) is *geyi* (格義), the explanation of numerical lists in Indian Buddhist texts through comparable texts in the Chinese classics (Mair, 2010). This procedure was introduced in the late 3rd century by the Chinese teacher Zhu Faya (竺法雅) for those unfamiliar with the Indian literary list style, but it stayed ephemeral and was already denounced by Zhu Faya's disciple Dao'an (道安; 312–385 CE).

The next stage of development, in which the exegetical material has assumed the character of an independent commentarial text, is illustrated by Dao'an's *Renben yusheng jing zhu* (人本欲生經註; Commentary on the Great Discourse on Conditioned Arising; T. 1693), a commentary on An Shigao's **Mahānidānasūtra* (Great Discourse on Causes; T. 14) translation (Zürcher, 1959, 186, 388n33), and by the anonymous *Shi'er men chan jing* 十二門禪經 (Discourse on the 12 Gates of Meditation) from the Kongōji manuscript, a commentary on An Shigao's *Shi'er men jing* (十二門經; Discourse on the 12 Gates; Zacchetti, 2003; Nattier, 2008, 65). (On Dao'an's commentarial style and exegetical theory, see Zürcher, 1959, 187, 191–192; and on the style of these *zhu* [註] commentaries in general, see Kanno, 2002; Mayer, 2004, 167–168).

A third style of early Chinese commentary, based on Indian precedents, is the addition of illustrative stories to early canonical verse texts, which we see in Zhi Qian's *Arthapada* (Word of Meaning; i.e. *Arthavarga*) translation *Yizu jing* (義足經; Discourse on the Word of Meaning; T. 198; Bapat, 1951; Nattier, 2008, 134) and in the *Dharmapada* version *Faju piyu jing* (法句譬喻經; Discourse on the Word of the Doctrine and Similes; T. 211) attributed to Faju (法炬) and Fali (法立; *fl.* 290–306 CE), which is based on a root text (T. 210; trans. 224 CE) by Weiqinan (維祇難) revised by Zhi Qian (*fl.* 222–252 CE; Zürcher, 1959, 47–4855).

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Stefan Baums

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STEFAN BAUMS

Early Scripture Commentary

A complete set of commentaries and subcommentaries on the Theravāda Tipiṭaka is preserved in the original language (Pali). This commentarial tradition begins with texts embedded in the Tipiṭaka and ends in late subcommentaries written during the 19th century. Theravāda commentaries are listed together with the basic text (Tipiṭaka) in H. Smith (1948). Commentaries of other schools usually survive only as translations, with the exception of important fragments of very early commentaries in Gandhari.

It is impossible to date the first Theravāda commentaries. However, in terms of a relative chronology, the oldest explanations that might be called "commentary" are preserved in the *Majjhimanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. Four *suttanta*s, numbered 131–134, in the *Uparipaṇṇāsa* (Additional Fifties) section contain almost the same text with titles containing the phrase *bhaddekarattasutta*, "discourse on a person, for whom (day and) night are auspicious" (comp. Skt. *ekarātra*, "[duration of] one day and night"). The first discourse, the *Bhaddekarattasuttanta*, delivered by the Buddha himself, is followed by the other three, the *Ānandabhaddekarattasuttanta*, *Mahākaccānapabhaddekarattasuttanta*, and *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekarattasuttanta*, respectively. The structure of the four *suttanta*s (discourses) is quite unusual. The Buddha begins his discourse with an *uddesa* (concise statement) followed by a *vibhaṅga* (explanation). The *uddesa* consists of verses, and the following *niddesa* is a line-by-line interpretation of these verses (von Hinüber, 1996, § 64).

This terminology concurs with the one widely current in Indian exegetical literature. The Sanskrit term *uddeśa* (concise statement; explained in the *Arthaśāstra* as *samāsavākya* [condensed sentence]) is contrasted to *nirdeśa* (detailed treatment; explained in the *Arthaśāstra* as *vyāsavākyam* [detailed sentence, explanation] and thus roughly corresponding to *vibhaṅga* in the *Majjhimanikāya*) and *upadeśa* (advice, instruction; explained as *evaṃ vartitavyaṃ* [one must behave thus]) in chapter 15 (*Tantrayukti* [On Method]) of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Olivelle, 2013, 436). This set of terms is used in Pali as well: *uddesa, niddesa*, and *upadesa* (Smith, 1949, 1129, § 5.3.2.3).

While the *vibhaṅga* in the *Bhaddekarattasuttanta*s is very similar to a commentary, the *Suttavibhaṅga* – the first part of the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Theravādins – contains a genuine commentary on the monastic rules of the *Pātimokkha*, an "explanation of the *sutta*," with the word *sutta* as usual in the language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka referring to the *Pātimokkha* only in contrast to *suttanta*, which is used for the texts of the *Suttapiṭaka*. Each individual rule of *Pātimokkha* is followed by a word-for-word explanation. A new and Theravāda(?) term not used by other Buddhist schools is coined for this particular commentary: *padabhājanīya* (word-for-word commentary) or *sikkhāpadavibhaṅga* (detailed explanation of a rule [in the Vinaya]), glossed in *Samantapāsādikā* 230.21 as *atthaṃ vibhajanto* (explaining the meaning in detail [Smith, 1949, 1128, § 5.3.2.1]).

A brief fragment of a commentary on the introductory formula to the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* is inserted into the text of the *Uposathakkhandhaka* (Section on the *Uposatha*), chapter 2 of the *Mahāvagga* in the Theravāda Vinaya (Vin I.103.12–104.20). This fragment is the original introduction to the *Suttavibhaṅga* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 26) to which it is also similar in structure and in the peculiar way in which it quotes words from the *Pātimokkha*. Not only the word is *iti* used as marker of a quotation, which is common to the Indian commentarial tradition (Tubb & Boose, 2007, 15, § 1.6.1), but also the word *nāma* is to non-Theravāda commentaries. Although the conditions for the distribution of *iti* and *nāma* have not yet been identified, the use of *nāma* could be a distinctive feature of the style of the lost "old *aṭṭhakathā*" form of commentary (von Hinüber, 1996, § 261; see also below). This paragraph from the *Mahāvagga* is also commented on in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (see below).

Only one commentary is incorporated into the Tipiṭaka as a separate text: the *Niddesa* (Detailed Explanation), which, at the same time, is one out of only two canonical texts attributed by the tradition to an individual author (the other being the *Kathāvatthu* attributed to Moggaliputta Tissa). In the introduction to the commentary on the *Niddesa*, the *Saddhammapajotikā*, Sāriputta is identified as the putative author of the *Niddesa*. Although the date of

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Table 1

	Text	Commentary Author	Commentary Title	Handbook
I. *Vinayapiṭaka* (Rules for the Buddhist Order)		Anonymous	*Samantapāsādikā*	
II. *Suttapiṭaka* (Discourses)	1. *Dīghanikāya*			Buddhaghosa: *Visuddhimagga*
	2. *Majjhimanikāya*	Buddhaghosa	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*	
	3. *Saṃyuttanikāya*	Buddhaghosa	*Papañcasūdanī*	
	4. *Aṅguttaranikāya*	Buddhaghosa	*Sāratthappakāsiṇī*	
	5. *Khuddakanikāya*	Buddhaghosa	*Manorathapūraṇī*	
	1. *Khuddakapāṭha*	Anonymous	*Paramatthajotikā I*	
	2. *Dhammapada*	Anonymous	*Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*	
	3. *Udāna*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī I*	
	4. *Itivuttaka*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī II*	
	5. *Suttanipāta*	Anonymous	*Paramatthajotikā II*	
	6. *Vimānavatthu*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī III*	
	7. *Petavatthu*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī IV*	
	8. *Theragāthā*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī V*	
	9. *Therīgāthā*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī VI*	
	10. *Jātaka*	Anonymous	*Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*	
	11. *Mahāniddesa*	Upasena	*Saddhammapajjotikā I*	
	12. *Cullaniddesa*	Upasena	*Saddhammapajjotikā II*	
	13. *Paṭisambhidāmagga*	Mahānāma	*Saddhammappakāsinī*	
	14. *Apadāna*	Anonymous	*Visuddhajanavilāsinī*	
	15. *Buddhavaṃsa*	Anonymous	*Madhuratthavilāsinī*	
	16. *Cariyāpiṭaka*	Dhammapāla	*Paramatthadīpanī VII*	
III. *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (Things Referring to the Teaching)	1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*	Anonymous	*Atthasālinī*	Kassapa Coḷa: *Mohavicchedanī*
	2. *Vibhaṅga*	Anonymous	*Sammohavinodanī*	
	3. *Dhātukathā*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I*	
	4. *Puggalapaññatti*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II*	
	5. *Kaṭhāvatthu*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III*	
	6. *Yamaka*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV*	
	7. *Paṭṭhāna*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā V*	

Table 2

	Type of Subcommentary		Author	Title
Subcommentaries: *ṭīkā*	(a) *mūlaṭīkā*	basic subcommentary		
		I. (Vin, Sp)	Sāriputta	*Sāratthadīpanī*
		III.1–7	Ānanda	*Atthsālinīmūlaṭīkā*, etc.
	(b) *anuṭīkā*	sub-subcommentary		
		II.5 (Sn, Pj II; Pj II-ṭ? fragment, title uncertain)	Anonymous	* *Paramatthajotikādīpanī*
		III.1–7	Dhammapāla	*Līnatthavaṇṇanā*

III. *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (Things Referring to the Teaching)	1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*	Anonymous	*Atthasālinī*	Kassapa Coḷa: *Mohavicchedanī*
	2. *Vibhaṅga*	Anonymous	*Sammohavinodanī*	
	3. *Dhātukathā*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I*	
	4. *Puggalapaññatti*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II*	
	5. *Kathāvatthu*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III*	
	6. *Yamaka*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV*	
	7. *Paṭṭhāna*	Anonymous	*Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā V*	

Table 2

	Type of Subcommentary		Author	Title
Subcommentaries: *ṭīkā*	(a) *mūlaṭīkā*	basic subcommentary		
		I. (Vin, Sp)	Sāriputta	*Sāratthadīpanī*
		III.1–7	Ānanda	*Atthsālinīmūlaṭīkā*, etc.
	(b) *anuṭīkā*	sub-subcommentary		
		II.5 (Sn, Pj II; Pj II-ṭ? fragment, title uncertain)	Anonymous	* *Paramatthajotikādīpanī*
		III.1–7	Dhammapāla	*Līnatthavaṇṇanā*
	(c) *purāṇaṭīkā*	old subcommentary		
		II.1–4 (D/Sv; M/Ps; S/Spk; A/Mp):	Dhammapāla	*Līnatthappakāsinī*
		II.10 (Ja-a)	Dhammapāla	*Līnatthappakāsinī*
	(d) *mahāṭīkā*	great subcommentary		
		Buddhaghosa *Visuddhimagga*	Dhammapāla	*Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā*
	(e) *navaṭīkā*	new sub-subcommentary		
		I. (Vin, Sp, Sp-ṭ)	Kassapa Coḷa	*Vimativinodanī*
		II. (D, Sv, Sv-pṭ)	Ñānābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati	*Sādhujanavilāsinī*
	(f) *abhinavaṭīkā*	very new sub-(sub)commentary		
Special commentaries	*atthayojanā*	interpretation		
		I. (Vin, Sp)	Ñāṇakitti	*Samantapāsādikatthayojanā*
		III.1	Ñāṇakitti	*Atthsāliniatthayojanā*
		III.2	Ñāṇakitti	*Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathatthayojanā*
		III.3	Ñāṇakitti	*Dhātukathātthayojanā*
	gūḷhatthadīpanī	explication of the hidden meaning		
		III.2 (Vibh)	Anonymous	*Gūḷhatthadīpanī* (Vibh-ṭ)
	ganṭhipada(vivaraṇa)	(explication) of difficult words		
		I. (Sp) *Vinayaganṭhipada*	Vajirabuddhi	*Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*
		II.13 (Paṭis, Paṭis-a)		*Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhipada*

the *Niddesa* is difficult to determine, it may be as late as the 2nd century CE (von Hinüber, 1996, § 118). The text comments on various parts of the *Suttanipāta*: the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (Sn 766–975), the *Pārāyaṇavagga* (Sn 976–1149), and the *Khaggavisāṇasuttanta* (Sn 35–75).

In modern editions, the *Niddesa* is divided into the *Mahāniddesa* (Great Explanation) and the *Cūḷaniddesa* (Small Explanation), although both parts clearly form one unit, as clearly seen by the tradition: *Sāriputtattherena kato Niddeso Mahāniddeso Cūḷaniddeso ti ca vuccati* ("the *Niddesa* composed by the Elder Sāriputta is also called *Mahāniddesa* and *Cūḷaniddesa*"; *Sāratthadīpanī*, subcommentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, 12th cent.); at the same time, this seems to be the earliest reference to the title *Cūḷaniddesa*; for, within the *Saddhammapajotikā*, only *Niddesa* and *Mahāniddesa* are mentioned, and the reference to *Cūḷaniddesa* in the commentary to the *Dīghanikāya* (Sv 394, 7; 5th cent.) is doubtful (only in the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition [modern correction?]; other editions: *Mahāniddesa*). In later texts and in the Burmese edition of the *Niddesa* commentary, the title *Cūḷaniddesa* is mentioned (not in the PTS edition).

The method applied in the *Niddesa* is mostly archaic and quite different from later commentaries. Individual words from the verses of the *Suttanipāta* are often explained by long lists of synonyms, which are frequently excerpted from canonical texts, in which they were originally used as mnemonic aides. They are applied in the *Niddesa* in quite a different function as explicative formulas. Moreover, the *Niddesa* sometimes quotes texts from the Tipiṭaka, which cannot be traced (von Hinüber, 1996, § 117).

While a large variety of terms is used in India for different forms of commentaries such as *bhāṣya* (critical commentary), *(vi)vṛti* ([simple] explanation), *vyākhyā* (explanation), and so forth, which are often difficult to define exactly, the Theravāda created a systematic terminology for commentaries on texts of the Tipiṭaka. Once the concept of *niddesa* was abandoned, the immediate commentaries on the Tipiṭaka were called *aṭṭhakathā* (exposition of the meaning). Various subcommentaries (*ṭīkās*) may be attached to the *aṭṭhakathā*: *mūlaṭīkā* (basic subcommentary), *purāṇaṭīkā* (old subcommentary), *mahāṭīkā* (great subcommentary), *anuṭīkā* ([sub-]subcommentary), *navaṭīkā* (new [sub-]-subcommentary), and *abhinavaṭīkā* (very new [sub-subcommentary). Little research has been done on a late class of commentaries called *atthayojanā* (interpretation), which only explain *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* texts. Virtually nothing is known about the unedited commentaries on the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* called *gūḷhatthadīpanī* (elucidation of the hidden meaning), which exist only in rare manuscripts (von Hinüber, 2007; 2013 no. 147).

Another group of commentaries is the *ganthipadas* ([explanations of] knotty [i.e. difficult] words; von Hinüber, 1996, § 203). Probably there was once a considerable number of *ganthipadas* written in Sinhalese, which are known from their quotations in Pali commentaries. Extant *gāṇṭhipadas* in Sinhala are the *Dampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya* (Pali *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathāganthipada*) on the *Dhammapada* and the *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya* (Pali *Jātakaṭṭhakathāganthipada*) on the *jātaka* commentaries. A *ganthipada* in Pali is the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathāganthipada* published in Burma (von Hinüber, 1996, § 291).

Soon after the *Niddesa* and *Paṭisambhidāmagga* were included, the Tipiṭaka was closed. Consequently, the development of new ideas that found their way into texts of the Tipiṭakas of other schools could only be mentioned in the Theravāda commentaries. When, after a "dark period" of unknown duration (150–400 CE [?]) with no Pali text surviving (von Hinüber, 1996, § 206), the 5th century saw an impressive revival of Pali studies with a huge project undertaken in one of the prominent monasteries, the Mahāvihāra ("Great Monastery"), in Anuradhapura, the first capital of Sri Lanka. A comprehensive explanation of the major part of the *Suttapiṭaka*, supplemented by an accompanying handbook fixing the orthodox views of Theravāda, the *Visuddhimagga* (Path to Purification) was envisioned and completed under the leadership of the most learned monk Buddhaghosa, who may also have supervised the contemporary creation of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries.

The almost identical introductions to Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the four *nikāyas* (*Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, and *Aṅguttaranikāya*) and the *nigamanas* (explicits) at their ends contain precious details particularly on the program and the background of his project (and that of the Mahāvihāra).

According to the *nigamanas*, Buddhaghosa composed his commentaries on the four *nikāyas*, or *āgamas*, as he says after being asked by various monks. The initiator of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the *aṭṭhakathā* on the *Dīghanikāya*, was Dāṭhānāga, the *saṃghathera* (most senior monk) who lived in Sumaṅgalapariveṇa, a monastic residence of unknown location. This explains the name of the

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von Hinüber, 1995/2009a, 12
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commentary (The Graceful [Commentary] of the Sumaṅgala [Monastery]) on a text that "elucidates the virtues of the Buddha" (*Nigamana*, v. 2; von Hinüber, 1995/2009a, 129/62 [text not in the PTS edition]). The initiator of the *Papañcasūdanī* ([Commentary] Destroying the Illusions) on the *Majjhimanikāya* was Bhadanta Buddhamitta, whom Buddhaghosa met at Mayūrarūpapaṭṭana (in South India [?]). This commentary owes its title to its claim that it "destroys those adhering to false views" (*Nigamana*, v. 2). Bhadanta Jotipāla asked Buddhaghosa to compose the commentary on the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the *Sāratthappakāsinī* ([Commentary] Revealing the Essential Meaning). Lastly, the *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the wish-fulfilling commentary, was composed at the request of the same(?) Bhadanta Jotipāla, whom Buddhaghosa met also in Kāñcīpura, and of Jīvaka who lived in the Mahāvihāra. As the last commentary to be completed in this grand project it owes its name to the fact that it is the "(commentary that) fulfilled my [i.e. Buddhaghosa's] wish to comment on all *āgamas* (*Nigamana*, v. 6).

This important remark at the end of the *Manorathapūraṇī* shows, together with the introductions, that Buddhaghosa composed only these four *aṭṭhakathās*, although the tradition erroneously attributes a large number of commentaries to Buddhaghosa, such as, for instance, the *Samantapāsādikā* or even *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries (see below).

The introductory verses to all four *nikāya* commentaries are identical except for the fifth verse, which briefly characterizes the specific *nikāya*. At the beginning of each commentary, Buddhaghosa sketches his program. He states that his exegesis of the *nikāyas* does not contradict (*avilomento*) the orthodoxy accepted by the monks of the Theravāda lineage (*theriyavaṃsa*) residing in the Mahāvihāra. His starting point is the old *aṭṭhakathā* (in Sinhalese *sīhaḷabhāsā*) that is supposed by tradition to have been brought from India and translated into Sinhala by Mahinda, when he propagated Buddhism in Sīhaḷadīpa (i.e. Ceylon) after being invited by King Devānaṃpiyatissa (247–207 BCE) and sent by his father Aśoka. It was Buddhaghosa's task to rewrite the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* in Pali, or, as he says, "in a language (*bhāsā*), which is appropriate to the principles of the tradition" (*tantinayānucchavika*; Sv 1.20*). At the same time, he modernized, restructured, and expanded this commentary, which was written about seven hundred years earlier, if the tradition is taken literally, and certainly the extant commentaries are the result of a long development (von Hinüber, 1996, § 206).

Rare insights into the text of old *aṭṭhakathā* are possible when parallel canonical passages are explained in different ways in two separate commentaries or when *nikāya* commentaries seem to preserve old wordings of commentarial Vinaya material taken over from the old *aṭṭhakathā*, which also exists in an edited form in the *Samantapāsādikā* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 239–241). The structure of the old *aṭṭhakathā* is visible in rare remarks indicating a rearrangement of the old material in the new *aṭṭhakathā* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 215, §§ 241–243; see Endo, 2009). Minute quotations from the superseded *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* were found by Helmer Smith in a late *Dhammapada* commentary, the *Dhampiyāṭuvāgäṭapaya* (von Hinüber, 1996, 101n362).

According to the overall structure of Buddhaghosa's project, the central text is the *Visuddhimagga*, which "stands in the middle of the four *āgamas* [*nikāyas*; Sv 2.6*]" in such a way that fundamental concepts of the Buddha's *dhamma* such as the four noble truths (*catt* āri aryas) and meditation (*vipassanā, bhāvanā*) are discussed in the *Visuddhimagga* in detail; this discussion is not repeated in the individual *aṭṭhakathās*. Therefore, it is imperative to use both – the commentary side by side with the *Visuddhimagga* – to fully understand the respective *nikāya*.

As the first of the four commentaries, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* begins with a long introduction (Sv 2–25) that refers to the formation of the canonical texts at the First Buddhist Council and deals at length with content and division of the Tipiṭaka. The parts of the Tipiṭaka and the names of all four *nikāyas* are enumerated (and explained in the *nigamanas* to the individual commentaries). Their individual length is defined by the number of *suttantas*. The *Khuddakanikāya* is described in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* as comprising all other texts including the complete *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. At the beginning of the three below-mentioned *nikāya* commentaries only the relevant definitions are repeated.

After explaining the introduction (*nidāna*) to the first *suttanta*, three *aṭṭhakathās* define the four motives that may induce the Buddha to deliver a discourse (*suttanikkhepa* [laying down a *sutta*]):

1. *attajjhāsaya* (his own disposition [or intention]), which is the wish of the Buddha himself to act without being asked to do so,

2. *parajjhāsaya* (disposition of another person), when the Buddha recognizes the readiness of somebody to make some progress in understanding his teaching,
3. *pucchāvasika* (on account of a question), when the Buddha is asked to clarify a certain point, and;
4. *aṭṭhuppattika* (due to a cause or occasion) presenting itself (von Hinüber, 1996, § 230; forthcoming).

Only in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* are the *suttanikkhepas* placed at the beginning of the commentary on the second section, the *Nidānavagga*, which indicates that the special position of the first one, the *Sagāthavagga* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* was recognized at the time of Buddhaghosa already.

The inner structure of any discourse is explained in detail in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* by the three *anusandhis* (developments) that mark the transition from one section to the next:

1. *pucchānusandhi* (developing a question [posed to the Buddha]),
2. *ajjhāsayānusandhi* (development on account of the disposition [of another person]), when, for example, the Buddha recognizes that a monk is pondering a certain problem and avails himself to this opportunity to develop and explain this problem in a discourse; and
3. *yathānusandhi* (natural development), when the discourse begins with one topic but leads to another one, because it is either in correspondence with or in contradiction to the original topic (Sv 122.22–123.22; Smith, 1949, 1128, § 5.3.2.1).

Occasionally the structure of canonical texts is analyzed in an almost modern way, when possible additions supposed to have been made by the participants of the first council (*dhammasaṅgāhaka* [compiler of the teaching]) are discussed. It is, for instance, assumed and discussed by Dhammapāla in the introduction to his *Paramatthadīpanī II* on the *Itivuttaka* (It-a 32.25–32; see below) that the various introductions to discourses of different classes of texts, such as *enaṃme sutaṃ* ("thus have I heard") in *suttantas*, *tena kho pana samayena* ("at that time") in the Vinaya, or *vuttaṃ h'etaṃ* ("for it was said") or *vuttaṃ hetaṃ* ("this was said") in the *Itivuttaka*, were shaped and inserted by the participants of the first council (see *Majjhimanikāya: Chabbisodhanasutta*).

Two basic principles pervade all commentaries and result in a gradual abbreviation of the texts: (1) *apubbapadavaṇṇanā* (explaining [only] words not explained before) and (2) *anuttānapadavaṇṇanā* ([only] explaining doubtful words; von Hinüber, 1996, § 214).

The purpose of this carefully planned system of cross-referencing is to reach a high degree of consistency (and perhaps abbreviation of the texts) within this huge project comprising four *nikāya* commentaries, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the commentaries to the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* but excluding those on the *Khuddakanikāya*. Consequently, it is impossible to draw any conclusions on chronology from these cross-references, because they were inserted simultaneously (von Hinüber, 1996, § 243).

Although tradition ascribes all these commentaries to Buddhaghosa as an author, he is connected to the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries in quite a different way. Thus, the introductory verses to the *Atthasālinī*, the first of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries, which follow a pattern different from those at the beginning of the *nikāya* commentaries, name Buddhaghosa as the person at whose initiative this text was composed thereby excluding his authorship. Moreover, Buddhaghosa refers to the *Visuddhimagga* as composed "by me" in the introductory verses to all *nikāya* commentaries in contrast to the neutral "is said in the *Visuddhimagga*" in the *Atthasālinī*. Furthermore, inner evidence rules out the authorship of Buddhaghosa in spite of the fact that the "Buddhaghosa colophon" of the *nikāya* commentaries is added to the three parts of the *Abhidhamma* commentary (von Hinüber, 1996, § 312).

The commentaries to the seven texts of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* form one subunit within the new *aṭṭhakathā*. Only the first two, on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and on the *Vibhaṅga*, bear individual titles: *Atthasālinī* (Bur. *Aṭṭhasālinī*; [The *Aṭṭhakathā*] Rich in Meaning; Skt. *arthaśālinī* is different in meaning [wealthy]), explained as "origin of unconfused meanings" in the *nigamana* (*anākulānaṃ atthānaṃ sambhavā*; As 429.20*), and the *Sammohavinodanī* (Dispeller of Delusion). The remaining five commentaries are subsumed under the common title *Pañcapakaraṇāṭṭhakathā* (Commentary on the Five Treatises).

This set of seven commentaries is united by common introductory verses found only in the *Atthasālinī*, according to which the *Abhidhamma* texts were recited during the First Buddhist Council by Ānanda (Vedehamuni), thus contradicting the account found in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, where the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* is not mentioned. A long

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historical introduction similar to the one in the *nikāya* commentaries follows. The *Abhidhamma* texts are described here including a discussion of whether the *Kathāvatthu* should be regarded as canonical. Another lengthy paragraph concerns the missing *nidāna* (introduction) in the *Abhidhamma* texts (von Hinüber, 1996, § 315), which begin with a *mātikā* (summary) instead (von Hinüber, 1996, § 131).

Besides the explanations of the texts found in the Tipiṭaka, all *Suttapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries contain long digressions (*pakiṇṇakas*) on various topics (see below). The hagiographic section only found in the *Manorathapūraṇī* in the explanation of the *Etadaggavagga* (Section on the Best of That [Class of Persons]) of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* is of particular importance (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 235ff.).

The anonymous *Samantapāsādikā*, the "in every respect pleasing (commentary)" on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, forms also a part of this project. Though attributed to Buddhaghosa, his authorship can be safely ruled out. The form and content of the introductory verses are quite different from the beginning of both the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Atthasālinī*, and so is the method followed in this commentary; differing views – also from non-Mahāvihāra and South Indian commentaries, which are partly mentioned in the introductory verses – are discussed, and controversies on the legal interpretation are presented (von Hinüber, 1996, § 210, § 320), whereas the *nikāya* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* commentaries usually offer only orthodox explanations.

Moreover, the *Samantapāsādikā* was composed with the intention to reach "monks of other parts of the world." Therefore, Sinhala was given up as a language in favor of Pali to gain international recognition more easily (introductory vv. 8–9). Following the introductory verses, general principles of interpretation are summarized in a verse:

> by whom it was said, when, for what reason, learned by heart by whom, handed down by whom, where (a discourse) was established (i.e. delivered). (Sp 3.17*ff.; trans. Jayawickrama, 1962, 2)

At the beginning, the history of the Buddhist tradition and the content of the Tipiṭaka are presented again in great detail in a way similar to the introduction to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*.

The *nigamana* states that the *Samantapāsādikā* was composed with astonishing speed during the 20th and 21st years of rule of the otherwise unknown king Sirinivāsa (identical with King Mahānāma [409–431]?? in the Mahāmeghavanuyyāna supposed to be a part of the Mahāvihāra; von Hinüber, 1996, § 209).

At the beginning of the explanation of the first *pārājika* rule (Sp 230.21–233.35), the author(s) of the *Samantapāsādikā* describe(s) the method how to explain the Vinaya by taking four aspects into account.

1. the "text of the *Vinayapiṭaka*" (*sutta*; "*sutta* is the canonical text [*pāḷi*] of the complete *Vinayapiṭaka*").
2. the "conformity with the Vinaya (*sutta*)" (*suttānuloma*), which is specified as being the same as "the four great arguments (*mahāpadesa*)" (E. Lamotte; comp. von Hinüber, 1996, § 9), and refers to the rules of interpretation of the *Vinayapiṭaka* laid down in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Vin I.250.34–251.6): anything not taught explicitly in the Vinaya is allowed if it conforms with the rules of the Vinaya and forbidden if it does not.
3. the "opinion of the teachers" (*ācariyavāda*): the teachers are the participants of the First Buddhist Council (*dhammasaṅgāhaka*), whose views are "detached from the canonical text (i.e. going beyond the Vinaya)" (*pāḷivinimmutta*) but are part of the commentarial tradition (*aṭṭhakathātanti*).
4. "one's own opinion" (*attano mati*). This last is the weakest principle of interpretation, and any decision (*vinicchaya*) based on it is valid only if confirmed by the three stronger principles.

The *Samantapāsādikā* explains the *Vinayapiṭaka* in a very abstract and rigidly systematic way that is not always easy to grasp, and no complete translation of the *Samantapāsādikā* into a Western language was ever attempted (for the introduction [Sp 1–105], see Jayawickrama, 1962). The Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā* dated 489 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, § 207), which is available in English (Bapat & Hirakawa, 1970), contains a text widely differing from the Theravāda *Samantapāsādikā*. The exact interrelation of both texts needs further research (Pinte, 2010).

Numerous digressions (*pakiṇṇakas*) are inserted into the *Samantapāsādikā*. They sometimes contain important – but, because of difficult vocabulary, occasionally only partly comprehensible – material for cultural history. Some of these *pakiṇṇakas* are taken over from the old *aṭṭhakathā* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 218).

A second anonymous commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* ([Commentary] Which Overcomes the Doubts) covers only the

Pātimokkha (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 221–225; new edition by K.R. Norman and W. Pruitt, 2003 [PTS]). There is no evidence to support Buddhaghosa's authorship of this text as supposed by tradition.

The *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* are certainly not composed by the same person as demonstrated by marked differences in the terminology used in both texts. The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, which presupposes and refers to the *Samantapāsādikā*, is conceived as a practical handbook, much shorter than the *Samantapāsādikā*, abstains from the discussion of legal problems, and follows a much stricter pattern in explaining the individual rules of the *Pātimokkha*. The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* also explains the introduction to the *Pātimokkha* preserved only in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (see above), which shows that the *Pātimokkha* including this introduction existed as a separate text.

There are two subcommentaries to the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*: (1) the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīporāṇaṭīkā* (Old Commentary on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*) and (2) the *Vinayatthamañjūsā* (Receptacle of the Meaning of the *Vinayapiṭaka*) composed by Buddhanāga in the 12th century (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 377ff.).

A later commentator of the *Vinayapiṭaka* is Vajirabuddhi (sometime after 600 CE [?]), who was on account of his intimate knowledge of parts of South India a native or long-time resident of that area. His commentary, though usually called *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (Commentary by Vajirabuddhi), is in the author's own understanding a *gaṇṭhipada* (see above). Vajirabuddhi discusses opinions of his predecessors and quotes a number of sources (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 367–371; Kieffer-Pülz, 2012).

The different commentaries on the *Khuddakanikāya* were written sometime after Buddhaghosa's project was completed. Two anonymous commentaries without individual titles are the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (Commentary on the *Dhammapada*) and *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* (Explanation of the *Jātakas*) on the verses, the only canonical part of the *jātakas* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 260–269). The *jātaka* commentary begins with the *Nidānakathā* (Introduction), which describes the former lives of the Buddha beginning with Sumedha's meeting with the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara, who predicts his future Buddhahood. The *Nidānakathā* ends with Anāthapiṇḍika's donation of the *Jetavana*, in which the first *jātaka* is subsequently told by the Buddha. The *jātaka* collection ends with the *Vessantaraja*, which describes the last rebirth of the Bodhisattva before he ascends to the Tusita heaven, to be reborn only one more time on earth in order to reach enlightenment.

Both the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* differ from genuine commentaries in so far as they mainly connect stories to the verses. Consequently, both are important sources for the history of narrative literature. In the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the individual verses are explained by a story told by the Buddha. In contrast, the canonical *jātaka* verses particularly in those sections (*nipāta*) that contain a large number of verses in each story, are incorporated into the story in the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. The framework of the commentary on individual *jātakas* is strictly fixed. The origin of the story is told in the *paccuppannavatthu* (story of the present [i.e. the time of the Buddha]). The events described here are explained by the *atītavatthu* (story of the past [lives of the persons mentioned in the *paccuppannavatthu*]), into which the canonical text, the *gāthās* (verses) are embedded together with the *veyyākaraṇa* (explication). The *veyyākaraṇa* sometimes quotes from the earlier, lost *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. At the end, the Buddha connects past and present in the *samodhāna* (combination) by explaining that the *kamma* accumulated in the past determined the actions of the person mentioned in the *paccuppannavatthu*. The origin and development of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* can be traced better than that of any other commentary (von Hinüber, 1998).

A large number of texts of the *Khuddakanikāya* are explained by a second great commentator, Dhammapāla, who most likely was also a South Indian. The colophons state that he lived in the Badaratittha Monastery of unknown location. He is certainly later than Buddhaghosa, whose works he used as a model. Moreover, he is familiar with the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. Therefore, he might have lived sometime after 500 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, § 274, § 365, § 370).

Dhammapāla has written an even larger number of commentaries than Buddhaghosa is supposed to have. His *Paramatthadīpanī* (Explanation of the Highest Meaning) in seven parts and four units comments on *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, and *Cariyapiṭaka*. This sequence of texts is different from the arrangement of the *Khuddakanikāya* used in the Mahāvihāra (von Hinüber, 1996, § 273). The style of Dhammapāla's commentaries is more sophisticated than that of the earlier *aṭṭhakathā*, clearly reflecting some progress in commentarial techniques.

The reason for Dhammapāla's selection of these texts from the *Khuddakanikāya* is unknown. Other parts of the *Khuddakanikāya* that are not cov-

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The *Niddesa* is commented on by Upasena, who wrote his *Saddhammapajjotikā* (Illuminator of the Right Law) in the Mahāvihāra. This commentary can be dated with some confidence to either 817 or 877 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 287–290).

The commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the *Saddhammapakāsinī* (Revealing the Right Law) composed by Mahānāma in the Mahāvihāra, was created three centuries before 499 or 559 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 291–297). Here, the author of a commentary is named for the first time in the *Nigamana*, which is also otherwise unusually rich in information. Mahānāma does not seem to know Dhammapāla. Consequently, he may be older, but hardly any relevant research has been done on the interrelation of the commentaries on the *Khuddakanikāya*.

The last texts of the *Khuddakanikāya* that were provided with a commentary are the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Apadāna*. The *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning), which can be dated to perhaps the 8th century, explains the "Lineage of the Buddhas" (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 298–301). The youngest *Khuddakanikāya* commentary is the *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* ([Commentary] Charming Pure People) on the *Apadāna*, composed perhaps in Southeast Asia at an uncertain late date (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 302–303).

Besides his vast *Paramatthadīpanī*, Dhammapāla is credited with commentaries on the *Visuddhimagga* (e.g. the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* [Great Commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*] or *Paramatthamañjūsā* [Receptacle of the Highest Truth]) and with both a commentary (*Nettiaṭṭhakathā* [Commentary on the *Netti(pakaraṇa)*]) and a subcommentary (*Līnatthavaṇṇanā Nettipurāṇaṭīkā* [Old Commentary Explaining the Hidden Meaning of the *Netti*]) on the *Nettippakaraṇā* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 361ff.). Moreover, subcommentaries (*purāṇaṭīkās*: "old subcommentaries") to the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) by Buddhaghosa on the four *nikāyas* perhaps also written by Dhammapāla and named *Līnatthappakāsinī I–IV* ([Commentary] Revealing the Hidden Meaning), including as *Līnatthappakāsinī V* a subcommentary to the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, the *Jātakaporāṇaṭīkā*, which only exists in manuscript form (von Hinüber, 1996, § 358ff.). Dhammapāla's *Līnatthappakāsinī IV* on the *Manorathapuraṇī* was considered to be lost but was rediscovered in manuscript form by P. Pecenko (Pecenko, 2002).

The commentaries on Abhidhamma texts created within the Buddhaghosa project are further commented on by Ānanda Kalasapura, a town of unknown location, in his the *Atthasālinīmūlaṭīkā*, *Vibhaṅgamūlaṭīkā*, and *Pañcappakaraṇamūlaṭīkā* "basic commentaries" that are also called *Līnatthajotikā* ([Commentary] Illuminating the Hidden Meaning; von Hinüber, 1996, § 356). Dhammapāla, who is traditionally considered Ānanda's pupil, added an *anuṭīkā* (subcommentary), the *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* ([Commentary] Explaining the Hidden Meaning), to Ānanda's *mūlaṭīkā*.

During the 12th century, when King Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186) reformed and united the saṅgha of Ceylon along the lines of the Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, Sāriputta composed among many other works (Pecenko, 1997) also a new set of subcommentaries, because the older explanations, particularly those offered in the *ganṭhipadas* written in old Sinhala Prakrit, were no longer fully comprehensible (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 373–375). Only Sāriputta's *Sāratthadīpanī* (Elucidator of the Essential Meaning) on the *Samantapāsādikā* and his *Sāratthamañjūsā IV* (Receptacle of the Essential Meaning) on the *Manorathapūraṇī* are published, the latter to substitute the *Līnatthapakāsinī IV* – as erroneously considered to be lost as are the *Līnatthapakāsinī I–III* (Pecenko, 2009).

Kassapa Coḷa may be aiming at his perhaps slightly older contemporary Sāriputta when he criticizes his predecessors in his *Vimativinodanī* (Dispeller of Doubts). Kassapa writes in order to suppress wrong and confused views. He was most likely South Indian, and he refers to the Tamil poem *Kuṇḍalakēci* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 338).

The last set of commentaries covering only Vinaya and Abhidhamma texts were composed in about 1500 in northern Thailand by Ñāṇakitti (von Hinüber, 2000/2009, 123ff./406ff.), who wrote three *Atthayojanās* (Joining the Meaning [to the Text (?)]), on the *Samantapāsādikā, Atthasālinī*, and *Vibhaṅga*, respectively, and perhaps also on other parts of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 379ff.).

The last commentary on the Tipiṭaka is the very late subcommentary, a *navaṭīkā* (new commentary), called the *Sādhujanavilāsinī* ([Commentary] Charming Virtuous Persons), covering only the first part of the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Sīlakkhandhavagga*. It is written by the Burmese Saṃgharāja Ñāṇābhivaṃsa in about 1800 (von Hinüber, 1996, § 382; Pecenko 2002, 70).

There are a number of handbooks on both the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma (von Hinüber, 1996, 323–354), among them Sāriputta's *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayasaṅgaha* (Collection of Legal Decisions not Found in the Vinaya), largely a rearranged *Samantapāsādikā* (von Hinüber, 1996, § 334), or the very lucid Abhidhamma handbook called *Mohavicchedanī* ([Commentary] Destroying the Delusion), composed perhaps in about 1200 CE by the South Indian Kassapa Coḷa, who is most likely identical with the author of the *Vimativinodanī* (see above; von Hinüber, 1996, § 354). Most of these handbooks are commented on).

Furthermore, there are two older handbooks that systematically develop guidelines for explaining the teaching of the Buddha – the *Peṭakopadesa* (Instructions on the Piṭaka; also translated as Piṭaka Disclosure [Ñāṇamoli]) and the *Nettipakaraṇa* (Treatise That Contains Guidelines; also translated as The Guide [Ñāṇamoli]; von Hinüber, 1996, §§ 158–171). Both handbooks, which predate Buddhaghosa, enjoy paracanonical status and may be perhaps considered "intruders" into the Theravāda tradition from the outside (Zacchetti, 2002). Both are comparatively little studied. Moreover, it is difficult to trace any influence of these handbooks on the existing commentaries, although more research is needed into this direction and into the exact interrelation of the two texts.

All commentators work within the framework of the Indian commentarial tradition. This is evidenced by the fact that the terminology applied by the Theravāda commentators in their explanations largely follows general Indian usage – for instance, the word *attha* (Skt. *artha*; meaning) is used to mark a paraphrase or synonym explaining a word, in contrast to *adhippāya* (Skt. *abhiprāya*; intention) or *bhāva* (Skt. & Pali; intended idea; Tubb & Boose, 2007, 23f., § 1.13, § 1.13.2). Moreover, the term *attha* (expressed meaning) can be used as opposed to *byañjana* (wording; Smith, 1928, § 6.0.3 [*l'esprit et la lettre*]). This terminology is concisely but comprehensively described by H. Smith in one of the appendices to his edition of Aggavāmsa's *Saddanīti: conspectus terminorum* (Smith, 1949). Moreover, the commentators are well versed in the indigenous grammar, in Sanskrit (Pind, 1989), and in lexicography. They occasionally quote verses from unknown (lost?) dictionaries, which may be considerably older than all extant Sanskrit dictionaries (*kośas*), including the *Amarakośa*. Therefore the *aṭṭhakathā* is an important, but so far unused, source for the history of Indian lexicography (von Hinüber, 1998/2009b).

By far not all commentaries have been translated. Although the major part of Dhammapāla's commentaries on the *Khuddakanikāya* is available in English (von Hinüber, 1996, § 273; recent translations: Th-a: Pruitt, 1998; It-a: Masefield, 2008/2009), only a minute fraction of Buddhaghosa's work, with the exception of the *Visuddhimagga*, has been translated – for instance the commentary on the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* (An, 2003) as well as the *Brahmajālasuttanta*, the *Sāmaññaphalasuttanta*, and the *Mahānidānasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and the *Mūlapariyāyasuttanta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, which are translated together with commentary and subcommentary (Bodhi, 1978; 1980; 1995). There are English versions of the two major Abhidhamma commentaries, *Atthasālinī* and *Vibhaṅga*. The outdated (and often incorrect) translation of the *Atthasālinī* was superseded recently by an improved one (Nyānaponika, 2005).

Research on Pali commentaries was for a long time a somewhat neglected field. However, progress was achieved by researches in Japan particularly by the work of Sodo Mori (1989; 2007) and Toshiichi Endo (2013), and the legal commentaries by P. Kieffer-Pülz (2013).

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Oskar von Hinüber

Vinaya Commentarial Literature in Pali

In a narrow sense, *Vinaya* refers to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the first part of the Buddhist canon. It contains Buddhist monastic law, the rules and regulations that govern the life of monastics as both individuals and a community. In a wider sense, Vinaya includes all texts and commentaries dealing with monastic law. This includes texts extracted from the *Vinayapiṭaka* and transmitted separately, as the list of rules for monks and nuns, the *Pātimokkhasutta*, or the formulas for legal procedures (*kammavācā*s); it also comprises mainly versified condensations of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and its commentary as well as digests, topically organized compendia consisting of quotations from these two. Aside from the *kammavācā* collections, all texts are commented on, and, as they share their subject, there are many cross-connections that allow a precise relative dating of the texts. Compilations (*rāsī*s) as well as manuals on special subjects serve as a kind of supplement to legal commentarial literature.

Chronologically, we usually distinguish several layers of such texts: early commentaries (before the 4th/5th cent. CE) are lost today except for quotations in later commentarial literature, some of them subsumed under the designation *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* (see below). The next layer consists in the so-called *aṭṭhakathā*s (explanation of the meaning), written in Pali (c. 4th/5th cent. CE onward) and based on the earlier commentaries. This is followed by glossaries (*gaṇṭhipada*s; [commentaries explaining] difficult words) of the canonical and the *aṭṭhakathā* text. Written in Pali and vernaculars, most of them are lost, save for quotations in younger commentarial literature. The third stage is that of the subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*s) on substantive issues in the *aṭṭhakathā*. If a *ṭīkā* did not suffice, it might be replaced by a new commentary (*navaṭīkā*) and this again by a more recent one (*abhinavaṭīkā*). The earlier subcommentaries could be described as basic or old subcommentaries (*mūlaṭīkā, porāṇaṭīkā* or *purāṇaṭīkā*; see also von Hinüber, 2007). Still later, subcommentaries mainly concerned with "construing the meaning" (*yojanā, atthayojanā*) were produced. Little is known about them, and still less about the commentaries explaining the hidden meaning of a text (*guḷhatthadīpanī, guḷhapakāsanī*). The same holds true for the *vivaraṇa*s (expositions), *dīpanī*s (illuminators), and so on, mentioned in various works on Theravāda literature.

The *Vinayapiṭaka* and Its Commentaries

The *Vinayapiṭaka* consists of three parts: the *Suttavibhaṅga* with the *Pātimokkhasutta* as its core, the *Khandhaka* with the *kammavācā*s, and the younger *Parivāra* (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 12). The *Suttavibhaṅga* (Explanation of the [*Pātimokkha-*] *sutta*) is the oldest commentary of the Pali legal tradition. Its structure follows the succession of the *Pātimokkhasutta* rules embedded in it. For each rule, it offers an introductory story mentioning the incident that led to the prescription of the rule, a word analysis commenting on each word of the rule, a casuistry in which the severity of the infraction is determined, a list of exceptions, namely, cases in which an infraction does not result in an offence; and finally – for the first nine rules – supplements with additional cases (von Hinüber, 1996a, §§ 22–27). These various parts belong to different time levels. A comparison with the structure of other schools' *Vinayapiṭaka*s indicates that this commentary became fixed only after the Buddhist community had already divided into several branches. Since this commentary is included in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, it enjoys authoritative status, despite the fact that gross misunderstandings of the rules can be observed (Schlingloff, 1963, 536–551). As a separately transmitted text, the *Pātimokkhasutta* had an introduction different from that in the *Suttavibhaṅga*. This introduction as well as a commentary on it has survived in the *Khandhaka* section of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 26).

The Earlier Lost *Vinayapiṭaka* Commentaries

According to the great commentator Buddhaghosa, the early commentaries were brought from India to Sri Lanka by Mahinda in the 3rd century BCE,

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translated into Sinhalese, and retranslated into Pali by Buddhaghosa for quotation in his commentaries. But whether the commentaries quoted in the *aṭṭhakathās* were in fact those brought by Mahinda is unascertainable (von Hinüber, 2007, 105f.). Seven early commentaries are known to us by name: *Andhakaṭṭhakathā, Cūḷapaccarī, Kurundī, Mahaṭṭhakathā, Mahāpaccarī, Pannavāra,* and *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 210), of which five are quoted in the *Samantapāsādikā*. The *Kurundī*, the *Mahāpaccarī*, and the *Mahaṭṭhakathā* are also subsumed under the term *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*, which might refer to their origin on the Sinhala Island and/or to the language in which they were written. *Mahāpaccarī* and *Kurundī* are at times controversial for instance with respect to the evaluation of the social status of slaves and the possibility of their being ordained (Kieffer-Pülz, 2007, 28), and the *Mahāpaccarī* seems to at least partly have taken up standpoints of older forest monks' traditions (Kieffer-Pülz, 2007, 43). The *Mahaṭṭhakathā* commenting on the entire *tipiṭaka* is the most comprehensive. A commentary of South Indian origin is the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* (1st cent. BCE–1st cent. CE) probably written in Pali and considered an authoritative commentary even by some Sri Lankan traditions (Kieffer-Pülz, 1993; 2010). Only a few quotations are preserved from the *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathā*.

The *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*

The first large Pali commentary to the *Vinayapiṭaka* is the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* (1,400 pages) called *Samantapāsādikā* (4th/5th cent. CE) ascribed to Buddhaghosa by tradition but probably written by several authors (von Hinüber, 1996a, §§ 208–220). It is an encyclopedic commentary assembling quotations from a large number of earlier commentaries as well as opinions of individual elders. In several cases, statements are only revealed as quotations in subcommentarial literature. The *Samantapāsādikā* gives minute examples for each and every case. The influence of this commentary, considered authoritative by tradition, is tremendous. This is reflected, by silent and open quotations in commentarial and subcommentarial literature, by the facts that it forms the base for the versified condensations (*Mūlasikkhā, Khuddasikkhā*, etc.), serves as a main source of *Vinayapiṭaka* digests (*Vinayasaṅgaha, Vinayasaṅkhepa*) and special manuals (*Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha*), and, finally, is commented on several times, last in the 19th century.

The *Vinayapiṭaka* Glossaries (*Gaṇṭhipadas*)

The *Samantapāsādikā* was soon supplemented by glossaries (*gaṇṭhipadas*) written in Pali and vernaculars. These glossaries disappeared except for quotations preserved in earlier subcommentaries. From two glossaries to the *Samantapāsādikā*, we have more than six hundred quotations, namely from Dhammasiri's *Vinayagaṇṭhipada* (c. 6th cent. CE), of Sri Lankan provenance, and from Vajirabuddhi's *Anugaṇṭhipada* (6th–10th cents. CE), probably of South Indian origin (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 198ff., 210ff.). They exemplify that early *gaṇṭhipadas* were simple glossaries, whereas later ones came to include discussions of substantive issues. Unidentified *Vinayagaṇṭhipadas* quoted in inscriptions and in Sinhalese and Pali texts confirm the proposition of later subcommentators that there existed innumerable glossaries (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 38f.). The glossaries were largely replaced by *ṭīkās*; however, the latter did not completely prevent some later production of glossaries.

The *Vinayapiṭaka* Subcommentaries (*Ṭīkās*)

The earliest *Vinayapiṭaka* subcommentary (*ṭīkā*), the anonymous and undated *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (approx. 600 pages), is characterized as a *gaṇṭhipada* commentary in the text itself (*samantapāsādikāya gaṇṭhipadādhippāyappakāsanā*; illuminator of the intention of difficult words in the *Samantapāsādikā*). The fact that it often discusses legal aspects may have led to its designation as *ṭīkā* (*Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*) from the 12th century onward. The earliest mention of a Vajirabuddhi as its author (13th cent.) may have resulted from the interpretation of the title *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* as "the subcommentary by Vajirabuddhi." An origin in the 10th century is highly likely (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 70ff.). If the identification of its author with the Sinhalese monk scholar Ratna(mati) were correct, then the date could even be narrowed down to the third quarter of the 10th century (Dimitrov, forthcoming). The commentary is a treasury of quotations from earlier sources of South Indian and Sri Lankan provenance and is notable for its scholastic style and translations of passages from Sanskrit texts (stanzas of Mātṛceṭa, Kumārila, etc.) of which several found their way into Sinhalese commentarial literature. Its author, unlike later authors, rarely takes a firm stand but aims at presenting various opinions to enable the reader to form his or her own opinion (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 100ff., 124f.).

About two centuries later, after the unification of the three monastic orders in Sri Lanka in 1165 and before the origination of Buddhanāga's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīabhinavaṭīkā* (before c. 1186), Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva (present-day Polonnaruwa) wrote a subcommentary to the *Samantapāsādikā* called *Sāratthadīpanī* or *Līnasāratthadīpanī* (approx. 1,563 pages). Sāriputta's name is not given in the text, but he is mentioned as the author of this commentary in his Sinhalese paraphrase to the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (Abhidh-s-sn 283.9,16–17) and in three commentaries of pupils of his (Vin-vn-ṭ I 2,1; Sacc-ṭ; see Cousins, forthcoming; Dāṭh 151, 2ff.). Sāriputta used several Sinhalese commentaries and at least two in Pali, namely one anonymous glossary and the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, which he attributes to "someone specific" (*kenaci*). As he explains in his introductory stanzas, he felt the necessity to write a new commentary because earlier commentaries were difficult to understand, since they were written in Sinhalese, and because the attempt of the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* to write in Pali resulted in a work of slightly mixed language (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 63n103). Despite his partially sharp criticism of his predecessor, he also silently borrows from the latter's commentary. A conspicuous characteristic of the *Sāratthadīpanī* is its inclusion of large portions of text silently borrowed from other subcommentaries, especially from Dhammapāla's *purāṇaṭīkās* to the first four *nikāyas*, to the *Visuddhimagga*, and so on. Given that Sāriputta's other Pali works mainly consist of reused text (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming b), the *Sāratthadīpanī* may as well contain more reused text than hitherto known. In contrast to his predecessor, Sāriputta avoids giving many opinions and generally takes a firm stand, which he expresses by "[this is] our conviction" (*amhākaṃ khantī*).

The third subcommentary, the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* (approx. 690 pages), is stated to be a work of Coḷiya Kassapa or Mahākassapa, author of the *Mohavicchedanī*, in the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* (second third of the 13th cent. at the earliest) as well as in later historical works (Gv 60.32; Sās 33.24; Sās-dīp 1204). Following the *Gandhavaṃsa*, he wrote this commentary on his own accord (Gv 70.14–15). Mahākassapa may have been a native of Sri Lanka, venerated in the Chola (Pal. Coḷa; Tam. Cōḷa) region (according to Crosby & Skilton's [1999, 176] interpretation of a statement in the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*). The *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* is to be dated after the *Sāratthadīpanī* (after 1165) and before the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*. Despite Mahākassapa's statement in his introductory stanzas that there existed several (*aneka*) commentaries to the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* – some very detailed, some difficult to access, some failed as to meaning and word, some incomplete, and others creating confusion (Vmv I 1.7ff.) – only the *Sāratthadīpanī* is quoted explicitly (37 times) and rejected frequently (Dhammaratana, 1997, 76ff.; Kieffer-Pülz, 2005, 165ff.; Gornall, 2014). The *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* is influential, the source for several later practices as, for instance, the method for the abolition of an unknown Buddhist monastic boundary by carrying out the necessary legal act at a place that must have been included within the monastic boundary, the adoption of a temporary name for ordination, and so on (Kieffer-Pülz, 1997, 239ff.). It, furthermore, contains information on South Indian practices and developments.

The fourth subcommentary, characterized as an *atthayojanā* commentary, is Ñāṇakitti's *Samantapāsādikatthayojanā* (1,267 pages in the Thai ed.) written in Lanna (northern Thailand) before 1492/1493 (date of the subsequently authored *Pātimokkhagaṇṭhidīpanī*) as proved by a reference from the latter to the *Samantapāsādikatthayojanā*. Ñāṇakitti, a grammarian, does not add to legal aspects but rather offers variant readings, etymologies, word explanations, grammatical analyses, meanings, and statements regarding the connections of words (*sambandha*) and the syntactical construction of sentences (*yojanā*). He uses a large number of sources, which he generally quotes by name (see also von Hinüber, 2000, 123–137).

A fifth commentary to the *Vinayapiṭaka* originated in Burma in 1869, namely, Jāgara's (1810–1874) *Pācityādiyojanā* (approx. 602 pages). It is characterized as an *atthayojanā* commentary beginning with the *Pācittiya* section (Pāc-y 1.5). Its author, like Ñāṇakitti, rarely deals with legal aspects but especially explains words, their connection, and the syntactical constructions.

Further commentaries are mentioned in literary historical works or exist as manuscripts. Among them the *Vinayaguḷha(ṭṭha)pakāsanī* (length: 7 *bhāṇavāras* [a section of a scripture consisting of 250 *ganthas*] and 6 *ganthas* [a *gantha* or *gātha* consisting of 32 syllables], which corresponds to 56,192 syllables) is possibly identical with the work mentioned in the *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* (278). Random samples in manuscripts suggest that it comments on selected passages extracted from the *Samantapāsādikā*, presenting

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The *Pātimokkhasutta*
Its Commentaries

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interpretations not found in other searchable commentaries, and originated after the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā*; it is secondarily attributed to a Ñāṇakitti Mahāsāmi in one manuscript. Of the *Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī* and the *Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī* (Gv 64.19f.; 74.20ff.), both attributed to Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (15th cent.; Bode, 1909, 18; *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* 277), the first might discuss hidden meanings of words in the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Samantapāsādikā*, and the second possibly deals with the system of the arising (*samuṭṭhāna*) of offences. Nothing is known about a *Samantapāsādikāvivaraṇa* by an unknown Sri Lankan *ācariya* mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (75.18).

The *Pātimokkhasutta* and Its Commentaries

The *Pātimokkhasutta* or *Mātikā* consists of two parts, the *Bhikkhupātimokkha* (*Pātimokkha* for Monks; approx. 31 pages) and the *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha* (*Pātimokkha* for Nuns; approx. 40 pages). Both were transmitted as part of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and as independent texts with a separate introduction (see above). As already stated, the earliest commentary is the *Suttavibhaṅga*, which, together with the text itself, has become the first part of the *Vinayapiṭaka*. The independently transmitted *Pātimokkhasutta* was later commented on in at least one early Sinhalese commentary (*Sīhaḷamātikaṭṭhakathā*), which was lost but referred to once, namely in the Pali *aṭṭhakathā* commentary of the 4th/5th century CE, that is, in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, also called the *Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā* (Kkh 375.11) or *Mātikaṭṭhakathā* (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 221). The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (approx. 274 pages), an anonymous and undated text, like the *Samantapāsādikā* is ascribed to Buddhaghosa (Kkh 375.10–11). O. von Hinüber (1996a, §§ 221, 224, 307) rejects the ascription to him not only of the *Samantapāsādikā* but also of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*. The two texts certainly were not written by the same author, since they deviate with respect to the names of the chapters (*vaggas*) and rules, the keywords used in the system of the arising of an offence, the mention of the factors (*aṅgas*) constituting an infraction, which are solely named in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, and so on (von Hinüber, 1992, 62ff.; 1996a, § 223f.). The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* is the younger text, as can be seen from not only more developed systems (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 224; Kieffer-Pülz, 2012, 21ff.) but also explicit references to the *Samantapāsādikā* and considerable silent borrowings (about 30% of *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*'s first two chapters stem from *Samantapāsādikā*; Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming b). It is a systematically structured, clear, and concise commentary following largely the same pattern for each rule: word analysis; classification of the rule according to 17 aspects (not all are necessarily given for each rule), namely:

1. provenance (*nidāna*);
2. individual (*puggala*);
3. subject matter (*vatthu*);
4. type of prescription (*paññatti*);
5. command (*āṇatta*);
6. sort of offence (*āpatti*);
7. non-offence (*anāpatti*);
8. failure (*vipatti*);
9. constitutent parts (*aṅga*);
10. sort of origin (*samuṭṭhāna*);
11. the variety according to activity (*kiriyā*),
12. awareness (*saññā*), and
13. thought (*citta*);
14. the diversity of faults (*vajja*) and
15. deeds (*kamma*);
16. the triad of intention (*citta*), namely, wholesome, unwholesome, and neutral; and
17. the triad of feelings (*vedanā*), that is, pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral.

Pātimokkhasutta Glossaries (*Gaṇṭhipadas*)

As is testified by several quotations from *Mātikaṭṭhakathāgaṇṭhipadas* – some of which are characterized as having been written in Sinhalese (*sīhaḷagaṇṭhipada*) – preserved in subcommentarial literature, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* was supplemented by various glossaries (*gaṇṭhipada*) written in Sinhalese and Pali. The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpiṭapota*, a Sinhalese glossary written around the mid-13th century, contains Sinhalese and Pali quotations from older glossaries, of which some have parallels in the so-called *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* (10th–12th cents.). This earliest Pali subcommentary to the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* has no title that could tell us whether it was considered a *gaṇṭhipada* or a *ṭīkā*. But a *gaṇṭhipada* quotation in the *Sāratthadīpanī* with parallel in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* renders it possible that the latter was originally considered a *gaṇṭhipada* commentary (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 26). Ñāṇakitti's *gaṇṭhipada* to the *Bhikkhupātimokkha*, the *Pātimokkhagaṇṭhi(dīpanī)* or *Bhikkhupātimokkhagaṇṭhi(dīpanī)* written in Lanna in 1492/1493 (von Hinüber, 2000, 127), shows that glossaries did not go out of fashion after the appearance of the *ṭīkā*s. The *Pātimokkhagaṇṭhidīpanī* was written after the *Samantapāsādikatthayojanā* to which it explicitly refers (Pāṭ-gp-dīp, *Viññatti* 1.14f.; 41.24f.: *ayuttabhāvo samantapāsādikāya atthayojanāyaṃ mayā vutto* [the unsuitability has been stated by me in the *Samantapāsādikatthayojanā*]) and from which it silently borrows text.

Pātimokkhasutta Subcommentaries (*Ṭīkā*s)

Two subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*s) to the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* have come down to us. The earlier is the already mentioned anonymous, undated, and untitled *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* (approx. 117 pages). In its introductory stanza, it is described as "a work that illuminates the hidden meaning" (*līnapadaṃ vikāsanako ārambho*; Kkh-pṭ 1.6). As stated above, it possibly was considered a *gaṇṭhipada* commentary originally, since it shares four stanzas with the *Sāratthadīpanī* for which the latter names a *gaṇṭhipada* as the source. If that is correct, it must have originated before the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The *terminus post quem* is the date of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (c. 10th cent.), since the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* often silently borrows text from it (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 47f., 57f.). It also shows a great closeness to the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* regarding its sources, of which two are connected with South India, namely the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* and Vajirabuddhi's *Anugaṇṭhipada*. The text, therefore, can safely be considered to have belonged to the same – South-Indian-affiliated – tradition as the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*.

A second *ṭīkā* is the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīabhinavaṭīkā*, named *Vinayatthamañjūsa Līnatthappakāsanī Mātikaṭṭhakathā* (approx. 375 pages) by Buddhanāga, pupil of Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva. He wrote this commentary on the request of Thera Sumedha, possibly identical with Sāriputta's teacher (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 378), after the above-mentioned unification of the three monastic orders in 1165, and after Sāriputta had become head of the saṅgha (*mahāsāmi*). It originated during Parakkamabāhu I's lifetime, because Buddhanāga speaks of this king as a still living person (Rohanadeera, 1985, 27f.). This narrows down the time window for the origin of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīabhinavaṭīkā* to between 1165 and 1186. Buddhanāga does not explicitly mention his teacher's *Sāratthadīpanī*, but he often silently borrows from it. He, furthermore, closely follows Sāriputta in his interpretation of the alcohol rule (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 30n68). Buddhanāga does not explain why he wrote a new commentary to the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*. Since his commentary does not bear traces of silent borrowings from the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, nor similarities in structure or choice of words, it is probable that he did not know it. His commentary in any case is much more detailed than the earlier one. More detailed explanations regarding the content or examples are, however, mostly silently borrowed from the *Samantapāsādikā* or the *Sāratthadīpanī*.

As an important text for daily practice, the *Pātimokkhasutta* was commented on again in later years. The *Gandhavaṃsa* mentions an untraced *Pātimokkhavivaraṇa* written by an unknown Sinhalese monk on his own accord (Gv 75.17). Three commentaries originated in Burma between the 15th and the 18th century, none of which deals with legal aspects: the *Pātimokkhavisodhanī* attributed to Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (15th cent.) in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (64.23–24) aiming at correcting (*visodhana*) words and syllables of the text of the *Pātimokkhasutta* as they appeared in *Pātimokkhasutta* manuscripts, the *Pātimokkha(vi)lekhana* attributed to Ñāṇavara (1705–1753; Bode, 1909, 67), also commenting on various readings of the *Pātimokkhasutta*, and finally, the *Pātimokkhapadatthānuvaṇṇanā* (18th cent.) by Vicittālaṅkāra from Ca-laṅḥ (modern Salin on the west bank of the Irrawaddy), accessible in a Burmese edition (Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2009, 275–292), aiming at explaining the meaning of words or words and meanings (*padattha*).

Vinayapiṭaka Condensations and Their Commentaries

The large extension of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and its commentary *Samantapāsādikā* led to the creation of condensations written from about the 5th/6th century onward, which became important in the monastic education of the following centuries. Two short texts, predominantly in verse, the *Mūlasikkhā* and the somewhat more detailed *Khuddasikkhā*, were intended for study by young monks at the beginning of their career (von Hinüber, 1996a, §§ 332f.). They serve as mnemonics. The anonymous

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and undated *Mūlasikkhā* (about 8 pages) is ascribed to a Mahāsāmi (whether this is a name or a title is unclear) based on an unidentified Burmese tradition (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 332). The *Khuddasikkhā* (about 34 pages) was written by the Sinhalese monk Dhammasiri Thera, who is also responsible for a lost glossary (*ganṭhipada*) to the *Samantapāsādikā*. This Dhammasiri Thera was the leader of his own saṅgha, a pupil of the author of the *Samantapāsādikā*. As stated above, this author is identified with Buddhaghosa by tradition, which would make Dhammasiri a younger contemporary of the latter. However that maybe, Dhammasiri is to be dated sometime after the *Samantapāsādikā* (i.e. c. 5th/6th cent. CE). The *Khuddasikkhā* is about four times longer than the *Mūlasikkhā* and adds a number of details. Partly identical half verses, especially in the beginning, hint at a common source or a mutual dependence of both. The skeletal appearance of the *Mūlasikkhā* suggests that it originated slightly earlier than the *Khuddasikkhā*. Together with the *Pātimokkhasutta* and *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, these two manuals were considered "sufficient *Vinaya* knowledge for those who could not study more" and "in modern times... are called the 'Four Smaller *Vinayas*'" in Burma (Bode, 1909, 6). They played a similar role in Sri Lanka, where they were recommended as the basis of Vinaya knowledge in monastic ordinances (*katikāvata*) by the kings (Blackburn, 1999, 285ff.). The other early Buddhist school in Sri Lanka before the 12th century, the Abhayagirivāsin, had its own *Khuddasikkhā*, a stanza of which is preserved in the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* (see below).

The next versified manuals are the *Vinayavinicchaya* (186 pages) and the *Uttaravinicchaya* (55 pages), written by the South Indian Buddhadatta after the *Samantapāsādikā* and before circa 600 CE (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 325–329). They are more detailed than the previous texts. The *Vinayavinicchaya* comprises material from all the *Vinayapiṭaka* volumes, except the *Parivāra* – the latter is dealt with in the *Uttaravinicchaya* – plus the *Samantapāsādikā*. The *Vinayavinicchaya* has many literal, and still more rough, parallels with the *Khuddasikkhā* (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 195n473), which indicates a common source or a mutual dependence.

The condensations were in turn commented on in *ganṭhipadas* (*Khuddasikkhāganṭhipada*; see below) and *ṭīkās*. Three commentaries to the *Khuddasikkhā* are mentioned in secondary literature: one by Mahāyasa or Revata, one by the grammarian Moggallāna, and one by Saṅgharakkhita or Vācissara. The ascription of an old *ṭīkā* to Mahāyasa (de Zoysa, 1885, 8; Malalasekera, 1928, 77) stems from sources of the 17th–19th centuries (Gv 61.22f.; Sās 34.17; Sās-dīp 1208). The author is designated as a Burmese native (Jayawardhana, 1994, 188). The attribution of an old commentary to Revata, identified with the author of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* (Malalasekera, 1928, 77f., 109), may be based on the *Piṭakat samuinḥ* (293) but is rather caused by the wrong identification of the author of the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* with the alleged author of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*, who also wrote the *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* (see below). The ascription of a commentary to Moggallāna (Malalasekera, 1928, 76) is based on the wrong identification of Saṅgharakkhita with Moggallāna (Fryer, 1875, 91). Two commentaries are mentioned in the Pagan inscription dated 1442 CE and are available in editions. The older, anonymous and undated, is depicted as *atthavinicchaya* (ascertainment of meanings or matters; Khuddas-pṭ 59.10; approx. 142 pages). It is quoted as *ṭīkā* in the old Sinhalese paraphrase to the *Khuddasikkhā*, that is, the *Kudusikasannaya* (Kieffer-Pülz, vol. I, 2013, 5n3), and in Saṅgharakkhita's *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā*, and as *Khuddasikkhāvaṇṇanā* in the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*, all three dating from the second third of the 13th century at the earliest (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c). It has passages in common with the much shorter, old, anonymous, and undated *Mūlasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* (see below), especially in the beginning. It is not clear whether the author of the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* borrowed them from the *Mūlasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* or vice versa. The commentaries cannot have been written by the same author, since to nearly every rule the author of the *Mūlasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* adds passages silently borrowed from the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, listing the constituent factors for an offence, whereas the author of the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* does not even mention these factors. The *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* also has passages in common with Buddhanāga's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīabhinavaṭīkā*, which it most likely borrowed from the latter. If the dating of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīabhinavaṭīkā* to circa 1165–1185 is correct, the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* could be dated to between the last quarter of the 12th and the second quarter of the 13th century. The author of the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* obviously also had access to a *Khuddasikkhā* of the Abhayagirivāsin, since its author gives an Abhayagirivāsin version for a stanza (8.6) and various variant readings (41.14–15; 42.11; see also Cousins, 2012, 89).

The new commentary to the *Khuddasikkhā* bears the name *Sumaṅgalappasādanī* (approx. 170 pages) and was written by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, pupil of Sāriputta, Moggallāna, and Sīla, and head of the saṅgha (*mahāsāmi*) from between 1232 and 1236 onward. The name of the author is not mentioned in the text itself but only in a secondary colophon, which is appended to the *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* by a pupil of the author. This secondary colophon is an adjusted copy of a colophon secondarily added to Saṅgharakkhita's *Sambandhacintā* (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c). The *Sumaṅgalappasādanī* is ascribed to Vācissara (Gv 71.24–25) or to Saṅgharakkhita (*Saddhammasaṃgaho* 9.28–29; Sās-dīp 1209; Piṭ-sm 294) in literary historical works. If we do not consider these as two names of one person (as did the editors of the *Mūlasikkhā* commentaries; see below), then the ascription to Vācissara must be wrong. The *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* is connected with several other works attributed to Saṅgharakkhita by intertextual links, namely, references to other texts with the statement that they were written by him, which prove that it stems from the same author's pen as the *Vuttodaya*, the *Subodhālaṅkāra*, the *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā* called *Mahāsāmi*, the *Sambandhacintā*, the *Yoga*(*vi*)*nicchaya*, and the *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā*. Thereby the *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* was written after the *Subodhālaṅkāra* and the *Yoga*(*vi*)*nicchaya* and before the *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā*. The latter originated after Saṅgharakkhita's appointment to the office of *mahāsāmi* (i.e. after 1232–1236; Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c). As a reason for writing a new commentary to the *Khuddasikkhā*, Saṅgharakkhita states that with the old *ṭīkā*, it was not possible to thoroughly understand the meaning everywhere (Khuddas-anṭ 237.7–8). Saṅgharakkhita takes over formulations from the old *ṭīkā* here and there but in general writes independently, adding grammatical analyses and explanations of words not explained before, and sometimes discusses statements of the old *ṭīkā*. Whether it originated after the *Kudusikasannaya*, which quotes from the old but not from the new *ṭīkā*, is unclear. The *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* has common portions with the *Mūlasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* (see below).

Since the *Mūlasikkhā* as a manual for beginners was a widely disseminated text, the information of the *Mūlasikkhābhinavaṭīkā*'s author that there existed innumerable commentaries (Mūlas-anṭ 1.8–9) is not surprising; at present only two are accessible in editions. The old subcommentary to the *Mūlasikkhā*, called *Mūlasikkhatthavaṇṇanā* (Mūlas-pṭ 1.12; approx. 35 pages), is anonymous and undated. Internal evidence from the *Mūlasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* (*terminus post quem* 1232–1236 CE[?]) make plain that its author was a Sinhalese monk, since he quotes from a seemingly lost Sinhalese text called *Sāmaṇerasikkhā* (Mūlas-pṭ 465.6f.).

The *Mūlasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* called *Vinayavimaticchedanī* or *Vimaticchedanī* (approx. 140 pages) is anonymous. It is attributed to the Burmese monk Samantaguṇasāgara from Vijayapura (Piṭ-sm 298; Āsabha & Kheminda, 1926; Braun & Peters, 1996, 421). The author informs us that he wrote a commentary (*vaṇṇanā*), because the innumerable commentaries to the *Mūlasikkhā* did not suffice to understand the text. The commentary contains variant readings, grammatical explanations, and quotations from various unidentified verse texts. Identified verses stem from the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (c. 10th cent.), the old *Mūlasikkhāṭīkā*, or the *Rūpasiddhi* (first half of 12th cent.). Long portions have parallels in Saṅgharakkhita's *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā*, from which they were most probably borrowed.

For the *Vinayavinicchaya*, three *ṭīkās* are noted. One is ascribed to Vācissara in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (62.10) and wrongly linked with the title *Yoga*(*vi*)*nicchaya* in secondary literature (Malalasekera, 1928, 202; Jayawardhana, 1994, 183). The *Yoga*(*vi*)*nicchaya* is a lost grammatical text and simply listed before the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c). Another *ṭīkā* is imputed to Revata (Sās-dīp 1207; de Zoysa, 1885, 15; Malalasekera, vol. II, 1937, 884), most likely based on the stanzas secondarily attached to the *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā*. These additional stanzas – which contain a *terminus ante quem* for the origination of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* and *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* – inform us that the commentaries had been brought to Burma by Sīvali Thera (before 1245) and were transliterated or translated into Burmese script or language by Revata. Thus Revata was the transliterator or translator, but not the author, of a *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*. A third *ṭīkā*, entitled *Vinayatthasārasandīpanī*, is attributed to an otherwise unknown Sri Lankan monk named Mahā-Upatissa in the *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* (299). It is this *ṭīkā* that is accessible to us in edited form, since in the subheadings, it is called *Vinayatthasārasandīpanī* (approx. 750 pages). It, furthermore, is quoted as *Vinayasāratthasandīpanī* in the *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* (see below). The name of the author is not given in the text. In the introductory stanzas, he, however, mentions Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva and the unification of the saṅgha by King Parakkamabāhu I, and

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he informs us that five persons asked him to write this commentary, namely, the elders Sumaṅgala Araññavāsika, Buddhamitta Coḷappadīpa, and Mahākassapa Coḷāvanipūjita; the lay follower (*upāsaka*) Dhammakitti Paṇḍita; and the merchant (*vāṇija*) Bhāṇu (von Hinüber, 1996a, § 330). Sumaṅgala is probably identical with Sāriputta's pupil who wrote *ṭīkās* to the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*; Mahākassapa is the author of the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* and the *Mohavicchedanī*. Buddhamitta is not attested otherwise. A lay follower called Dhammakitti is mentioned in the colophon to the *Saccasaṅkhepaṭīkā* called *Sāratthasālinī* as providing the author with a residence for finishing his commentary (Cousins, forthcoming). Since the *Sāratthasālinī* shares the whole introductory section with the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c), it was most likely written by the same author. This is confirmed by the list of works attributed to this author in the possibly secondary colophon to the *Sāratthasālinī* (Cousins, forthcoming). The lay follower Dhammakitti Paṇḍita played an important role for the author, who might be Vācissara. At least the three works mentioned, and others mentioned in the colophon to the *Saratthasālinī*, are attributed to Vācissara in the *Gandhavaṃsa*. The list of works of Vācissara in the *Gandhavaṃsa* is an amalgamation of works of Saṅgharakkhita and Vācissara. These two persons cannot be identical, since among the works listed, the *Khuddasikkhābhinavaṭīkā* and the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* cannot have been written by the same author. Despite the fact that the *Khuddasikkhā* and the *Vinayavinicchaya* have stanzas in common, their commentaries do not share any common passage or wording. This excludes from among Sāriputta's pupils Saṅgharakkhita and Sumaṅgala as authors of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā*. Regarding the necessity to write this commentary, the author tells us that an earlier Sinhalese commentary to the *Vinayavinicchaya* did not fully accomplish the goal for monks belonging to other parts of the world (Cousins, forthcoming). This certainly refers to the only early known Sinhalese *Vinayavinicchaya* commentary, the lost *Nissandeha* attributed to Parakkamabāhu II (1236–1271), which the author of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* not only quotes explicitly but also possibly uses silently as a source (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming c). We are told that Parakkamabāhu II was active as a literatus at the end of his reign, that is, in the late 13th century. But it cannot be excluded that he wrote the *Nissandeha* in his early years, while he received his education from the saṅgha (sometime before 1236), as that probably would be the time when he became acquainted with the *Vinayavinicchaya*. In that case, the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* could have been written in the second third of the 13th century CE at the earliest, which would conform with the early transfer to Burma by Sīvalī Thera.

The *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* also called *Uttaravinicchayavaṇṇanā* is named *Līnatthapakāsanī* (approx. 92 pages) in the subheadings. Its author is not named, but he is identical with the author of the *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* as can be seen from an intertextual link in the beginning of the commentary (Utt-vn-ṭ II 401.17f.; "and insofar as it has been concisely shown by us in the commentary to the *Vinayavinicchaya*, we will not explain it here"). A longer passage with definitions of the currency *kahāpaṇa* (a coin or weight of different values) is quoted by Ñāṇakitti in his *Samantapāsādikatthayojanā* and in his *Bhikkhupātimokkhagaṇṭhidīpanī*, in which he gives the name Vācissara as the author. It is to be assumed that this a reference to the text from which the stanzas are borrowed, namely, to the *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming a), not to an eventual source of the stanzas given there (von Hinüber, 2000, 132f.). The *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* in the beginning assembles several quotations from the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and a Sinhalese *Sāmaṇerasikkhā*, but in general, it neither quotes much nor discusses substantive issues but merely gives explanations of words, of the connection of words (*sambandha*), and of the syntactical constructions (*yojanā*).

We have further commentaries on these condensations, which mostly are intended to elucidate words and grammatical constructions: an old and new *Khuddasikkhāyojanā* (c. 18th cent.) and a *Khuddasikkhādīpanī* by Burmese monastic scholars are mentioned in the *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* (295–296); a *Khuddasikkhāyojanā* also exists in manuscript (Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, 18); and a *Vinayavinicchayayojanā* (1768) was written by a Burmese monk bearing the title Guṇābhisaddhamma Anantadhaja Mahādhammarājaguru who is probably identical with the monk Candovara mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (128.13; see also *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* 301; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, 19).

The *Vinayapiṭaka* Digests (*Saṅgahas*) and Their Commentaries

From the 12th century onward, topically organized compendia comparable to Sanskrit digests (*nibandhana*) came into vogue. Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva wrote a Vinaya compendium (*Vinayasaṅgaha*; approx. 537 pages), also called *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya* (Compendium of *Vinaya* Rulings Independent of the Canonical Text), intended for the benefit of monks who are practitioners of spiritual discipline (i.e. meditation; *yogāvacarabhikkhu*). This book consists of rearranged, reused text mainly from the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vinayapiṭaka*, but also from the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* and *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. It is arranged in 34 chapters, dealing with topics of the monks' daily life and with issues affecting the community as a whole. Although it does not contain original text, it is an important document as it illuminates the topics considered important to monastics in 12th-century Sri Lanka and because it contains a number of otherwise not traced *kammavācā*s for the atonement of offences that are older than all the collections preserved in manuscript. It was an influential work as shown by its mention in the colophons of various of Sāriputta's pupils' works, by its being quoted in later texts, and by its being preserved in a large number of manuscripts. There seem to have existed other similar compendia as traces of the anonymous and undated *Vinayasaṅkhepaṭṭhakathā* (c. 12th–13th cents.) show, a text with 19 chapters largely borrowed from the *Samantapāsādikā* and enriched by portions from the subcommentaries (Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2002). A *Vinayālaṅkārasaṅgaha* attributed to a Vācissara preserved in manuscript (Jayawickrama, 1972, no. 67) might be another specimen of this type. In the Pagan inscription dated 1442, a greater and a lesser *Vinayasaṅg(r)ahaṭṭhakathā* are listed (Bode, 1909, 102). Both are also mentioned in Burmese secular law texts from the early 17th century (Lammerts, 2014, 188n22).

On Sāriputta's *Vinayasaṅgaha*, there exist two commentaries. The first is an autocommentary by Sāriputta called *Anuttānatthadīpanī* (Exposition of Unclear Meanings; approx. 185 pages; see also Crosby, 2006). Since the *Vinayasaṅgaha* is a collection of reused text, especially from the *Samantapāsādikā*, Sāriputta in writing his autocommentary could adopt text from his commentary to the *Samantapāsādikā*, that is, from the *Sāratthadīpanī*. Therefore, the *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayasaṅgahapurāṇaṭīkā* largely is a rearranged *Sāratthadīpanī* (Kieffer-Pülz, 1992, 184n70). In cases in which Sāriputta in his *Vinayasaṅgaha* borrows text from a different *aṭṭhakathā*, he for his autocommentary takes over the explanations from the corresponding *ṭīkā*s. Thus, for his chapter on *paritta* (lit. protection), he borrows text from Buddhaghosa's *Dīghanikāya* commentary, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, and accordingly silently takes over the explanations from Dhammapāla's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* for his commentary (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming b).

The second commentary to the *Vinayasaṅgaha* is Tipiṭakālaṅkāra Munindaghosa's (1578–1650/1651) *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* (approx. 855 pages), completed between 1639 and 1651 in Burma (Lammerts, 2013). Tipiṭakālaṅkāra Munindaghosa used many of the earlier subcommentaries as well as a *nissaya* (a bilingual Pali-Burmese interphrasal commentary) and a *gaṇṭhipada* to the *Khuddasikkhā* and quotes them with their names. Sāriputta's *Vinayasaṅgaha* commentary he quotes as (*Vinayasaṅgaha*)*porāṇaṭīkā*. A commentary to the *Vinayasaṅkhepa* might be the *Vinayasaṅkhepaṭīkā* mentioned in the *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ* (303).

Compilations and *Sīmā* Manuals

While not strictly speaking commentarial literature, compilations (*rāsī*s) known since 18th-century Burma, nevertheless, have to be mentioned here, because they consist in literal excerpts from older commentarial literature. Two such compilations on Vinaya topics are known in manuscript, namely, Ñāṇinda's *Vinayalakkhaṇarāsī* (c. 19th cent.) and the anonymous and undated *Vinayasaṅkheparāsī*. The former assembles excerpts from nine Vinaya texts originally probably intended as representatives of these texts (Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2002, 117ff.; Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming b). The latter contains excerpts from selected *Vinayapiṭaka* portions with added excerpts from the relevant subcommentaries (*Mahāvagga* plus extracts from various subcommentaries, *Cūḷavagga*; Peters, forthcoming, no. 1599). Such collections are of great value for the determination of the commentaries in use in a given region at a given time and for establishing texts, especially if they contain excerpts from otherwise untraced works (Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2002).

Another category of texts related to Vinaya commentarial literature is special manuals dealing with the Buddhist monastic boundaries (*sīmā*s).

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19th-century Sri Lanka – t
(1858) by the Burmese h
saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamn
Vimalasāra Thera's *Sīmāla*
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There exist several furthe
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rranged *Sāratthadīpanī* (Kieffer-
o). In cases in which Sāriputta in
ha borrows text from a different
or his autocommentary takes over
s from the corresponding *ṭīkās*.
apter on *paritta* (lit. protection),
from Buddhaghosa's *Dīghanikāya*
e *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, and accord-
kes over the explanations from
umaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā for his
effer-Pülz, forthcoming b).
mmentary to the *Vinayasaṅgaha* is
Munindaghosa's (1578–1650/1651)
ā (approx. 855 pages), completed
d 1651 in Burma (Lammerts, 2013).
Munindaghosa used many of the
entaries as well as a *nissaya* (a bilin-
e interphrasal commentary) and a
e *Khuddasikkhā* and quotes them
. Sāriputta's *Vinayasaṅgaha* com-
es as (*Vinayasaṅgaha*)*porāṇaṭīkā*.
o the *Vinayasaṅkhepa* might be
epaṭīkā mentioned in the *Piṭakat*

s and *Sīmā* Manuals

y speaking commentarial litera-
s (*rāsīs*) known since 18th-century
ess, have to be mentioned here,
sist in literal excerpts from older
erature. Two such compilations
re known in manuscript, namely,
lakkhaṇarāsī (c. 19th cent.) and
nd undated *Vinayasaṅkheparāsī*.
nbles excerpts from nine Vinaya
robably intended as representa-
xts (Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2002,
, forthcoming b). The latter con-
n selected *Vinayapiṭaka* portions
rpts from the relevant subcom-
agga plus extracts from various
, *Cūḷavagga*; Peters, forthcoming,
lections are of great value for the
he commentaries in use in a given
time and for establishing texts,
contain excerpts from otherwise
ieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2002).
ry of texts related to Vinaya com-
re is special manuals dealing
t monastic boundaries (*sīmās*).

Corresponding rules are given in the *Vinayapiṭaka* and commented on in detail in the *Samantapāsādikā*. Since the *Samantapāsādikā*'s interpretation of these rules is still valid today, these rulings have been excerpted and handed down in separate manuscripts or books, often beautifully illustrated. They often bear the title *Sīmākathā* and consist in an excerpt from the relevant statements in the *Samantapāsādikā*. In the 13th century, Vācissara Thera – based on an earlier, lost prose text – wrote a verse manual, named *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha*, and a hitherto untraced autocommentary. The *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha* is based on the *Samantapāsādikā*, enriched by information from commentaries and actual practices in South India. It was commented on by Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (15th cent.), whose commentary again served as a base for a Sinhalese paraphrase. Another treatise, Sāgarabuddhi's *Sīmāvisodhanī* (1587), written in Burma, discusses specifically the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā*'s statements on *sīmā*. The *Sīmāvicāraṇa* (1844) by King Rāma IV of Siam deals with various text portions from *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Samantapāsādikā* (Kieffer-Pülz, 2011). This also holds true for three treatises dealing with a *sīmā* dispute in 19th-century Sri Lanka – the *Sīmāvivādavinicchaya* (1858) by the Burmese head of the saṅgha, the *saṅgharāja* Ñeyyadhamma (Kieffer-Pülz, 1998), Vimalasāra Thera's *Sīmālakkhaṇadīpanī* (1878), and Dhammālaṅkāra Thera's *Sīmānayadappana* (1884). There exist several further treatises in manuscript, so far unedited.

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PETRA KIEFFER-PÜLZ

Monastic Organizational Guidelines

Monastic rulebooks, regulations, or codes exist wherever there are Buddhist monasteries. Rather than being commentaries to or explanations of the Vinaya or the *pratimokṣa* vows, these works mostly pertain to the physical space of the monastic compound and its inhabitants. Their rules are often perceived to be more provisional, more flexible, and more temporary than the rules or vows found in formal Vinaya literature. This makes these works valuable for a study of the historical development of Buddhist monasteries and their organization. Just as there are large differences among Buddhist monastic communities throughout Asia in terms of organization, layout, population, and so on, their regulations and rules also vary significantly. The commonality among these diverse monastic regulations is that they deal either with the conduct, organization, and management of the population of monks at a monastery or with a combination of the above. The authors of these texts are more often than not individuals with a certain level of authority, be it religious, political, or both. Therefore, such texts are frequently witness to the existing power relations at a given monastery at a certain time.

The intended audience of the texts can differ: certain monastic regulations meticulously prescribe the daily activities of monks (e.g. the *Chanyuan qinggui* [禪苑清規]; Yifa, 2002), whereas others appear to concern themselves only with the day-to-day management of the monastery. Yet other monastic regulations are combinations of both and appear to address the monastic community as a whole, while occasionally singling out a certain segment of the monk population.

Possibly the earliest references to the organization and management of monks and monasteries can be found in Buddhist canonical works (e.g. Silk, 2008). These often consist of mere allusions to monastic organization contained within narratives. Extant works that explicitly target monastic organization or the behavior of monks within the context of a monastic compound are of a later date, but there are indications that formal codes for local vihāras (taking this term in a broad sense) were in place at an early stage in the development of Buddhist monasticism. The Sanskrit term *kriyākāra* (Tib. *khrims su bca' ba*), translated as "local monastic ordinance" (Schopen, 2002), can be found in the *Varṣāvastu* section of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (D 1, *'Dul ba, ka*, 239a1) and in the *Śīlapaṭala* chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Schopen, 2002, 360–362). In both texts, the word *kriyākāra* clearly refers to the *local* practices of specific monastic communities. In other instances, it may also refer to secular rules (Schopen, 2002, 381n4). The word that refers to local monastic rules in the Pali *Vinayapiṭaka*, *katikā* (Vin i.153, 6), can also be found in some of the Pali *jātakas* (e.g. Jāt 540: vi.71, 31), where it appears to denote a type of oral contract between two individuals. The same word was also more generally used to refer to an agreement made by an assembly of people, which could consist of either laity or monastics (Ratnapala, 1971, 6).

Monastic Guidelines in South and Southeast Asia

In Sri Lanka, a number of monastic ordinances called *katikāvatas* or *katikāvattas* survive. Several of these were preserved as inscriptions and others in manuscripts. The *katikāvatas* are agreements on the rules of conduct for the monastic community, often laid down by the monastic leader with the most authority. The rules were decided on at an assembly of the saṅgha held specifically in order to reorganize the monastic community as a whole or a particular individual monastery. These reorganizations mostly happened with the support of the king; some *katikāvatas* thus bear the name of the king in question. The texts were written to establish stability within the community and to respond to contemporary practical issues faced by the saṅgha (Blackburn, 1999, 286–287).

Some make a distinction between *katikāvatas* for a specific monastery (vihāra *katikāvatas*) and those composed for the entire community of monks (*sāsana katikāvatas*; e.g. Rammandala, 1880). The former consist of rules mostly to do with the administration of a particular monastery, whereas the latter, which were promulgated by kings or local chieftains, contain a long historical introduction and focus more on the behavior of monks. An example of the *sāsana katikāvatas* is one

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(Schopen, 2002), can be found in the
tion of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*
, 239a1) and in the *Śīlapaṭala* chapter
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written by Mahākaśyapa at the occasion of the *sāsana* reform by the Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu I (1123–1186), which came about by royal order and not by a monastic council. That it was accepted by the monastic community shows the authority of the king over monastic matters. The first *katikāvata* promulgated by the monastic community without *any* royal interference can be dated as late as 1853 (Wijetunga, 1970, 4–7).

The organizational structure of the Parākramabāhu I *katikāvata* has formed the basis for the organization of the saṅgha in Sri Lanka and other Southeast Asian Buddhist countries. Its contents deviate in some instances from the *Vinayapiṭaka*, and it even adds some new rules that directly contradicted the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Bechert, 1970, 765; for the text, see Wickremasinghe, 1928, 256–283). N. Ratnapala has provided translations and analyses for a number of the *sāsana katikāvatas*, the earliest of which dates back to the 12th century (Ratnapala, 1971, 6–13). No extensive study on the vihāra *katikāvatas* has yet been conducted.

In Sri Lanka, inscriptions on granite slabs estimated to date to the 9th century have been found near ruins of monasteries. These are not explicitly called *katikāvatas* or named otherwise but clearly contain regulations intended to guide monks and laypeople that lived within the monastic compound or areas belonging to it. The Abhayagiri Inscription – written in Sanskrit – is one such example. This reveals that from the early 9th century, rules were laid down both for monks and for lay staff of the monastery (Wickremasinghe, 1912, 1–9). Another such source is the Mihintale Slab Inscription written in Sinhalese in the early 11th century. This states that it bases itself on the rules of the Abhayagiri as well as on those of the Cetiyagiri Monastery. It furthermore details the ideal daily routine of monks and offers very particular information on how servants and monastic property should be managed (Wickremasinghe, 1912, 98–113). R.A.L.H. Gunawardana utilized the above-mentioned and other similar inscriptions for his superb book on the monasticism and economy in Sri Lanka, exactly because they contain a wealth of information on the economic and social role of Sinhalese monasteries from the 9th to the 13th century (Gunawardana, 1979). The Sinhalese monastic guidelines also contain information on the monastery's scholastic schedule and the education of monks more generally (e.g. Kitsudō, 1981, 309–325).

While there is no lack of locally produced Vinaya commentaries, handbooks, and manuals in other South and Southeast Asian countries where monastic Buddhism had a presence. (see e.g. von Hinüber, 1996, 154–159; Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2009, 275–292; Lammerts, 2014), organizational guidelines for individual monasteries or monastic communities as can be found in Sri Lanka, China, Japan, and Tibet do not appear to exist. The extant Pali, vernacular, and bilingual material from countries such as Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia that pertain to features of monastic organization such as ordination, property, administration, and judicial matters requires further attention from scholarship.

Tibet

In Tibet, texts that contain rules on life in the monastery are generally called *bca'yig*, although a plethora of names exists for texts that in some way deal with monastic organization of the monastery. One also finds works that are labeled *bca' khrims, rtsa khrims, bka' khrims, bca' sgrig, sgrig yig, sgrig gzhi, khrims yig, tshogs gtam*, and *sgrig lam*: all may contain rather similar information.

The earliest extant work containing instructions for a monastic organization stems from the late 12th century. This first *bca'yig*-like text contains prescriptions for aspects of monastic governance and consists of instructions given by Lama Zhang (i.e. Zhang Brtson 'grus Grags pa [1123–1193]), written down and preserved in his collected works (Tib. *Gsung 'bum*; Ellingson, 1989, 208). According to tradition, it was recorded as an oral testament directed to his successors at the monastery of 'Tshal gung thang. It is said to have been spoken when Lama Zhang was close to dying, thus either in or before 1193. Even though it contains some valuable information on monastic organization in the late 12th century, the monastic guidelines developed into a more established genre only by the 14th century.

Just like the terms *kriyākāra* and *katikāvata*, the word *bca' yig*, which previous scholars have connected only to *monastic* regulations, may also apply to non-monastic groups, such as lay people in retreat or tantric practitioners. Some rulebooks that bear this name even serve to guide lay communities and are more or less secular in nature.

Whereas the lion's share of texts containing monastic rules in Sri Lanka were issued for the entire monastic community and while East Asian texts consisted of rules mostly intended for one single school, the rulebooks in Tibet more often than not were written for one single monastery.

Monasteries with thousands of monks, which were almost cities in their own right, as well as small hermitages deep in the mountains, had such written rules. The traditional claim is that each monastery of some renown needed to possess at least one set of guidelines (personal communication, July 2012). Interestingly, the surviving *bca' yig* written for nunneries are far and few between: I have counted three so far (Jansen, 2015).

Monastic guidelines written for Tibetan monasteries can abound with local flavor and interesting details, a sign that they were written by someone invested in the monastery, often an abbot or an important incarnation stationed there. This literature can also be very generic, particularly when written by one less involved in the monastery. Just as in the Sinhalese context, in Tibet monastic rules were sometimes tools of the state. These particular *bca' yig* have the aim to restructure the monastery's religio-political alliances and often contain rules for monasteries that are both physically and "religiously" far removed from the author's effective power. Examples can be seen in the works of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), who wrote a *bca' yig* for a Bon monastery, and in those of the thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933). The latter composed at least 38 monastic guidelines, almost all of which were intended for monasteries outside of central Tibet – that is to say, beyond the direct rule of the Tibetan government (Thub bstan Rgya mtsho, vol. IV, 1981–1982). These monasteries presumably already had monastic constitutions of their own, but issuing these constitutions was to a great extent a political act, a way to draw monasteries – mainly located in Kham and Amdo, regions that were not well-known for their allegiance to the central Tibetan government – into the political and religious sphere of the Dalai Lama.

The texts themselves often explicitly state their local and contemporary purpose. An example is the *bca' yig* written for all Sikkimese monasteries in 1909, in which it is said that it is a work "in accordance with all the monasteries' own rules, the local customs, [people's] dispositions, capacities and intentions" (Jansen, 2014; Schuh & Dagyab, 1978, 269–270). We can see that when structural changes took place in a particular monastery – for example, when it changed affiliation or had been rebuilt after destruction, or even when the education program was expanded – the *bca' yig* of that monastery was seen to be in need of revision or replacement. This is not unlike the notion prevalent among the authors of the *katikāvata*: some of these Sinhalese monastic codes state that they were renewed in accordance with the changing times (Ratnapala, 1971, 164).

East Asia

The translation of Vinayas into Chinese took place long after the introduction of monastic Buddhism to China. It is suggested that the earliest rules for monks in China were orally transmitted and were intended for the foreign monk population (Heirman, 2007, 168). In a letter, Dao'an (道安; 312–385) – translator of Buddhist scriptures and someone who is seen as the author of the earliest monastic rules – laments the fact that there was no complete text of the five hundred monastic rules at Xiangyang (襄陽), which he mentioned was most needed (Zürcher, 2007, 197). Dao'an's biography notes that the rules that he eventually developed, which pertained to daily life in the monastery, were followed by monks throughout the empire (Link, 1958, 35–6). There is no suggestion that Dao'an directly concerned himself with the administration or management of a monastery as such. Later on, the regulations that were formulated for Chan monasteries in China were said to be based on Dao'an's and Daoxuan's (道宣; 596–667) works (Yifa, 2005, 125). Traditionally, Baizhang's (白丈; 749–814) *qinggui* (清規; pure rules) are thought to form the foundation for later Chan monastic communities. Like those of Dao'an, Baizhang's rules were said to be written for general practice and not for particular circumstances; they concerned themselves with ritual while remaining largely silent on issues of administration. However, many scholars doubt that Baizhang's *qinggui* ever existed. The title is in any case apocryphal, for the term *qinggui* does not appear in a monastic context before the 12th century (Yifa, 2002, 28–35). The earliest extant text on monastic rules written by a Chan master is *Shi guizhi* (師規制; The Teacher's Regulations), written in 901 by Xuefeng (雪峰; 822–908). The work is short and is not directed to one single monastery. It not only appears to be in line with rules as laid out in the *Vinayapiṭaka* but also contains references to more Chinese local practices (Poceski, 2003, 33–56). The Tiantai monk Zunshi (遵式; 964–1032) revived the abandoned temple Tianzhusi (天竺寺) and wrote guidelines for his successors called the *Tianzhusi shifang zhuchi yi* (天竺寺十方住持義; Principles for the Ten Directions some of these Sinhalese monastic hey were renewed in accordance times (Ratnapala, 1971, 164).

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Abbacy of Tianzhu Monastery) in 1030 (Yifa, 2002, 35–37). Other non-Chan monastic guidelines are so far unknown.

Another very influential set of extant monastic guidelines for a Chan monastery is the *Chanyuan qinggui* (禪苑清規; Pure Rules for Chan Monasteries; Xuzangjing vol. LXIII, no. 1245). Written in 1103, it later became the standard for the rulebooks of all bigger Chan monasteries in China and represents an important milestone for Chinese Buddhist history because it was the first indigenous set of monastic rules that more or less equaled the status of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Foulk, 2004, 275). These rules may be divided into five sections:

1. standards of behavior addressed to individual monks;
2. procedures for communal calendrical rites;
3. guidelines for the organization and operation of public monastery bureaucracies;
4. procedures for rituals of social interaction; and
5. rules pertaining to the relationship between public monasteries and the outside world, particularly civil authorities and lay benefactors (Foulk, 2004, 289).

The *Chanyuan qinggui* describes in detail the duties of monk officials responsible for economic matters, such as tax and rent collecting. These new roles were not seen in the administrative structure of the earlier Tang dynasty monasteries (Collcutt, 1983, 182). Initially this genre of monastic guidelines called *qinggui* were restricted to Chan monasteries, but by the Yuan dynasty, the practice of compiling codes with *qinggui* in the title had spread to other branches of Chinese Buddhism (Collcutt, 1983, 169).

Whereas the *qinggui* were intended for all public monasteries, there were also monastic guidelines written for individual monasteries, which appear quite similar to the Tibetan *bca' yig*. H. Welch found texts called *Guiyue* (規約) to contain the fullest information on the monastic system as actually followed. In the early to mid-20th century, his monk informants thought them to be more relevant on issues of monastic organization than the contents of the *praṭimokṣa* vows (Welch, 1967, vi). Such guidelines were usually divided into sections, of which each was dedicated to a certain department in the monastery. Although these texts claim to be based on Baizhang's works, they were flexible, for when the need arose, the abbot could add new rules (Welch, 1967, 105–107).

Not surprisingly, the genre of *qinggui* also spread to Japan. Dōgen (道元; 1200–1253) wrote regulations for Eihei Monastery later collected in the *Eihei shingi* (永平清規; Pure Rules for Ehei Monastery; T. 2584), which includes regulations and procedural instructions for a variety of monastic activities. This work consists of six parts written on separate occasions (Leighton & Okumura, 1996, 21–23). Dōgen is sometimes viewed as an innovator of Zen monastic Buddhism, but almost all the texts on monastic rules attributed to him are in fact commentaries on the *Chanyuan qinggui* and other works deriving from the Vinaya tradition. This makes Dōgen a transmitter rather than an innovator of monastic rules (Foulk, 2006, 140).

Generally speaking, the codes compiled in Japan are often shorter than their Chinese counterparts, and they do not entirely reproduce the issues addressed in the *qinggui*s: local and specifically Japanese concerns were also voiced in the *shingi* (Collcutt, 1983, 170). As in the case with China, aside from the *shingi* that were directed to all Zen monasteries, there were also regulations called *kakun* (家訓) for individual Zen monasteries or schools. The latter term suggests a connection to aristocratic and warrior house codes, which bore the same name (Collcutt, 1981, 152). The *Rinsen kakun* (臨川家訓), compiled in 1317, is an example of an individual monastery's code (Collcutt, 1981, 149–165). The articles in this text appear to be responses to particular problems. Although similar guidelines for Japanese monastic institutions affiliated to other traditions exist, Western-language scholarship so far has been limited to those of the Zen tradition.

Another way in which rules for monastic conduct and life in Japan were created was through external authorities, perhaps comparable to the way the Sinhalese *sāsana katikāvata* were promulgated. The Nara court issued regulations for monks and nuns in 701, called the *Sōniryō* (僧尼令), which consists of 27 articles (translated by Piggott, 1987, 267–273). Even though these regulations contain rather stringent measures, they appear not to have been strictly enforced (Augustine, 2005, 60–62). The Hōjō and the Ashikaga rulers issued many codes for individual Zen monasteries (Collcutt, 1981, 165–166). This practice was already current in China from the 5th century onward: the *sengzhi* (僧制; saṅgha regulations) were attempts by the secular authorities to regulate the monk community, in particular with the aim to control monk ordinations, thereby countering tax evasion (Foulk, 2004, 276, 290).

In Korea, monastic regulations written specifically for local monasteries appear to be rare. In the Sŏn (禪) monasteries, monks studied a basic handbook called the *Ch'obalsim chagyŏng mun* (初發心

自警文; Admonitions to Beginners), a collection of three works. This book serves to inform monks on basic monastic rules and the right way of behaving in a monastic environment (Buswell, 1992, 80). One work included in the collection, by Chinul (知訥; 1158–1210), is called *Kye ch'osim hagin mun* (誡初心學人文; Admonitions to Neophytes; trans. Buswell, 2012, 195–205). The *Ch'obalsim chagyŏng mun* does not seem to serve as a manual for monastic organization but functions more as a manual for individual monks. It is one of the most commonly read and studied works among Korean Sŏn monks (Buswell, 1992, 101).

The absence of guidelines for monastic governance may be explained by the intimate relationship between the monastic community and the state. In the Koryŏ dynasty (高麗; 918–1392), a saṅgha registry was instated that functioned as mediator between temples and state officials, modeled after that in China, albeit without the anti-Buddhist undertone. This system may have caused the Korean monkhood to lose its autonomy (Vermeersch, 2008, 183–237), which then accounts for the lack of monastic guidelines, which are often an expression of autonomy – be it political, religious, or both. However, similar information to that which we find in the monastic codes of other Buddhist countries is contained in prohibition orders (禁令; *kŭmnyŏng*) and chapters on law in the *Koryŏsa* (高麗史; History of Koryŏ), which were promulgated by the secular authorities. In these works, one can find rules on monastic behavior that occasionally correspond to the contents of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Vermeersch, 2008, 161).

Relationship between the Monastic Rules and the *Vinayapiṭaka*

The question arises how the rules as laid down in the *Vinayapiṭaka* and those contained in the monastic codes relate to each other. Some see the monastic guidelines as additions to the existing Vinaya code (Seneviratna, 2000, 187) or clarifications and abridged versions thereof (Ellingson, 1989, 209). For some, the *bca' yig*s summarize

> the details of the Vinaya into basic principles of communal life and government, and articulate soteriological concepts into specific guidelines for the conduct of religious communities. (Ellingson, 1989, 210)

For others, such works present the practical message of the *Vinayapiṭaka* in a more accessible way (Blackburn, 1999, 286), as the Vinaya texts themselves were often – not only conceptually but also often even physically – inaccessible. In China, the *Vinayapiṭaka* remained untranslated for centuries after the introduction of Buddhism, while in Sri Lanka, Vinaya texts were often not kept in the monasteries (Blackburn, 1999, 286); in Tibet those who wished to study the monastic discipline as an "academic subject" were required to be *bhikṣus* (Cabezón, 2004, 6), while the majority of the monk population never took *bhikṣu* ordination. Furthermore, in the monastic educational curriculum of the Dge lugs school, the *Vinayapiṭaka* was a topic only studied for the last four years of the academic training that could take up to two decades (Dreyfus, 2003, 114). And even then, the canonical Vinaya texts themselves were not treated: the main focus lay on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (Tib. *'Dul ba'i mdo rtsa ba* [D 4117/P 5619]) and a commentary to this text by the 13th-century Bka' 'dams master Kun mkhyen Mtsho sna ba Shes rab Bzang po, used in all Tibetan Buddhist traditions. Despite the *Vinayapiṭaka* being an integral part of the monastic curriculum, extensive knowledge of the contents was not a requirement for one's scholastic progress (Dreyfus, 2003, 117). The number of studying monks in traditional Tibet was small; thus the vast majority of monks *never* studied the *Vinayapiṭaka* in any detail: all their awareness of monastic regulations and their vows came through *bca' yig* literature and oral instructions (see above).

It is thus plausible that, at least in Tibet, exactly because they usually addressed *all* monks that inhabited a monastery, the monastic guidelines were not mere appendices to Vinaya texts. Although such texts overtly address only the saṅgha, these types of works are witness to the fact that lay people – both monastery employees and lay devotees – were often part of the "jurisdiction" of the monastic institution. In Tibet, for example, hunting on monastic property was forbidden, and a *bca' yig* by the 13th Dalai Lama states that hunters who were caught were to be made to leave their weapons in the protectors' chapel and promise not to reoffend (Huber, 2004, 135).

In the case of Tibetan monastic Buddhism, a need was felt to supplement the general discipline with more specific documents that focused on "the practical aspects of daily life" (Cabezón, 1997, 337). Such documents have on the whole little to do with clarifying the Vinaya or the *praṭimokṣa* vows but contain practical instructions that seek to regulate monastic life. Monastic codes thus are neither necessarily

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clarifications or new standards, nor merely supplements to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, but rather handbooks or guidelines. In this way, many aspects of monastic life were regulated more by local monastic constitutions than by the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Dreyfus, 2003, 40).

According to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the First Buddhist Council decreed that the saṅgha was not to alter Buddha's laws (Bechert, 1970, 772). The notion that the Vinaya, and in particular the monks' vows, cannot and should not be modified, appears to be very much alive. Many contemporary senior Tibetan monks insist that rules for the monastery have no bearing on the rules contained in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, because the monastic rules are flexible whereas the *Vinayapiṭaka* ones – that is to say, the *pratimokṣa* vows – are not (personal communication, July 2012). It is perhaps for that reason that one can see the *Vinayapiṭaka* rules and the monastic rules as existing – at least in theory – alongside each other.

The literature containing monastic rules is, strictly speaking, never presented as commentary to *Vinayapiṭaka* material. Nonetheless, the authors of these works do tend to state that they write in accordance with the contents of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, and they sometimes add that certain *Vinayapiṭaka*-like works have been consulted. While the Chan *Qinggui* (Pure Rules), for example, incorporated contemporary Chinese cultural values, they were also strongly influenced by the *Vinayapiṭaka* and other Vinaya literature (Yifa, 2005, 134). It is also not uncommon for these types of works to cite the *Vinayapiṭaka* in order to lend authority to their rules or to incorporate well-known *Vinayapiṭaka* strands into the text.

This is not to say that these monastic rulebooks were never in contradiction with rules found in the *Vinayapiṭaka*. As mentioned above, the contents of the *katikāvata* sometimes did deviate from the canonical law and even directly contradicted it (Bechert, 1970, 765). It is, however, rare for this type of literature to display an awareness of the possibility of a contradiction between *Vinayapiṭaka* and monastic rules. The author of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, Canglu Zongze (長蘆宗賾; d. 1107?), appears to have been aware that he was writing a set of rules different from or competing with the *Vinayapiṭaka*. He solved this by pointing to precedence and by claiming that the rules that he promulgated were aimed at furthering the good of the monastic community (Foulk, 2004, 285). Another notable exception is a monastic code for Drepung ('Bras spungs) Monastery from 1682, in which the fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 1617–1682) wrote the following:

> Because going on an alms-round in Tibet proper, during for example the autumn, is in accordance with the intent of the Vinaya, it does not need to be stopped. Except for people who collect offerings for the general good (*spyi don*) in China, Mongolia, and Khams, etc. one is not to go to ask for donations, on one's own accord, without it being an exception [on behalf of] the officials and the general good. (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1682, 313; Jansen, 2013, 130)

To what extent did monastic regulations silently "overrule" *Vinayapiṭaka* rules, rather than merely existing alongside them? Further, if this overruling were a regular occurrence, then which set of rules would hold final authority? Even though it is impossible to determine the way in which all Buddhist monasteries in all traditions amended the rules for purely practical reasons, it is important to keep in mind that the Buddhist monastery is an institution that *was* (and still is) ultimately pragmatic. The monastic guidelines are witness to this pragmatism. They show the efforts made by the authors to regulate the monastic community and to negotiate its position within society.

Concluding Remarks

The genre of monastic codes has three subgenres:

1. guidelines for multiple monasteries written by someone whose religious authority is acknowledged by those monasteries;
2. codes that are written for multiple or all monasteries of a particular region, encouraged or enforced by a political ruler; and
3. rulebooks for individual monasteries that contain references to specific situations and local practices.

Often it proves difficult or impossible to distinguish between the first two, an example being the Sikkim monastic guidelines, in which the author has religious as well as political authority (Jansen, 2014).

Throughout this article, the genre and usage of monastic guidelines have mostly been referred to in the past tense. This does not mean that monastic rulebooks have now become obsolete. As certain aspects of modernity occasionally clash with contemporary monastic life, there appears to be a need for additional rules. Rules for monastics in the tradition of Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Zen master, have also been updated to conform to modern life (Nhat Hanh, 1997). Tibetan monasteries, both in Tibet and in exile, have experienced a dramatic shift in their economic and political position within society. As the monasteries have been reestablishing themselves in recent decades, the many new guidelines that are being compiled today are witness to the recalibrations of and negotiations that are – sometimes spatially and sometimes politically – far removed from the times before the 1950s. Monastic guidelines are thus compiled whenever and wherever the monastic community is seen to be in need of change. One can then say that these codes have been, are, and will be important indicators of the dynamic nature of Buddhist monasticism.

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Berthe Jansen

Sūtra Commentaries in Chinese until the Tang Period

The fervent composition of commentaries on Buddhist *sūtra*s could well be said to be one of the characteristic features of East Asian Buddhism. Translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese began around the second half of the 2nd century CE. When the Chinese began to study Buddhist teachings in their own language, they responded to *buddhavacana* (words of the Buddha) with various forms of exegetical activity: the earliest surviving commentaries from China date most likely to, or shortly after, the time of An Shigao (安世高; *fl.* c. 148–180 CE). By that time, China had a long-standing tradition of composing commentaries on its own literary and philosophical texts, a tradition that scholars speculate may have provided a stimulus to early Chinese Buddhist exegetes (see Mou, 1960). Among the Buddhist writings as a whole, the Chinese considered *sūtra*s, as opposed, for instance, to *śāstra* literature, as the most legitimate basis for investigating the Buddha's teachings, and it was the *sūtras* that received most of the commentarial attention. Generally speaking, when Chinese Buddhists sought to express their own position on a given doctrinal problem, they did not necessarily author independent tracts. Instead, they frequently resorted to the medium of *sūtra* commentary. At the same time, we must not overlook the fact that such collections as the *Hongming ji* (弘明集; Collection for the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]; T. 2102) and *Guang hongming ji* (廣弘明集; Expanded Collection for the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]; T. 2103) preserve quite a few independent tracts, and according to the catalogue section of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集; Compilation of Notices on the Production of the Tripiṭaka; T. 2145), many more treatises were compiled by the early 6th century that no longer survive.

The first section of this entry focuses on Chinese *sūtra* commentaries in the earliest period, from their emergence in the second half of the 2nd century to roughly the beginning of the 5th century. The next section traces the emergence of new forms and strategies of commentary from the 5th to the early 7th century: since these strategies functioned as models for commentaries of later periods up until today, this section is the most detailed and extensive one. Finally, in the third section, the entry offers a cursory overview of commentarial developments in later periods of Chinese Buddhist history (from the Tang onward) as well as of the commentarial traditions of Korea and Japan.

The Earliest Period: Commentaries from the 2nd to the 5th Century

It has long been accepted that the earliest type of *sūtra* commentary in China was the "interlinear" type (*zhu* [注/註]), the oldest surviving examples of which date to the 3rd and 4th centuries. The second main type, the "exposition of the meaning" or "expository" (*yishu* [義疏]) style, emerged during the the Northern and Southern Dynasties, roughly from the 5th century onward (with ZZ 577 [*Miaofa lianhua jing shu*; 妙法蓮華經疏; Expository Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*] by Daosheng [道生], the important early 5th-cent. theorist and exegete, as a representative early example; see below). In an attempt to delineate the differences between these two types, Kogachi Ryūichi (2001) used commentaries to Confucian texts as his reference point. He defined the interlinear commentary as a form that reproduces entire passages from the original scripture; explanations are then appended to the quoted passages in such a way that the basic *sūtra* text is accorded priority, and the interlinear commentary itself does not stand independent of the subject scripture. By contrast, the expository style does not reproduce the entire text of the *sūtra* but includes only selected passages (duly abridged and edited by the author) to which comments are then added, resulting in a composition that must be regarded as the work of the compiler himself.

The transition from the interlinear to the expository format in Chinese Buddhist history may to some extent reflect the influence of a parallel move from the interlinear to the expository style in the exegetical literatures on the Confucian classics.

Other factors behind the transition may have been strictly pragmatic. As indicated above, the interlinear style of commentary entailed reproduction of original *sūtra* passages in their entirety, followed by

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suitable segmenting and explanations placed immediately beneath the respective sections. Clearly, carrying out these operations on a text of unusually great length would have required a considerable investment of resources. Indeed, even in the case of later commentaries of the expository style, we find many examples in which the explanations tend to become shorter as one proceeds to the latter parts of the target text. When we further consider that new translations continued to be produced throughout this period, each presenting a new task for commentators, we may surmise that the move from the interlinear to the expository form presented itself as a practical convenience, or even a necessity.

In addition to such pragmatic concerns, the shift from interlinear to expository may be seen against its philosophic backdrop. Whereas interlinear commentaries were usually restricted to relatively superficial matters, such as the meanings of individual terms or problems of syntax, expository commentaries tended to take up the underlying themes of the text as a whole, as we can see, for instance, in Wang Bi's (王弼; 226–249 CE) and Daosheng's treatment of the Chinese classics and Buddhist *sūtras* respectively. Both Wang Bi and Daosheng prioritized the theoretical exegetical principle of "grasping the meaning and forgetting the words" (*deyi wangyan* [得意忘言]), which encouraged privileging the cardinal purport of the text over more specific textual matters.

Early catalogues inform us of numerous early interlinear commentaries that no longer survive. For instance, according to the *Chu sanzang jiji*, Zhi Qian (支謙; late 2nd-mid-3rd cent.) composed an interlinear commentary to the anonymous Han-period translation *Liaoben shengsi jing* (了本生死經; T. 708; T. 2145 [LV] 45b20–22), which has not been preserved. Likewise, the monk Kang Senghui (康僧會; ?-280 CE) of Sogdian descent authored interlinear commentaries on the *Sihemo jing* (私呵末經; T. 532; also known as *Sihemei jing* [私呵昧] and *Daoshu jing* [道樹經]) and on the *Fajing jing* (法鏡經; T. 322; T. 2145 [LV] 97a15): the former commentary has not been preserved, while of the latter only a few brief lines remain in the 7th-century anthology *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林) by the Chang'an scholar Daoshi (道世; T. 2122 [LIII] 1000a1–2).

Three interlinear commentaries from the early period are still extant in their complete form. One is the two-fascicle anonymous commentary to the *Yinchiru jing* (陰持入經; T. 603), being An Shigao's translation of a text corresponding to chapter 6 of the Pali treatise known as *Peṭakopadesa* (Zacchetti, 2002). The commentary is published under the title *Yinchiru jing zhu* (陰持入經注; T. 1694). In it we find some 15 citations credited to a "master" ("the master says"; *shi yun* [師云]) who has been variously identified as An Shigao, Kang Senghui, or even Zhi Qian (for a detailed discussion of this vexed problem, see Zacchetti, 2010, 154–156). In addition, we find in the *Yinchiru jing zhu* three instances of the phrase "one interpretation states" (*yi shuo yun* [一說云] or *yi shuo yan* [一說言]), which suggests that alternative interpretations were in circulation at the time of the text's composition. Citations from some 13 different *sūtras* appear in the commentary, as do three citations of *gāthās* ("a *gāthā* states"; *ji yue* [偈曰]): one from the *Fajing jing*, one from the *Sihemei jing*, and one from an as of yet unidentified source. We also find two citations simply from "a *sūtra*" ("a *sūtra* says"; *jing yue* [經曰]); here too the sources have not been determined. Finally, we see three citations introduced with the phrase "the *Anban* explanation states" (*Anban jie yue* [安般解曰]; for the *Anban*, see below). Evidence in the preface, also anonymous, as well as features of the text itself, suggests that this commentary was compiled during the 3rd century, in the Wu (吳) Kingdom Buddhist community revolving around the layman Chen Hui (陳慧) and Kang Senghui (Zacchetti, 2010; for a Japanese translation, see Ui, 1971); for an interpretation of its doctrinal orientation, see Lai, 1986).

Second is the interlinear commentary embedded in the text of the *Da mingdu jing* (大明度經; T. 225). The *Da mingdu jing*, a translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, comprises a total of six fascicles; the authorship of the first fascicle is unknown, while the remaining five (chs. 2–30) are reliably attributed to Zhi Qian (Nattier, 2008). The commentary is supplied only for the first fascicle, coinciding with chapter 1, *Xing pin* (行品). We do not know the identity of the commentator, although in view of the similarities between this work and the *Yinchiru jing zhu*, it has been suggested that both emerged from the same milieu, that is, the Wu Kingdom "school" of Kang Senghui (Nattier, 2008, 305). The commentary contains some 20 quotations introduced by "the master says" (*shi yun* [師云]): here too, as in the *Yinchiru jing zhu*, the "master" is not identified. In addition, there appear citations from the *Faju jing* (法句經; T. 210) as well as from the anonymous *Liaoben shengsi jing* (了本生死經; T. 708), from the *Dunzhenduoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* (伅真陀羅所問如來三昧經; T. 624), from the *Huiyin sanmei jing* (慧印三昧經; T. 632), and from a text referred to simply as *Anban* (安般, cf. T. 602; Zacchetti, 2008).

The third complete surviving interlinear commentary is the *Ren ben yu sheng jing zhu* (人本欲生經註; T. 1693) composed by the prominent early exegete, bibliographer, and organizer of the monastic *saṅgha* Dao'an (道安; 314–385 CE) on An Shigao's translation *Ren ben yu sheng jing* (人本欲生經; T. 14). This text also includes Dao'an's preface, the *Ren ben yu sheng jing xu* (人本欲生經序). The commentary cites three texts: *Yin chi ru jing*, *Faju jing*, and the *Qichu sanguan jing* (七處三觀經; T. 150A). In addition, we find in it text-critical remarks regarding the syntax or style of the translation, for example the expression "the sentence order is reversed" (*judao* [句倒]) appears six times (T. 1693 [XXXIII] 1b2; 1c19; 2b8; 3a29; 4a10–11; 5c5), statements that reflect a concern with orthography, for instance "[the character] *xian* should be *jian*" (*xian dang wei jian* [現當為見, T. 1693 [XXXIII] 1b2, 2b1), and comments that identify words that Dao'an saw as added or deleted in the process of transmission. Of particular interest are remarks comparing the Indian scriptural style with the Chinese: "Indian language is straightforward, having no qualms about elaborating in extensive detail" (T. 1693 [XXXIII] 4a23–24). This is the only surviving commentary by Dao'an, who is said to have written numerous other commentaries of the interlinear type, including on *Daodi jing* (道地經; T. 607; i.e. An Shigao's translation of Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*), *Yinchiru jing*, *Shi'ermen jing* (十二門經), and *Anban shouyi jing* (安般守意經, see T. 2145 [LV] 39b16–40a8).

The three interlinear commentaries introduced above had been viewed by modern scholars as the oldest extant exegetical works in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. However, recent scholarship has identified a number of other commentaries that may reflect an even earlier period of commentarial activity in China.

One of these is the *Anban shouyi jing* (安般守意經; T. 602) itself. This text had long been considered a composite work in which An Shigao's translation of an Indian text is mixed together indiscriminately with commentarial material produced in the 3rd-century "school" of Kang Senghui (see e.g. Zürcher, 2007, 53). Given that An Shigao's translations hold immense value for the study of the Buddhism and of the Chinese language of the Later Han period, much scholarship on the *Anban shouyi jing* had consisted in efforts to disentangle An Shigao's text from the later interpretive material.

This understanding of the *Anban shouyi jing* has recently been challenged in view of the 1999 manuscript discoveries in the Kongō-ji (金剛寺) temple in Japan. The manuscript includes, among others, a text under an identical title, *Anban shouyi jing* (ms. K-ABSYJ). Detailed comparison of this text with that of the *Anban shouyi jing* (T. 602) has led S. Zacchetti (2008) to conclude that the latter is not, as previously assumed, a Han translation with interwoven commentary but rather in its entirety a commentary on a separate text, that is, on a version of the *Anban shouyi jing* similar to that represented in the Kongō-ji manuscript. Moreover, in view of the stylistic features and exegetical technique in the *Anban shouyi jing* (T. 602), as well as of four commentarial glosses appended at the end of the Kongō-ji manuscript, S. Zacchetti argues that while the *Anban shouyi jing* commentary was written down in the 3rd-century "school" of Kang Senghui, it should be seen as reflecting an oral exegetical tradition going back, at least in part, to An Shigao himself.

The second component of the Kongō-ji manuscript consists of three closely related anonymous texts: the long-lost *Foshuo shi'ermen jing* (佛說十二門經), *Foshuo jie shi'ermen jing* (佛說解十二門經), and a commentary on the topic of the "12 gates" (*shi'er men* [十二門]) central to the preceding two works. In-depth analysis of this commentary, which bears no title, has led S. Zacchetti (2003) to posit that it is likely one of the earliest Chinese exegetical works and to tentatively point to An Shigao as the author.

The Kongō-ji discoveries have also allowed a reappraisal of a previously known but largely ignored text, the *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* (阿含口解十二因緣經; T. 1508). This text too is in all likelihood, as suggested by the word *koujie* (口解; "oral explanation") in its title, not a *sūtra* translation but an exegetical composition produced in China, one that – like the *Anban shouyi jing* and the *shi'er men* commentary – seems to reflect an oral commentarial practice traceable to An Shigao (Zacchetti, 2004). The text shows stylistic similarities to the *shi'er men* commentary, although a more detailed comparison of these is necessary.

In conclusion, while it had previously been accepted that the earliest Chinese exegetic works are the interlinear commentaries from the 3rd century, only three of which survive in complete form, the texts just discussed may be tentatively said to represent an even earlier phase in the development of Chinese Buddhist exegesis. This phase appears to be represented by the *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing*,

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the *shi'er men* commentary, the *Anban shouyi jing* (T. 602), and some passages in the *Yin chi ru jing zhu* (Zacchetti, 2003, 294, 294n184). Some of these works were written down in or shortly after the time of An Shigao (the *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing*, the *shi'er men* commentary), others later, in the 3rd century (the *Anban shouyi jing* [T. 602]; relevant passages of the *Yin chi ru jing zhu*), but all reflect a fundamentally oral tradition dating back to An Shigao and the community of his followers. Being oral in nature, they do not target specific words or phrases as the interlinear commentaries do but instead offer a freer approach to the basic text and to cited material. They also make frequent use of *mātṛkās*, numbered lists of technical terms, as a prop or script for oral explication. In addition, they make few if any concessions to native Chinese philosophical and aesthetic values: crude in form and highly technical in content, they appear to be aimed at a small group of Buddhist insiders, not at spreading the religion and making new converts.

Finally, a note is in order about two quasi-exegetical styles that seem to have enjoyed some currency especially in the 4th and early 5th centuries. First is the *chao* (抄; "extract") format, wherein a digest is produced from a basic text. This was used by Zhi Dun (支遁) in the *Da xiao pin duibi yao chao* (大小品對比要抄), by Dao'an in the *Moheboluoboluomi jing chao* (摩訶鉢羅波羅蜜經抄), and by Huiyuan (慧遠) in the *Dazhidu lun chao* (大智論抄; see Zürcher, 2007, 410n97). Second is the *he* (合) strategy of reading *sūtras* synoptically, that is, by comparing their different existing translations (Zürcher, 2007, 99–100). This is exemplified by Dao'an's *He Fangguang Guangzan luejie* (合放光光讚略解), and by Zhi Mindu's (支敏度; c. 300 CE) *He Shoulengyan jing ji* (合首楞嚴經記) and *He Weimojie jing ji* (合維摩詰經). Unfortunately, none of these works survives, but we do have the prefaces to all of them.

Expository Commentaries from the 5th to the 7th Century

Two Early Examples

In the early 5th century, some commentaries began to show a tendency to analytically divide their basic *sūtras* into discrete sections. One such text is the *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing zhu* (金剛般若波羅蜜經注; ZZ 454; Interlinear Commentary on the *Jin'gang banruoboluomi jing*), attributed to Sengzhao (僧肇; 384–414 CE) but more likely a work of the poet and statesman Xie Lingyun (謝靈運; 385–433 CE; see Ui, 1933; Ukai, 1992a; 1992b; Mayer, 1999). One distinctive feature of this text is its frequent use of the term "principle" (*li* [理]), a term that appears in Daosheng's commentaries as well. In terms of literary form, the text resembles Daosheng's writings. Further, we find in it various exegetical terms of art that often appear in later commentaries, such as "recounting firmly" (*shu cheng* [述成]), "concluding firmly" (*jie cheng* [結成]), or "establishing correspondence between doctrine and simile" (*he pi* [合譬]). The commentary begins with a section akin to a *sūtra* preface, although one not introduced as such, which includes an attempt to identify the "fundamental principle" of the text (i.e. the middle way or wisdom of emptiness), to explain its title, to parse the body of the *sūtra* into three sections (*fenke* [分科], i.e. emptiness of objects, emptiness of wisdom, and emptiness of the bodhisattva), and to position the *sūtra* within a four-stage history of the *Prajñāpāramitā* dispensation. All these features, while noteworthy here given the text's early date, are present in it in only a rudimentary form; they later became hallmarks of the expository style of commentary.

Another unique case, which we may call a hybrid, is the *Zhu Weimojie jing* (注維摩詰經; T. 1775; Interlinear Commentary to the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* [維摩詰所說經; T. 475]), traditionally considered a work of Sengzhao but compiled likely in the first half of the 6th century (Hanazuka, 1982; for studies of the *Zhu Weimojie jing*, see Usuda, 1977a; Kimura, 1987; for translations, see Carré, 2004; Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism of Taishō University, 2000). Like the main interlinear commentaries described previously, the *Zhu Weimojie jing* does not attempt to parse the text into three big sections. Instead, it reproduces the text of the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* in its entirety, incorporating into it the comments of Kumārajīva, Sengzhao, and Daosheng. Such reproduction of the complete text of the *sūtra* is representative of the interlinear format. In the case of the *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, the question has been asked whether its constituent commentaries, prior to their amalgamation into a single work, were interlinear or expository. We have good reason to believe that Sengzhao's commentary was interlinear, while Daosheng's was expository. A recent discovery of Sengzhao's commentary on the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* edited independently shows it to have been of the interlinear type before its incorporation into the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (Usuda, 1977b; Kudara, 2002). As for Daosheng's contribution, Kudō Masaya

(2000b) has surmised that, in contrast to Sengzhao's, it might have been an expository work. Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*, the only one among his writings to survive *in extenso*, is an expository text. Moreover, regarding Daosheng's commentary to the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (*Daban niepan jing*) included in the *Daban niepan jing jijie* (大般涅槃經集解; T. 1763), in view of the sheer size of the basic *sūtra* (the southern edition of the *Daban niepan jing* runs 36 fasc.) and of the fact that Daosheng's comments addressing specific passages are very few, we can infer that Daosheng's commentary on the *Daban niepan jing* also followed the expository format. All this leads us to surmise that Daosheng favored the expository style and that his commentary to the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* belonged to this genre.

Other early exegetes also commented on one version or other of the *Weimojie jing*. Sengrui's (僧叡; *fl.* early 5th cent.) *Pimoluojiedi jing yishu xu* (毘摩羅詰堤經義疏序; Preface to the Expository Commentary on the *Pimoluojiedi jing*), preserved in fascicle 8 of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T. 2145 [LV] 58c11–59a18), suggests that Sengrui authored an expository commentary on this scripture. Although no such work survives, some ten comments from Sengrui are cited in Daoye's (道液 or 道掖) 8th-century *Jingming jing jijie guanzhong shu* (淨名經集解關中疏; T. 2777), which modifies the *Zhu Weimojie jing* by abridging some comments by Kumārajīva and Sengzhao and adding some by Sengrui and Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597 CE). Similarly, Kumārajīva's disciple Daorong (道融; dates unknown) seems to have composed an expository commentary on the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (see T. 2059 [L] 363c27–29). An anonymous interlinear commentary on the *Weimojie jing* has been preserved in a manuscript from Dunhuang (P 3006). Shi Guopu (1998) conjectures that this work should be attributed to Dao'an (for a critique of Shi's position, see Nattier, 2008, 140n78).

Prefaces (*xu* [序]), such as Sengzhao's preface to the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* attached to the *Zhu Weimojie jing*, discuss on the whole such matters as the central concept of *sūtra*, the *sūtra*'s title, and the particulars of its translation. Later, roughly from the 6th century onward (as shown in Tao, 2007), these topical *foci* develop into the so-called "profound-meaning" (*xuanyi* [玄義]) or "profound-treatise" (*xuanlun* [玄論]) commentarial literature typical of figures such as Jizang (吉藏; 549–623 CE) and Zhiyi.

Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*: The Oldest Surviving Expository Commentary

Surviving commentaries by Daosheng include those to Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sūtra (*Miaofa lianhua jing* [妙法蓮華經; T. 262; hereafter *Fahua jing*]), Kumārajīva's *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie suoshuo jing* [維摩詰所説經; T. 475]) and the *Dabanniepan jing* (大般涅槃經; T. 375, the southern version of Dharmakṣema's translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*). Of these, his commentaries to the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* and the *Dabanniepan jing* do not exist as independent works but have been amalgamated with commentaries by other authors. For example, in the collection of commentaries on the *Dabanniepan jing*, the *Dabanniepan jing jijie* (大般 涅槃經集解; T. 1763; see below), Daosheng's annotations are not mentioned at all for some 13 of the *sūtra*'s 25 chapters. One possible reason for this is that, faced with the daunting task of combining meaningfully commentaries from as many as 18 authors, the compilers opted for an editorial policy that privileged the commentary of Sengliang (僧亮; *fl.* mid-6th cent.; for a partial translation of Sengliang's preface to the *Dabanniepan jing jijie*, see Lai, 1982, 104) and that did not accord Daosheng a central role.

As we noted above, Sengrui and Daorong are said to have composed expository commentaries to the *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, hence we cannot take Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* (妙法蓮花經疏; ZZ 577; for a study and translation of this commentary, see Kim, 1990) as the oldest representative of this genre; it is however the oldest extant complete work of this type. For this reason, and since this text exerted a major influence on *sūtra* commentaries of later periods, it deserves a closer look.

Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* does not include an independent preface, but prior to embarking on the passage-by-passage exegesis of the *sūtra*, it does offer a brief discussion of the circumstances of the commentary's production and the meaning of the *sūtra*'s title, both features not unlike those found in a preface. This introductory section identifies the "thematic thrust" (*zong* [宗]; for a discussion of this key hermeneutic concept, see Tao, 2007, 56ff.) of the *Fahua jing* as the "great vehicle" (*dasheng* [大乘]) and classifies the doctrinal content of the *sūtra* according to the four "turnings" of the wheel of dharma (*sizhong falun* [四種法輪]; ZZ 577, 1b19): (1) dharma wheel of purity (*shanjing falun* [善淨

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法輪]), (2) dharma wheel of skill-in-means (*fangbian falun* [方便法輪]), (3) dharma wheel of the real (*zhenshi falun* [真實法輪]), and (4) dharma wheel without remainder (*wuyu falun* [無餘法輪]). When Daosheng wrote his text in the early 5th century, Chinese exegetes were showing increasing concern with determining the relationship among different *sūtras* by defining the unique "thematic thrust" of each – a practice akin to what would become "classification of doctrine" (*panjiao* [判教]; Ōchō, 1937). Here, however, we will focus on Daosheng's own exegetical method, as evidenced by the section of his commentary that provides passage-by-passage exegesis of the basic *sūtra*.

(1) Before Daosheng engages the content of each chapter, he discusses the placement and significance of the chapter within the *sūtra* as a whole and offers an explanation of the chapter title. This feature is encountered widely in *sūtra* commentaries of later periods, such as those by Jizang, where it is referred to as the "reason of [the *sūtra*'s] origin" (*laiyi* [來意]).

(2) Daosheng broadly divides the text of the *Fahua jing* into three sections: (1) "assimilating the three causal paths to the one cause" (*sanyin wei yiyin* [三因為一因]; ZZ 577, 13b19), (2) "assimilating the three results [of the three paths] to the one result" (*sanguo wei yiguo* [三果為一果]; ZZ 577, 14a9), and (3) "assimilating the three persons [i.e. followers of the three paths] to the one person" (*sanren wei yi ren* [三人為一人]; ZZ 577, 16b18). This division differs from the threefold parsing of a given *sūtra* into the sections of "preface" (*xu* [序]), "main discourse" (*zhengshuo* [正說]), and "dissemination" (*liutong* [流通]) that becomes standard in later periods. However, Daosheng does use the terms "preface" and "dissemination" when discussing the placement of individual chapters within the work as a whole. He also uses the expression "exposition of principle" (*lishuo* [理說]; ZZ 577, 10c2 and elsewhere; referring to the *sūtra*'s doctrine of one causal path and one result) in a way that resembles the idea of "main discourse."

So-called analytic parsing (*fenke* [分科] or *kepan* [科判]) entails more than just this sort of generic division of a *sūtra*'s content. For instance, in Daosheng's commentary, we find complex, multilayered divisions imposed on the section extending from the *Xu pin* (序品) chapter through the *Xinjie pin* (信解品) chapter. Multiple layers of division can be seen especially in the prose and verse sections on the "burning house" (the famous *Lotus Sūtra* parable of the Buddha as the father who lures his children out of a burning house with promises of wonderful toy carts awaiting them outside) in the *Piyu pin* (譬喻品) chapter; indeed this section of the commentary is the analytically most developed. The complexity of Daosheng's analytic parsing notwithstanding, if we compare it to the exceedingly dense analytic division in the commentaries of later figures such as Fayun (法雲; 467–529 CE) and Jizang, it amounts to little more than a general sectioning. Nonetheless, without doubt Daosheng's "analytic parsing" stands in this regard as a forerunner to the commentaries of later periods.

(3) Daosheng reproduces only those *sūtra* passages for which he supplies explanations. In this respect, his technique differs from that of commentators such as Fayun. While Fayun provides direct commentary only on select sections of the *sūtra*, introducing them with such shorthand expressions as "from here on" (*cixia* [此下]) or "from [words such and such] on" (*yixia* [已下]), he ends up applying analytic parsing to the entirety of the *sūtra*'s contents.

In instances in which the passage in question is comparatively short, Daosheng reproduces the entire text; where it is longer, he presents it in abridged form using such expressions as "[the passage] from A to B" (A *zhi* [至] B). This approach continues to be used in commentaries of later periods.

Moreover, even though Daosheng presents the *sūtra* text whenever he introduces an analytic division, he does not reproduce the broader context of the section under discussion. Hence his manner of presenting the *sūtra* text can be characterized as incomplete.

(4) Daosheng explains names of individuals transliterated into Chinese using such expressions as "in Song it is" (*Song yun* [宋云]) or "in Song we say" (*Song yan* [宋言]). "Song" refers to the Liu Song dynasty (劉宋; 420–479 CE), under which Daosheng wrote most of his work. This format occasionally turns up in the *Zhu Weimojie jing* as well.

(5) Daosheng never cites other texts in order to legitimate his own interpretations (Ōchō, 1952), and only in two places does he introduce alternative readings by using the expression "another interpretation states" (*yi yi yun* [一義云]). By contrast, reference to and critique of various external sources, a strategy designed to advance the orthodoxy of one's own position, are used frequently in later commentaries.

(6) In general, *sūtras* alternate expository prose and rhymed verse. Commenting on the *Fahua jing*, Daosheng posits four justifications for the presence

of verse in it. The verses (1) are preached for audiences in a time after the promulgation of the prose passages, (2) are for persons who have not yet understood the prose, (3) are preached in order to elaborate on the contents of the prose, and (4) are a natural expression of the elation inspired by the *sūtra*.

Daosheng's comments to the verses are actually quite brief; their central concern is to establish strict correspondence between the verses and the prose as parsed in his own framework of analytic division. That correspondence is expressed by the formula "A sets B to verse" (A *song* [頌] B), in other words, verse passage A is a versified rehearsal of prose passage B. This technique continues to be used in later commentaries.

Daosheng's basic interpretive perspective is predicated on his belief in the profound conceptual significance of the concrete phenomenal content of the *sūtra* (e.g. the emitting of radiant light, the quaking of the earth, and the manifestation of the jeweled stūpa), as well as of the similes (Ōchō, 1975). Recovering that deep significance from the surface level of text is the main task of the commentator: the words of the *sūtra* are like a weir or trap used to catch a fish or hare, and as soon as the meaning has been grasped, the words can, and should, be discarded.

Finally, a comment is necessary on the rhetorical structures that Daosheng uses to establish internal coherence in his interpretation of the *sūtra*. The first such structure concerns the transcendent nature of the enlightened sage (*shengren* [聖人]), the Buddha. The Buddha undertakes manifold activities, such as the preaching of the divergent teachings of the three vehicles (vehicle of the *śrāvaka*s, vehicle of the pratyekabuddhas, and vehicle of the bodhisattvas) or entry into nirvāṇa, merely to accord responsively with the individual circumstances of ordinary humans (*fanfu* [凡夫]); in his own being, the Buddha exists in a manner that transcends such ordinary activities. Second, Daosheng adopts the concept of "stimulus and response" (*ganying* [感應]) for the purpose of explaining such parables as that of the burning house or the prodigal son. In this model, the salvific impetus (*ji* [機]) represents the constructive aspect of the sentient being that moves (*gan* [感]) the buddhas and bodhisattvas to manifest a response (*ying* [應]) and subsequently receives the response. Both of these rhetorical structures exerted a major impact on later *sūtra* commentaries. We should finally note Daosheng's frequent use of the concept of principle (*li* [理]), a term that Daosheng employs most often in connection with the idea of the one vehicle. This concept is also in evidence in later *sūtra* commentaries.

The *Dabanniepan jing jijie* and Fayun's *Fahua yiji*

The *Dabanniepan jing jijie* (大般涅槃經集解; Assembled Explanations of the *Niepan jing*; T. 1763) and Fayun's *Fahua yiji* (法華義記; Notes on the Meaning of the *Fahua jing*; T. 1715) stand out not only among the few extant commentaries from the Liang period (梁; 502–557 CE) but also in the tradition of East Asian Buddhist commentary as a whole.

(1) The *Dabanniepan jing jijie*, in 71 fascicles, is a compendium of commentaries to the southern edition of the Mahāyāna *Dabanniepan jing* (T. 375) compiled from individual commentaries by some 18 monks ranging in time from Daosheng (late 4th–early 5th cents.), through the Liu Song, to the Southern Qi (南齊; 479–502 CE) and Liang periods. Problems of the text's compiler and of its transmission history are explored by Kanno Hiroshi (1986), who argues that, despite the common attribution to Baoliang (寶亮; 444–509 CE) of the Lingwei Monastery (靈味寺), the text was likely compiled by Falang (法朗; dates unknown) of the Jianyuan Monastery (建元寺). Falang is the same person as Huilang (慧朗), of whom we have a record in the *Dabanniepan jing jijie*.

The first fascicle of the *Dabanniepan jing jijie* comprises various prefaces to the *sūtra*, including the *Dabanniepan jing yishu xu* (大般涅槃經義疏序; Preface to the Expository Commentary on the *Niepan jing*) that Emperor Wu of the Liang composed (or had Fayun compose) for Baoliang, as well as prefaces by ten other dharma masters, including Daosheng, Sengliang, Sengzong (僧宗; 438–496 CE), and Baoliang himself. The prefaces are parsed by the *Dabanniepan jing ji ji*'s compiler into eight topical categories:

1. explaining the title (*shiming* [釋名]);
2. determining the substance (of the *sūtra*; *bianti* [辨體]);
3. on original being (*shu benyou* [敘本有]);
4. on the transcendence of names (*tan jueming* [談絕名]);
5. explanation of the word "*mahā*" (in the title; *shi da zi* [釋大字]);
6. explication of the word "*sūtra*" (in the title; *jie jing zi* [解經字]);
7. revealing the doctrinal meaning (*he jiaoyi* [覈教意]); and

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8. classifying the divisions (of the *sūtra*; *pan keduan* [判科段]).

To obtain this arrangement, the compiler identified statements in the prefaces that bore a common connection to each of these eight topics and placed these portions of the prefaces under their respective topical indices. In addition to the authors of the component prefaces, the first fascicle includes the names of eight other individuals of renown, notably Sengzhao and Fayun, as well as a number of comments attributed to them.

From the second fascicle on, the text launches into a passage-by-passage exegesis of the basic *sūtra*. It parses the 25 chapters in 36 fascicles of the *Dabanniepan jing* into a total of 2,864 passages, beneath each of which it groups the commentaries of the various masters. These include commentaries of nine out of the ten exegetes mentioned previously as authors of prefaces to the *sūtra* (Tanzhun's [曇准; 439–c. 515 CE] commentary actually does not appear at all), and of nine additional individuals, including Huilang and Zhizang (智藏; 458–522), making a total of 18 commentaries. Among these 18, Sengliang's commentary is cited 2,130 times, Sengzong's 1,145 times, and Baoliang's 1,081 times; by contrast, the commentaries of Huiling (慧令; dates unknown) and Zhizang are cited only once each. In addition to the 18 names cited above, the commentary of a certain Mingjun (明駿; dates unknown) is cited some 83 times, always as the last one in the sequence. This Mingjun might have been the editor or compiler of the *Dabanniepan jing jijie* or, perhaps more likely, a later commentator whose glosses were integrated into the original text after the compilation of the original work.

One of the outstanding features of the *Dabanniepan jing jijie* is the compiler's analytic division of the prefaces of the ten masters into eight topical categories, as described above. These eight topical categories show some commonalities with the topical rubrics seen in commentaries by later figures such as Zhiyi and Jizang. The *Dabanniepan jing jijie* then exhibits the earliest surviving example of this important interpretive strategy.

(2) The *Fahua yiji* basically consists of Fayun's lectures on the *Fahua jing* as recorded by one of his disciples. This disciple's identity remains unknown: all we can say is that he belonged to Fayun's scholastic lineage. He did not record Fayun's lectures word for word, but, in an apparent attempt to ensure for this work the status of the definitive commentarial text on the *Fahua jing*, he made a special point of introducing and critiquing alternative interpretations current by his day. In view of the compiler's considerable contributions to the content of the text, it is possible to identify traces of his own critical position.

At the very beginning of the *Fahua yiji*, we find a section that might properly be called a general preface. It contains remarks on the doctrinal classification of the *sūtra*, an explanation of its title, and a basic breakdown of its contents. These three elemental themes figure also in the opening sections of the commentaries by Jingying Huiyuan (淨影慧遠; 523–592 CE). However, Fayun's *Fahua yiji* follows much more closely the model pattern of a *sūtra* preface.

After this opening section, there follows the commentary proper, which engages the *sūtra* passage by passage, beginning with the opening line, "Thus have I heard," and ending with the bodhisattva Samantabhadra's exhortations at the end of the final chapter. The structure is identical to that found in Jingying Huiyuan's commentaries and in Jizang's *Fahua tonglüe* (法華統略; ZZ 582), although Fayun's *Fahua yiji* stands out for its extremely detailed, architectonic parsing of the entire text of the basic *sūtra*. Indeed it appears that this comprehensiveness was for Fayun a cardinal objective. The analytic parsing witnessed in the *Fahua yiji* exerted profound influence on the later Zhiyi's and Jizang's commentaries to the *Fahua jing*.

Commentaries of the "Three Great Dharma Masters of the Sui"

Chronologically, Jingying Huiyuan was the first among the "three great dharma masters of the Sui" (*Suidai san dashi* [隋代三大師]), a traditional category that included also Zhiyi and Jizang. Here we will first look at the opening sections of Huiyuan's commentaries and at aspects of his exegetical style evidenced in his *Weimo jing yiji* (維摩經義記; T. 1776). Later, moving on to Zhiyi and Jizang, we will confine ourselves to their composition of commentaries of the "profound meaning" (*xuanyi* [玄義]), "profound treatise" (*xuanlun* [玄論]), and "survey of the meaning" (*youyi* [遊意]) styles that do not involve passage-by-passage explanation of the *sūtra* text, and we will only touch on the more salient points of their unique interpretive approaches.

Extant *sūtra* commentaries attributed to Jingying Huiyuan include the *Weimo jing yiji*, *Niepan jing yiji* (涅槃經義記; T. 1764), *Shengman jing yiji* (勝鬘經義記; ZZ 351), *Wenshi jing yiji* (溫室經義記; T. 1793), *Wuliangshou jing yishu* (無量壽經義疏; T. 1745), and *Guan wuliangshou jing yishu* (觀無量

壽經義疏; T. 1749; the latter work, the oldest surviving commentary on the *Guan wuliangshoufo jing* [觀無量壽佛經; T. 365], was translated and studied in Tanaka, 1990; for an overview of the chronology of Huiyuan's works, see Okamoto, 2010). The opening sections of these commentaries, those that precede the passage-by-passage exegesis, all contain fairly similar content, namely:

1. classification of the *sūtra* in relation to the two scriptural "canons," that is, the *śrāvaka* canon and the bodhisattva canon;
2. explanation of the *sūtra*'s title; and
3. general parsing of its contents into preface, main discourse, and dissemination.

The detail and depth of explanation vary among the commentaries. The *Guan wuliangshou jing yishu* divides the first section (the classification according to the two canons of the *śrāvaka* and bodhisattva) and the second section (explanation of the title) into "five essentials" (*wuyao* [五要]; see below), while the *Wenshi jing yiji* breaks them down into "six essentials" (*liuyao* [六要]), adding to the former list the category of "thematic thrust" (*zong qu* [宗趣]). While the explanations in the *Wenshi jing yiji* are overall quite brief, its rubric of "six essentials" merits a closer look.

The "first essential" section discusses the *śrāvaka* canon and the classificatory rubric of the twofold canon and points out that the *sūtra* at hand belongs to the bodhisattva canon.

The "second essential" focuses on the differences between "sudden" and "gradual" (*dunjian* [頓漸]) presentations of the teaching and states that the present text employs the gradual approach.

The "third essential" introduces the "threefold canon" (*sanzang* [三藏]) – the "*tripiṭaka*" of *sūtra* (*jing* [經]), *vinaya* (*lü* [律]), and *śāstra* (*lun* [論]) – and situates the present scripture in the *sūtra* canon.

The "fourth essential" deals with the thematic thrust (*zongqu* [宗趣]) of the *sūtra*, which it locates in the practice of charity as the main causal factor in the generation of merit.

The "fifth essential" explains the circumstances of and rationale behind the setting up of *sūtra* titles: the text at hand, we are told, derives its title both from the person who preached it (the Buddha) and from the dharma preached therein (the *sūtra* uses the metaphor of bathing to discuss the healing powers of the Buddha: it "speaks of bathing the monks"; *shuo xiseng* [說洗僧]).

The "sixth essential" addresses the differences among five sorts of persons who might preach the dharma (i.e. the Buddha, a saintly disciple, a *deva*, a divine immortal [*shenxian* (神仙)], and an apparitional person produced by magic) and asserts that this *sūtra* was indeed preached by the Buddha.

Next comes an analysis of the *sūtra*'s title. In Huiyuan's other commentaries of the *yiji* type as listed above, this section on the title is longer than in the *Wenshi jing yiji* and includes discussion of some of the "six essentials." Finally, we find introduced the familiar threefold division of the *sūtra*'s contents into preface, main discourse, and dissemination.

On the whole, Huiyuan adopts this threefold division in most of his commentaries. One important divergence from this pattern is seen in his *Niepan jing yiji*, in which he divides the basic text not into three but into five sections of "preface" (*xufen* [序分] "revealing the merits" (*xiande fen* [顯德分]), "merits acquired through cultivation" (*xiuchengde fen* [修成德分]), "refuting the heretical and conforming to the correct" (*poxie tongzheng fen* [破邪通正分]), and "demise of the Tathāgata and the rite of his cremation" (*rulai miedu zhewei gongyang fen* [如來滅度闍維供養分; according to Huiyuan, this final section of the *Niepan jing* was never transmitted to China). The threefold division reemerges in the *Weimo jing yiji*, a text that stands out for its extraordinarily complex analytic parsing.

One major feature found exclusively in Huiyuan's commentaries is a propensity for linguistic analysis (Kanno, 1984). For instance, first, Huiyuan points out differences between the word order or syntax in a given Chinese translation of a *sūtra* and the word order used in the general run of texts composed originally in Chinese. Second, he singles out particular words from the basic *sūtra* (notional words or functional particles) and submits them to analysis using a number of set patterns, for instance "A means B" (A *wei* [謂] B *ye* [也]), "A is analogous to B" (A *you* [猶] B *ye* [也]), "A has the meaning of B" (A *shi* [是] B *yi* [義]), "A functions as B" (A *zhe* [者] B *ci* [辭]; used chiefly in explanations of functional particles), and "A connotes or means AB" (A *wei* [謂] AB; used to set the target character within a more familiar two-character compound). Third, through attention to the specific grammatical context, Huiyuan explains why certain auxiliary particles appear and what function they perform in a given passage. This preoccupation with syntax, almost never seen in Zhiyi or Jizang, is particularly noteworthy.

While Zhiyi is credited with the authorship of numerous *sūtra* commentaries, most of them were in fact produced in later generations, while the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi* (妙法蓮華經玄義

T. 1716; translated in large part
157–256), *Miaofa lianhuajing*
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3. explication of thematic
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T. 1707), with slight difference
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T. 1716; translated in large part in Swanson, 1989, 157–256), *Miaofa lianhuajing wenju* (妙法蓮華經文句; T. 1718), *Weimojing xuanshu* (維摩經玄疏; T. 1777), and *Weimojing wenshu* (維摩經文疏; ZZ 338) were compiled and edited by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding (灌頂; 561–632 CE). It has been argued that in his work as editor-cum-compiler of Zhiyi's commentaries, Guanding often took advantage of the writings of Jizang (Hirai, 1985). Jizang in turn was the main systematizer of the Sanlun (三論) school. He approached the Mahāyāna scriptures from the theoretical perspective of "emptiness of the unattainable" (*wusuode kong* [無所得空]; Skt. **anupalambhaśūnyatā*) and composed commentaries on more than ten of them.

Zhiyi and Jizang developed a novel format for *sūtra* commentaries. This format differs from the interlinear style and can be seen as a subgenre of the expository form. Zhiyi's *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi* and *Weimojing xuanshu*, as well as Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* (法華玄論; T. 1720), *Jingming xuanlun* (淨名玄論; T. 1780), and *Fahua youyi* (法華遊意; T. 1722), do not include passage-by-passage exegesis of their respective basic *sūtras* but strive synthetically to bring out their "profound" (*xuan* [玄]) meaning. In this respect, they can be seen as a new mode of commentary that seeks to unpack and expand on the thematic contents of *sūtra* prefaces typical of earlier periods. For example, in his *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi*, Zhiyi strives to provide a synthetic exposition of the *Fahua jing* from the vantage of "five modes of profound meaning" (*wuchong xuanyi* [五重玄義]) and indeed posits that this approach should be employed in commentary writing generally. The "five modes" include the following:

1. explanation of title (*shiming* [釋名]);
2. definition of substance (of the *sūtra*; *bianti* [辨體]);
3. explication of thematic thrust (*mingzong* [明宗]);
4. determination of function (*lunyong* [論用]); and
5. classification of doctrine (*panjiao* [判教]).

These "five modes" seem to have influenced Jizang's *Renwang banruo jing shu* (仁王般若經疏; T. 1707), with slight differences in the sections on "substance" and "thematic trust."

In Zhiyi's *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi*, the "explanation of title" consists in an analytic breakdown and extensive analysis of the *sūtra*'s title, *Miaofa lianhua jing*. The "definition of substance" specifies the main ontological concern of the *Fahua jing* as no less than the ultimate reality of all phenomena (for Zhiyi, ultimate reality is the substance of all Mahāyāna *sūtras*, not just of the *Fahua jing*). The "explication of thematic thrust" centers on problems of cause and effect in the context of the Buddha's self-cultivation or of the religious path more generally. The "determination of function" discusses the two wisdoms of provisional and ultimate reality or truth in their three aspects (of self-cultivation, training of others, and simultaneous self-practice and conversion of others) as the functional power of the *Fahua jing*'s ability to sever doubts and arouse faith. The "classification of doctrine" attempts to place the *Fahua jing* in relation to the manifold teachings delivered over the entire span of the Buddha's preaching career.

In Zhiyi's *Weimo jing xuanshu* (維摩經玄疏; T. 1777), the structural organization of the commentary proceeds, in sequence, through the four *siddhāntas* (*xitan* [悉檀], i.e. *Shijie xitan* [世界悉檀; worldly *siddhānta*], *Gege weiren xitan* [各各爲人悉檀; *siddhānta* for individual needs], *Duizhi xitan* [對治悉檀; corrective *siddhānta*], and *Diyiyi xitan* [第一義悉檀; *siddhānta* of the supreme truth]), the three contemplations (of emptiness, of the provisional truth, and of the middle way), and the four types of teaching (the Tripiṭaka teaching [*sanzang jiao* (三藏教)], the shared teaching [*tong jiao* (通教)], the separate teaching [*bie jiao* (別教)], and the perfect teaching [*yuan jiao* (圓教)]).

A different pattern is seen in Jizang's *Fahua youyi*. Here Jizang structures his exegesis around the following "ten topics" (*shimen* [十門]):

1. the "reason of [the *sūtra*'s] origin" (*laiyi men* [來意門]), which is a teleology of the existence of the *sūtra* as a whole and of its individual chapters;
2. the "thematic thrust" (*zongzhi men* [宗旨門]), which, as opposed to clarifying the concrete thought and pedagogy set forth in the *Fahua jing*, offers an examination of the conception of "cause and effect" (*yinguo* [因果]) or religious practice and its results, seen as implicit in the *sūtra*, hidden beneath the level of its literal meaning;
3. the "explanation of title" (*shi mingti men* [釋名題門]);
4. the "classification of doctrinal orientation" (*bian jiaoyi men* [辨教意門]), which, predictably, entails an attempt to establish the position of the *Fahua jing* within the entire spectrum of the Buddha's teachings;
5. the "exoteric and esoteric" (*xianmi men* [顯密門]), which subdivides the two chief pedagogical approaches of "Hīnayāna" (aimed at *śrāvakas*) and "Mahāyāna" (the purview of bodhisattvas) into

exoteric and esoteric types, resulting in an organization of the entirety of the Buddha's teaching into a total of four categories: exoteric Hīnayāna and esoteric Hīnayāna and exoteric Mahāyāna and esoteric Mahāyāna;

6. the "three and the one" (*sanyi men* [三一門]), which centers on the relationship between the three vehicles and the one vehicle, a concept central to the *Fangbian pin* (方便品) chapter of the *Fahua jing*, as well as to much East Asian engagement with the *Fahua jing* in general;

7. the "efficacious function" (*gongyong men* [功用門]), which promotes the idea that the enormous salvific power of the *Fahua jing* arises from the text's possession of the ten "inconceivable" features (*buke siyi* [不可思議]) such as the "inconceivable" power of the *sūtra* to overcome the distinctions among the three vehicles or its presentation of an "inconceivable" number of the Buddha's emanations and an "inconceivable" size of his assembly;

8. the "dissemination of the *sūtra*" (*hongjing men* [弘經門]), which centers on the methods of preaching this scripture, as well as on the types of persons capable of taking up this task;

9. the "affiliations of the text" (*budang men* [部黨門]), which sorts out the relationship between different translations of the *Fahua jing* and the various texts in the extended *Fahua jing* cycle (*Fahua bu* [法華部]), and as such it represents a mode of historical research into the *sūtra*'s translation and transmission.

10. the "beginnings" (*yuanqimen* [緣起門]) of exegesis on the *Fahua jing*, which it traces to Daorong, a member of Kumārajīva's translation team.

Another distinctive feature of Zhiyi's and Jizang's commentaries is their deployment of a novel strategy for the elucidation of specific passages by scrutinizing them from a number (usually four) of systematically predefined perspectives. For instance, in the *Miaofa lianhuajing wenju*, Zhiyi specifies the following perspectives:

1. origin (*yinyuan* [因緣]);
2. doctrinal orientation (*yuejiao* [約教]);
3. roots and traces (*benji* [本迹]); and
4. mind contemplation (*guanxin* [觀心]), where the passage in question is approached through the trademark Tiantai (天台) conceptual trio of provisional (*jia* [假]), empty (*kong* [空]), and middle (*zhong* [中]).

A slightly different, though also fourfold, set of perspectives is invoked by Jizang in his *Sanlun xuanyi* (三論玄義; T. 1852). Here the meaning is elucidated in the following ways:

1. by analysis of the constitutive names (*yiming shiyi* [依名釋義]);
2. by reference to "the teaching of principle," that is, the "middle" (*lijiao shiyi* [理教釋義]);
3. by demonstration of "mutual dependency (of dualistic opposites)" (*huxiang shiyi* [互相釋義]); and
4. without resorting to any particular method (*wufang shiyi* [無方釋義]).

Jizang repeats this scheme almost verbatim in his *Erdiyi* (二諦義; T. 1854). Although these strategies are not used with full consistency by either Zhiyi or Jizang, nevertheless they figure as prominent features of their commentaries.

While the preceding passages have centered on expository commentaries from the 5th to the 7th century, this period saw also the production of other forms of commentary. One noteworthy example is the *Fahua jingwen waiyi* (法華經文外義; one fasc.; available in a Dunhuang manuscript in the Shanghai Museum under the catalogue number 15 [3317]; published in Fang, 1996; it bears the date of Datong 11 [i.e. 545 CE]). An outstanding feature of this work is its question-and-answer format, rather informal, even rhapsodical in style, reminiscent of Huisi's (慧思; 515–577 CE) *Fahua jing anlexing yi* (法華經安樂行義; T. 1926) and of the section of Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* that follows after the fourth fascicle.

While Zhiyi and Jizang specialized in expository works, they also wrote commentaries of the interlinear type. A case in point is Jizang's voluminous *Fahua tonglüe* (法華統略: ZZ 582). Here, prior to his passage-by-passage exegesis, Jizang includes an extensive introduction that largely reproduces the positions developed in his *Sanlun xuanyi* and *Fahua xuanlun*, while the commentary itself follows the format of the works of Jingying Huiyuan and of Fayun's *Fahua yiji*. A number of Zhiyi's commentaries show similar features.

Tang and Post-Tang Commentaries

Commentarial genres developed by the 7th century – mainly the interlinear format of the earlier period and the expository styles of the Liang and Sui – continued to function as models for commentary writers in the Tang period and beyond. In view of this, no special description is necessary of the formal aspects of *sūtra* commentaries produced in and after the Tang.

One important development in this period is the emergence of the subcommentary. As state

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patronage of Buddhist groups from the Sui period onward encouraged the establishment of institutionally discrete "schools" of interpretation and monastic practice (*zong* [宗]), subcommentaries began to be written on the exegetical works from the earlier epochs now enshrined as foundational for the respective schools. For example, Zhanran (湛然; 711–782 CE), the sixth patriarch of the Tiantai sect and its most important systematizer after Zhiyi, wrote, among other works key to this tradition, the *Fahua xuanyi shiqian* (法華玄義釋籤; T. 1717) and *Fahua wenju ji* (法華文句記; T. 1719) in response to Zhiyi's *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi* and Guanding's *Miaofa lianhuajing wenju*, respectively (see Hibi, 1966; Penkower, 1993).

The most significant of the new Tang dynasty schools from the perspective of commentary production were arguably the Faxiang (法相) school based on the *sūtra* and *śāstra* translations by Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE) and the Huayan (華嚴) school founded *de facto* by its putative third patriarch, Fazang (法藏; 643–712 CE). At the risk of oversimplification, we can say that the *sūtra* commentaries of the Faxiang and Huayan sects developed from general *sūtra* prefaces as well as from interlinear commentaries and as such are formally similar to pre-Tang exegetical works. One special characteristic of Faxiang commentaries is the high regard exhibited in them for Xuanzang's new translations of both mainstream and Mahāyāna treatises, particularly the *Cheng weishi lun* (成唯識論; T. 1585). One of Xuanzang's leading disciples, Kuiji (窺基; 632–682 CE), wrote, among others, a commentary on Xuanzang's *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 251), the *Xin jing youzan* (心經幽贊; T. 1710; trans. Shi & Lusthaus, 2001). Like an interlinear commentary, it reproduces the entirety of the basic text – made easier by the brevity of the latter – yet for every section, it offers systematic structured analysis reminiscent of expository works.

Fazang inherited and systematized the exegetical patrimony of the earlier Dushun (杜順; 557–640 CE) and Zhiyan (智儼; 602–668 CE; see Gimello, 1976). A distinctive characteristic of this exegetical tradition was its predominant focus on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. The Huayan school's putative fourth patriarch, Chengguan (澄觀; 738–839 CE), wrote, among many others, the magisterial *Huayan jing shu* (華嚴經疏; T. 1735) in 60 fascicles and an autocommentary on the same, the 90-fascicle *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* (華嚴經隨疏演義鈔; T. 1736).

Throughout the Song period and later, commentaries and subcommentaries continued to be produced on a large scale to the *sūtras* at the center of individual schools, but simultaneously a number of nonaffiliated *sūtras* – those that never came to be enshrined as foundational by the disparate sects – were gaining popularity, such as *Yuanjue jing* (圓覺經; T. 842), *Shoulengyan jing* (首楞嚴經; T. 945), and *Lengqie jing* (楞伽經; T. 671, T. 672), as reflected in the voluminous production of commentaries on these texts.

The emergence of the Chan school's rhetoric of immediacy can be seen as a radical response to the basic challenge of Buddhist exegesis. That challenge had been to make the Buddha's awakening experience accessible again here and now, in an age – and, in the East Asian case, a land – far removed from that of the Buddha (for an exploration of related theoretical issues, see Lopez, 1998). Chan rhetoric turned against the established scholastic answer to this problem, which had privileged textual interpretation as the surest way of recovering definitive meaning (Skt. *nītārtha*; Chn. *liaoyi* [了義]). For Chan exponents, that meaning, being nothing other than the Buddha's awakening, must be available "without reliance on words and letters" (*buli wenzi* [不立文字]), in a "special transmission outside of the teachings" (*jiaowai biechuan* [教外別傳]). Armed with this premise, Chan masters replaced the *sūtra* commentary with histories of lineage transmission, recorded sayings of awakened masters, and the *gong'an* (公案) collections. While these novel genres could not have developed without the momentous shifts in the social, political, and cultural context in the Song period, including the rapid spread of printing technologies, we may see them as a response to the same hermeneutical concern that motivates the commentarial impulse.

The Late Imperial Period also saw the progressive weakening of traditional boundaries between lay and monastic Buddhist scholarship, with laypersons commonly composing commentaries on *sūtras* (e.g. the Confucian iconoclast Li Zhuowu's [李卓吾; 1527–1602] *Huayan jing helun jianyao* [華嚴經合論簡要; ZZ 225]) and Buddhist savants targeting non-Buddhist works. As an example of the latter, Ouyi Zhixu (蕅益智旭; 1599–1655) wrote a commentary on the *Yijing* (易經), the *Zhouyi chanjie* (周易禪解; see Lo, 2008), and on the four books of Confucianism, *Sishu chanjie* (四書禪解), while Hanshan Deqing (憨 山德清; 1546–1623) authored one on the *Zhuangzi* (莊子), the *Zhuangzi neipian zhu* (莊子內篇註; fragments translated in Ziporyn, 2009; see also Epstein, 2006; for a comprehensive list of Late Ming commentaries, see Shi Shengyan, 1992). These shifts necessarily impacted the forms and strategies of exegesis, shaping the trends that, despite the upheavals of modernity, continue until today.

Sūtra Commentaries in Korea

Korean Buddhism developed on foundations inherited from China, and in terms of form, Korean commentaries show no fundamental differences from their Chinese models. In the Silla period, Wŏnch'ŭk (圓測; 613–696 CE) traveled to China by sea, studied under Xuanzang as one of his two main disciples alongside Kuiji, and wrote commentaries on Yogācāra *śāstras*, as well as on *sūtras*. The latter group of works includes his *Panya paramilda simgyŏng ch'an* (般若波羅蜜多心經贊; T. 1711), being one of the earliest commentaries on the *Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* (般若波羅蜜多心經; T. 251; studies in Hwang, 2000; Choo, 2003; see also Lusthaus, 2003), *Inwanggyŏng so* (仁王經疏; T. 1708) in six fasc., and, most important, the ten-fasc. *Haesimmilgyŏng so* (解深密經疏; ZZ 369). The latter, an encyclopedic work of Buddhist doctrine, is of unique historical value in that it was translated into Tibetan and gained considerable status among Tibetan scholiasts. This translation, by Facheng (法成; Tib. Chos grub; ?–c. 865 CE), under the title *'Phags pa dgongs pa zab mo nges par 'grel pa'i mdo'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (D 4016/P 5517), was studied extensively by S. Inaba (1944; 1972; 1977; for a partial translation, see Muller, 2012c). E. Steinkellner (1989) opines that this commentary may have been instrumental in inaugurating in Tibet the practice of beginning a commentary with a table of contents (*sa bcad*), which effects a type of doctrinal parsing of the contents.

Wŏnhyo (元暁; 617–686 CE) wrote numerous interlinear commentaries, but what stands out are his writings of the "doctrinal essentials" (*chong'yo* [宗要] type), the format of which resembles Jizangs's "survey-of-the-meaning" (*youyi* [遊義]) texts. Examples include *Taehyedo kyŏng chong'yo* (大慧度經宗要; T. 1697), a one-fascicle reading of Kumārajīva's translation of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (T. 223), the *Pŏphwa chong'yo* (法華宗要; T. 1725; trans. Muller, 2012a), the *Yŏlban chong'yo* (涅槃宗要; T. 1769), and the *Muryangsu kyŏng chong'yo* (無量壽經宗要; T. 1747; trans. Muller, 2012b). Wŏnhyo's magisterial commentary on the *Vajrasamādhisūtra* (T. 273), the *Kŭmgang sammaegyŏng* non (金剛三昧經論; T. 1730), was translated and studied by R. Buswell (2007).

Ŭijŏk (義寂; late 7th–early 8th cents.), an expert in the Vijñaptimātra and Pure Land schools, wrote, among 25 commentaries on a wide variety of scriptures, the three-fascicle *Muryangsukyŏng suŭiki* (無量壽經述義記), partially preserved in the form of quotations in other texts. Ŭijŏk's exegetical approach, in contrast to that of Kuiji and Wŏnch'ŭk, rested on a belief in the compatibility of the various Mahāyāna philosophic orientations. Taehyŏn (大賢; dates unknown) from the mid-Silla period specialized in Vijñaptimātra. Among his more than 50 works, which include important studies of the *Cheng weishi lun* as well as commentaries on a variety of Mahāyāna texts, we find the *Pŏmmanggyŏng kojŏkki* (梵網經古迹記; T. 1815), which was later studied extensively in Japan. The term *kojŏkki* (古迹記; traces of the ancients recorded) figures in the titles of a number of his works.

In the Koryŏ period, Kyunyŏ (均如; 923–973 CE), a Hwaŏm (華嚴) scholar and gifted proselytizer (see Buzo & Prince, 1994), authored the *Sŏk hwa-ŏm-gyo pun-gi wŏn-t'ong ch'o* (釋華嚴教分記圓通鈔; K1510a) in ten fascicles, as well as other Hwaŏm-related texts. In the Chosŏn era, Chinul (知訥; 1158–1210) established the groundwork for the Chogye order (曹溪宗), and, influenced by the thought of the lay hermit and scholar Li Tongxuan (李通玄; 635–730 CE, alternatively 646–740 CE), produced the *Hwaŏm non chŏryo* (華嚴論節要; text lost soon after its composition; a recension was discovered in 1941 in Kanazawa Bunko in Yokohama, Japan; repr. in HPC 4.767c–869c) in three fascicles and other works, some of which have been translated by R. Buswell (1983).

Sūtra Commentaries in Japan

If it is true that it was Prince Shōtoku (Shōtoku Taishi [聖德太子]; 572–622 CE) who authored the *Hokke gisho* (法華義疏; T. 2187), the *Yuimagyō gisho* (維摩經義疏; T. 2186; trans. Hubbard, 2012), and the *Shōmangyō gisho* (勝鬘經義疏; T. 2185; trans. Dennis, 2011), as tradition has it, then these three commentaries would have to be considered the oldest surviving Japanese texts. However, the problem of their authenticity has of late attracted considerable debate. Some scholars accept these works' traditional attribution to Shōtoku, others see them

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as Chinese compositions, and yet others argue that they are the product of a Korean monk. More recently a new theory has emerged: on the basis of the analysis of the grammar of the unique honorific expressions in the texts, it has been suggested that they could not have been written in China but only on the Korean Peninsula, or possibly even in Japan (Kanno, 1989; Ishii, 2008; 2010).

Like the Korean, the Japanese commentaries, too, show no essential divergence from the Chinese models. In Japan, moreover, subcommentaries were frequently written to exegetical works composed in China, and, in the context of rivalry among the increasingly assertive sects, numerous commentaries were produced on the discrete texts that stood at the center of the respective schools.

For instance, Hōjibō Shōshin (寶地房證眞; 1136–1220 or 1131–1215) of the Tendai sect wrote voluminous subcommentaries to Zhiyi's *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanyi*. In the Pure Land school, many commentaries were composed on the *Guan wuliangshoufo jing*. Also, on account of the important position that tantric *mikkyō* (密教) practices came to occupy within the Japanese Shingon (真言) and Tendai schools, in comparison with the commentarial traditions of China in Korea, Japan saw the production of relatively numerous works on the *mikkyō* scriptures, mainly on the *Dainichikyō* (大日經; T. 848).

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Hiroshi Kan
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HIROSHI KANNO
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Tantric Commentaries: South Asia

Within learned writing in Sanskrit the genre of commentary became central at an early period, and remained so. By the time that Buddhist tantric commentaries began to be composed, exegesis and hermeneutics were already highly developed traditions, with a history of well over a thousand years. Their origin and a considerable period of early development lie, probably, before the time of the historical Buddha, and are strongly linked with the Vedic traditions and with some of the specialized branches of knowledge associated with the Vedas (Vedāṅga[s]) such as, above all, Nirukta (dealing with the interpretation and analysis of words with the emphasis on their meaning and supposed relationship to other words), Vyākaraṇa (traditional grammar, dealing with the derivation and grammatical analysis of words) and Mīmāṃsā (dealing mainly with the interpretation of [Vedic] sentences). This early history lies far beyond the scope of this article (as a starting point for the study of non-Buddhist Sanskrit commentarial literature see Slaje, 2007).

The importance of commentarial literature in Buddhism, as in classical Indian culture in general, is evident from the abundance of different terms commonly used in Sanskrit for "commentary." Among the more frequent are: *ṭippaṇī/ṭippanī*, *ṭīkā*, *nibandha*, *pañjikā* (and its rarer orthographical variant *pañcikā*), *paddhati*, *vivaraṇa*, *vivṛti*, *vṛtti*, and *vyākhyā*. The two terms *bhāṣya* and *vārttika*, frequently used in Brahmanical literature, are apparently not found in Buddhist tantric exegetical literature.

Even though sometimes these terms are conceived of and used interchangeably (Unithiri, 2002, 159), Indian authors have in some cases interpreted them as having a different scope (see e.g. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, *adhyāya* 2, and Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, *Devakāṇḍa*, stt. 256–258; see also Bhattacharya, 1955). For instance, *ṭīkā* (and *vivṛti*) may refer to long commentaries in prose which leave almost no passage of the root text uncommented, contain numerous quotations and present occasional digressions, whereas *pañjikā* (like *ṭippaṇī* and *vṛtti*) may refer to shorter commentaries which focus on the explanation of difficult words (*viṣamapada*). This twofold attitude is reflected also in Buddhist tantric literature: *pañjikā* and *ṭīkā* are sometimes used as synonyms, while at other times they are conceived to represent two different levels of analysis.

At the beginning of the Buddhist tantric commentarial literature, the direct models and sources were probably mainly the earlier Buddhist (non-tantric) tradition of commentary together with what had developed, by the middle of the first millennium, as a more or less standard, shared (across religious traditions), style of commenting on technical literature, including scriptural literature. Given the importance in general of commentary and exegesis, and the fact that tantric scriptures in particular, being often esoteric not only in name but in fact, may require explanation even more than most other texts, we may assume that the commentarial tradition goes back to the time of the appearance of the scriptures, at least as far as oral exegesis is concerned. Written commentaries are likely to have followed quite soon afterward.

Commentaries no doubt served several important functions. On the one hand, they were indispensable in keeping traditions alive, especially once the body of tantric scriptures had started to become so large that purely oral transmission of exegesis became difficult and would have endangered the continuity of traditions. On the other hand, they could be at the same time a means to introduce changes in a tradition, interpreting the scriptures (or the teachings of earlier authors) in the light of new ideas, doctrines or practices.

Such innovation is of course usually not presented explicitly as such. In the case of a few commentaries an entirely new interpretation of the work explained seems to have been de facto intended. This is the case, for instance, of the commentaries on the *Hevajratantra* and the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* by Vajragarbha and Vajrapāṇi, respectively, which reject other interpretations and claim unique authority, by reason of the authors' self-identification as high bodhisattvas, for the Kālacakra-based interpretation that they give (Sferra, 2005).

An interesting case is also the commentary on the *Hevajratantra* by one Kelikuliśa, as yet unpublished, in which that famous *yoginītantra* is interpreted

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through the teachings of the Ārya school tradition, the main texts of which are quoted profusely (Isaacson, 2009, 91).

Formal Characteristics and Style

One of the basic structures of the Buddhist commentarial tradition is a binary pattern according to which the teachings, initially given in summary form (*uddeśa*), are followed by more in-depth, defined explanations (*nirdeśa*). We find this pattern already in the Pali canon and also in Mahāyāna works, for instance the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, and the *Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā* by Haribhadra. The pattern is also adopted by at least two Buddhist tantric scriptures. First, it is found in the *Yoginīsañcāratantra* (1.2–3), with the addition of a third level of yet more detailed analysis, here called *pratinirdeśa*. This latter term is apparently absent in the previous Buddhist tradition and is not found with this meaning elsewhere in Indian literature. The same terminology, but in a more complex framework, is adopted also by a second tantric scripture, the *Sekoddeśa* (stt. 3–5), one of the most authoritative texts of the Kālacakra tradition. Here, it is stated that "in the *tantra*" (*tantre*) *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* are threefold: each of the two has (1) a basic aspect, which corresponds to the "[first] recitation of the *tantra*" (*tantrasaṅgīti*); (2) a *prati-* (repeated or more detailed) aspect, which is the *pañjikā* ("[short] commentary"), here intended as the "analysing of the [menanings of the] words" (*padabhañjikā*); and (3) a *mahā-* (great) aspect, which corresponds to the *ṭīkā* ("[long] commentary"), understood as "indicating all meanings" (*sarvārthasūcikā*). In his commentary, Nāropā (first half of the 11th cent.) makes it clear that this scheme applies to all *yogatantras* and *yoginītantras* and that the "recitation of the *tantra*" corresponds to the *laghutantra* in the case of the *uddeśa* and to the *mūlatantra* in the case of the *nirdeśa*; analogously *pañjikā* and *ṭīkā* can be composed for both the *laghutantra* and the *mūlatantra* (ed. pages 68–69).

The full scheme is the following:

uddeśa (*uddeśa*, *pratyuddeśa*, *mahoddeśa*);
nirdeśa (*nirdeśa*, *pratinirdeśa*, *mahānirdeśa*)

uddeśa and *nirdeśa* = *tantrasaṅgīti* (*laghutantra*, *mūlatantra*)

pratyuddeśa and *pratinirdeśa* = *pañjikā* (*laghutantrapañjikā*, *mūlatantrapañjikā*)

mahoddeśa and *mahānirdeśa* = *ṭīkā* (*laghutantraṭīkā*, *mūlatantraṭīkā*)

A different, more straightforward, explanation of the words *uddeśa*, *nirdeśa* and *pratinirdeśa* can be found in Tathāgatarakṣita's (second half of the 11th cent.; Sanderson, 2009, 161) *Sañcāranibandha*, where *uddeśa* corresponds to *sūtra* (i.e. *tantra*), *nirdeśa* to *vṛtti*, and *pratinirdeśa* to *ṭīkā*.

Another structuring device is that of the five headings or topics listed by Vasubandhu in his *Vyākhyāyukti*: the "aim" (*prayojana*) of the text commented on; the "condensed" or "summary meaning" (*piṇḍārtha*); the "meanings of the words" (*padārtha*); the "'connections," which allow one to understand the sequence in which topics are dealt with (*anusandhi*); and "objections" and the "responses" to them (*codya* and *parihāra*). This is not used by very many *tantra* commentators, but it is found for example in Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Laghuśaṃvaravivṛti* and in the commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti (early 11th cent.), both of which quote the verse of the *Vyākhyāyukti* that enumerates the five (*Laghuśaṃvaravivṛti* page 2, ll. 9–10 [the text as printed requiring some corrections], **Kusumāñjali* D 1851, *rgyud*, *ti*, 202b7).

More commonly used than Vasubandhu's five headings are a not exclusively tantric, nor exclusively Buddhist, set of three, four or sometimes five: the "words/text" (*abhidhāna*; the most frequently omitted of the items); "content" or "subject matter" (*abhidheya*); "connection" (*sambandha*); "aim" (*prayojana*); and "aim of the aim", that is higher or ultimate aim (*prayojanaprayojana*). The term *anubandha* (lit. connection) is sometimes used for these in secondary literature, and is attested in non-Buddhist texts, but in none that might be as early as the tantric Buddhist commentaries dealt with here. Some set of minimally three of these is used by a majority of tantric commentators. There are authors, however, including important ones such as Ratnākaraśānti, who do not make use of them at all. The expositions of these categories by tantric authors are often not very different from those by non-tantric authors. The ultimate goal is commonly stated to be the attainment of the highest awakening, often referred to with the term *mahāmudrāsiddhi*, but sometimes with other expressions such as "attaining the state/level of the glorious Śaṃvara" (thus in Ratnarakṣita's commentary on the *Saṃvarodayatantra*). One difference from non-tantric exegesis that is seen not infrequently is that the subject matter or content of a

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tantra is said to be the deity with whom that *tantra* is concerned (who is normally at the same time the buddha who is the teacher of the *tantra*).

A set of hermeneutical categories that has received some attention from modern authors (Matsunaga, 1963, 1964; Steinkellner, 1978; Broido, 1983; Seyfort Ruegg, 1985) is the *ṣaṭkoṭi* (lit. six points). The standard terms for these six categories, which are divided into three pairs, are: *sandhyābhāṣā* ("intentional speech"); *nosandhyā*/*nāsandhyā* ("nonintentional [speech]"); *neyārtha* ("meaning that requires to be drawn out," deep meaning); *nītārtha* ("meaning that has been [fully] drawn out," i.e. surface meaning); *yathāruta* ("literal"); and *naruta* ("non-literal"). The locus classicus for these is the famous commentary *Pradīpoddyotana* on the *Guhyasamājatantra* by (a) Candrakīrti (10th cent. [?]), a commentary which is indeed also known as *Ṣaṭkoṭivyākhyā* (The Six Points Commentary). They are presented there as the third in a set which is referred to as the seven-fold *alaṃkāra* ("ornament," for which Steinkellner proposes in this context the translation "preparation"; 1978, 450):

1. "introduction" (*upodghāta*), which is fivefold, consisting of a discussion of the name of the *tantra*, the reason why it was composed, the author (in the case of the *Guhyasamājatantra* this is said to be Vajrasattva), the size of the text, and its goals;
2. "method" (*nyāya*), which is fourfold, consisting of "continuity"/"lineage" (*santāna*), "foundation" (*nidāna*), "explanation" (*nirukti*), and "[direct] cause" (*hetu*), all of these four being said to be different in the case of tantric Buddhism from the corresponding elements in non-tantric Buddhism;
3. the "six points" (see above);
4. "explanation" (*vyākhyā* or *ākhyāyikā*), which is fourfold, consisting of the "meaning of the phonemes" (*akṣarārtha*), "overall" or "general meaning" (*samastāṅga*), "hidden" (*garbhī*), and "ultimate" (*kolika*), with further subdivisions;
5. "teaching" (*vyākhyāna* or *ākhyāna*), which is twofold, "teaching to a group" (*satravyākhyāna*) and "teaching to individual students" (*śiṣyākhyāna*);
6. "person" (*pudgala*), which is five-fold, five different types/levels of students being distinguished; and finally
7. the "practice of the stage of the perfected" (*niṣpannakramasādhana*).

It has been suggested that it is Candrakīrti himself who created this super system of the sevenfold *alaṃkāra*, drawing together elements found in explanatory *tantras* and *sādhanas* (Steinkellner, 1978, 457). For the "six points," which appear to be the most widely used of the seven-fold *alaṃkāra*, Candrakīrti quotes a passage from the *Vajramālātantra*, an explanatory *tantra* of the *Guhyasamāja*, that provides an already rather detailed framework, which Candrakīrti may have elaborated on to some extent. In any case, the application of the "six points" in his own exegesis of the *Guhyasamājatantra* was regarded by later authors as exemplary.

Although the "six points' are also alluded to by Kālacakra commentators, they seem to have been of major importance only within the Ārya school of the *Guhyasamāja*. Some Tibetan authors, including the polymath genius (and Sanskrit scholar, trained by Indian *paṇḍits*) Sa skya Paṇḍita (Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182–1251), claimed that the "six points" system is to be used in the exegesis of *sūtras* as well as *tantras* (see e.g. Seyfort Ruegg, 1985, 310), but no Indian author is known to have applied the "six points" outside of tantric exegesis, or even to have mentioned such a possibility.

Several of the items included within the "six points" play, however, a role in tantric exegesis even outside that set. The most important of these is *sandhyābhāṣā* (variants found on this term include *sandhyābhāṣa*, neuter instead of feminine, *sandhyāvacana*, *sandhāyabhāṣā*, and *sandhyāyabhāṣita*), a term which has received some attention from scholars over almost a century. It is now generally understood to be derived from *sandhi* in the sense of "intention"; indeed Ratnākaraśānti analyses the compound in his commentary on *Hevajratantra* 2.3.1 as meaning "speaking with a [covert] intention." A number of scriptures, as well as commentaries, use *sandhyābhāṣā* as a term for words or phrases which are "intentional," that is to say which are not to be understood in their normal literal sense but in a secondary, metaphorical one. In some cases the words are very rare in Sanskrit, and in a few cases there is a possibility that they are Dravidian in origin. It is not always clear what the basis is for the secondary usage. Relatively obvious cases are *bala* (lit. strength) as *sandhyābhāṣā* for "meat" (eating meat is believed to cause strength) or *niraṃśuka* (lit. without clothes) for "ornaments made of bone," which are among the *sandhyābhāṣās* taught in *Hevajratantra* 2.3.55–63.

The vast majority of Buddhist tantric exegetical works is written in prose, though usually there are, of course, some verses, especially at the beginning and end. Commentaries written entirely in verse (a form not uncommon in other areas, with several particularly notable examples, both in Śaiva Tantra and in non-tantric Buddhism) are rare; an exceptional case is the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* of

(a) Nāgārjuna, which should be understood as a commentary on a verse from the second chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (2.3+). It should however be noted that verses quoted by the Kālacakra commentators with attribution to the large root *tantra*s that are not available to ordinary humans can be seen as basically exegetical in nature.

Authority and Status of Commentaries

When recent scholarship discusses the authority and status of commentaries on Buddhist tantric scriptures, it focuses, in part, on the fact that in cases where multiple commentaries on the same scripture are available, they often seem to differ significantly in their interpretations. R. Davidson drew the conclusion that commentaries are "independent moments in the domestication of the [*Buddhakapālatantra*]," whose primary purposes were "to lessen the force of the scripture's extreme content and to move the text into a symbolic realm approachable by normative Buddhist praxis" (Davidson, 2002, 250). A. Sanderson concludes from the "high degree of divergence between the various Buddhist commentators" that they were tried to make sense of material borrowed from Śaiva literature, but lacking "existing Buddhist sources and with no central authority to impose consistency on their efforts they were bound to diverge" (Sanderson, 2009, 216). C. Wedemeyer, finding R. Davidson's suggestions "problematic," suggests instead that

> [t]he fact of commentarial divergence does cast doubt on the notion of a preexistent, secret interpretation hidden via a code. However, it is rather a logical leap then to assert that the original meaning must have been literal. Although little has been established concerning the sociology of scholastic commentary in Buddhist India, some degree of diversity is certainly to be expected, given the diversity of ideological (social, institutional, cultural) commitments of their authors. (Wedemeyer, 2013, 236–237n23)

These three different perspectives on the divergences between commentaries all have something that is worth considering, although we agree with C. Wedemeyer that some of R. Davidson's ideas are problematic, and we cannot follow the latter when he takes a further step, suggesting that "[i]n reality, one of the primary motivations for the above commentarial hermeneutic was as a subtle form of criticism, taking the scriptural authors to task for real or imagined transgressions of behavioral norms" (Davidson, 2002, 252).

While commentaries should always be studied and taken into account as thoroughly as possible, what they are evidence for is, in the first place, their own author's thought, and their own historical and cultural context, rather than that of the object of exegesis. From a scholarly and historical point of view, no commentary, be it on a tantric or non-tantric text, can ever be regarded as having absolute authority in the interpretation of the text commented on. This applies even to auto-commentary; there may be interpretations which the author does not mention, for instance because they are to be left to be understood by the well-informed student or to be supplied orally by a teacher, and there may be interpretations which amount to later second thoughts, diverging from the same author's original intention. A work of exegesis always presents a subjective perspective (which may be complex and multifaceted, itself including more than one viewpoint, perhaps with more than one origin), rather than an absolute and thus a-historical, "objective" view.

While R. Davidson, A. Sanderson and C. Wedemeyer have highlighted cases in which Buddhist commentators disagreed with each other to a striking degree, to think that this is invariably the case when we have multiple commentaries on a scripture would be mistaken. There are also cases in which multiple commentaries show a perhaps no less striking degree of agreement, sometimes with numerous close verbal parallels. Clearly some tantric commentators were not reluctant to take over passages verbatim or nearly so from predecessors (see e.g. the remarks on Abhayākaragupta below).

Extent of Surviving Literature and State of Research

The extent of surviving Indian tantric commentarial literature cannot be determined accurately at present, especially because of the lack of scholarly access to some thousands of (mainly palm-leaf) manuscripts of Buddhist texts, a large percentage of which is likely to prove to contain tantric literature, in Tibet. For the sake of description we can divide the commentaries into three groups: commentaries on scriptures, commentaries on independent treatises/works, and subcommentaries (on either of the two previous kinds of commentary).

The following table is designed primarily to give a schematic idea of the development of studies of Buddhist tantric commentarial literature. In th

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of the editor(s) and the date of
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One manuscript of particula
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now held in the Tibet Museum

Published Commentaries of Scri

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Sekoddeśapañjikā
Sekoddeśaṭīkā
Yogaratnamālā (*Hevajratantra*)
Khasamā (*Khasamatantra*)
Pradīpoddyotana (*Guhyasamāj*
Vimalaprabhā (*Laghukālacakra*
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (*Nām*
Guṇavatī (*Mahāmāyātantra*)
Ratnāvalī (*Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*)
Amṛtakaṇikā (*Nāmasaṅgīti*)
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (*Nām*
Vimalaprabhā (*Laghukālacakr*
Sekoddeśapañjikā
Sekoddeśaṭippanī
Sañcāranibandha (*Yoginīsañcā*
Upadeśānusāriṇī (*Yoginīsañcā*
Muktāvalī (*Hevajratantra*)
Laghutantraṭīkā (*Laghuśaṃva*
Laghuśaṃvaratantrapañjikā

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plarly and historical point of view,
be it on a tantric or non-tantric
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first list, works are recorded in chronological order of their first publication, with reference to the name of the editor(s) and the date of the *editio princeps*. In some cases better and/or more complete editions were subsequently published; full references to these editions are given in the bibliography.

One manuscript of particular interest, an 11th-century Kashmirian multiple-text manuscript now held in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, evidently contains several commentarial works (see the transcription, which we believe to be not free of errors, published in Kawasaki [2004] of an index of contents contained in the manuscript). We have however not included these works in the list below, because of the difficulty in identifying them with certainty at present, since the indications in the index are not very precise and reproductions of only a very few folios of the manuscript are accessible.

Published Commentaries of Scriptures

Title of the comm. (and of the scripture)	Author	Part Published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Sekoddeśapañjikā	(unknown)	incomplete	Kielhorn, 1894 (repr. with corr. in Tsukamoto, *et al.*, 1989, 519–520)
Sekoddeśaṭīkā	Nāropā	incomplete	Carelli, 1941
Yogaratnamālā (*Hevajratantra*)	Kṛṣṇācārya (also known as Kāṇha)	complete	Snellgrove, 1959
Khasamā (*Khasamatantra*)	Ratnākaraśānti	complete	Upadhyaya, 1983
Pradīpoddyotana (*Guhyasamājatantra*)	Candrakīrti	complete	Chakravarti, 1984
Vimalaprabhā (*Laghukālacakratantra*)	Puṇḍarīka	chapters 1–2	Upadhyaya, 1986
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (*Nāmasaṅgīti*)	Vilāsavajra	chapters 3–4	Sakurai, 1988
Guṇavatī (*Mahāmāyātantra*)	Ratnākaraśānti	complete	Rinpoche & Dvivedī, 1992
Ratnāvalī (*Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*)	Kumāracandra	complete	Rinpoche & Dvivedī, 1992
Amṛtakaṇikā (*Nāmasaṅgīti*)	Raviśrījñāna	complete	Lal, 1994
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (*Nāmasaṅgīti*)	Vilāsavajra	chapters 1–5	Tribe, 1994, diss.
Vimalaprabhā (*Laghukālacakratantra*)	Puṇḍarīka	chapters 3–5	Dvivedī & Bahulkar, 1994
Sekoddeśapañjikā	(unknown)	incomplete	Taishō team, 1994
Sekoddeśaṭippanī	Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda	complete	Gnoli, 1997
Sañcāranibandha (*Yoginīsañcāratantra*)	Tathāgatarakṣita	complete	Pandey, 1998
Upadeśānusāriṇī (*Yoginīsañcāratantra*)	Alakakalaśa	complete	Pandey, 1998
Muktāvalī (*Hevajratantra*)	Ratnākaraśānti	complete	Tripathi & Negi, 2001
Laghutantraṭīkā (*Laghuśaṃvaratantra*)	Vajrapāṇi	complete	Cicuzza, 2001
Laghuśaṃvaratantrapañjikā	Jayabhadra	complete	Sugiki, 2001

(*cont.*)

Title of the comm. (and of the scripture)	Author	Part Published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti (*Laghuśaṃvaratantra*)	Bhavabhaṭṭa	complete	Pandey, 2002
Katipayākṣarā Pañjikā (*Herukābhyudayatantra*)	Kumāracandra	complete	*Dhīḥ* 37, 2004
Ṣaṭsāhasrikā (*Hevajratantra*)	Vajragarbha	chapters 1–8 (last ch. incomplete)	Shendge, 2004
Sekoddeśaṭīkā	Nāropā	complete	Sferra, 2006
Āmnāyamañjarī (*Sampuṭatantra*)	Abhayākaragupta	incomplete	Kano & Tomabechi, 2008
Catuṣpīṭhanibandha (*Catuṣpīṭhatantra*)	Bhavabhaṭṭa	incomplete	Szántó, 2008, 2012, diss.
Catuṣpīṭhapañjikā	Kalyāṇavarman	incomplete	Szántó, 2008
Mitapadā (*Catuṣpīṭhatantra*)	Durjayacandra	incomplete	Szántó, 2008
Ṣaṭsāhasrikā (*Hevajratantra*)	Vajragarbha	chapter 1	Sferra, 2009
Ṣaṭsāhasrikā (*Hevajratantra*)	Vajragarbha	chapter 10	Sferra, 2009
Abhayapaddhati (*Buddhakapālatantra*)	Abhayākaragupta	complete	Chog, 2009
Padminī (*Saṃvarodayatantra*)	Ratnarakṣita	chapters 13 (incomplete), 22	Kuranishi 2014, Tanemura 2014
Sahajālokapañjikā (*Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*)	Śrīdhara	incomplete	Kuranishi, published online

Published Commentaries of Independent Treatises/Works

Title of the comm. (and of the text)	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Pañcakramaṭippaṇī	Parahitarakṣita	complete	La Vallée Poussin, 1896
Kudṛṣṭinirghātādivākyaṭippinikā	Advayavajra	complete	Shastri, 1927
Dohākośapañjikā (*Dohākośa* by Saraha)	Advayavajra (?)	complete	Bagchi, 1938
Mekhalāṭīkā (*Dohākośa* by Kāṇha)	(anonymous)	complete	Bagchi, 1938
Sārārthapañjikā (*Dohākośa* by Tillopāda)	(anonymous)	complete	Bagchi, 1938
Caryāgītikośavṛtti	Munidatta	complete	Bagchi, 1956
Mahāsukhaprakāśikā (*Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhi*)	Jñānacandra/ Dhyānacandra	complete	The Dharmodaya Sabha, 1956
Guṇabharaṇī (*Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*)	Raviśrījñāna	complete	Grönbold, 1969
Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā	Kuladatta	chapter 6.5	Sakurai, 1988–1996

rt blished	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
mplete	Pandey, 2002
mplete	*Dhīḥ* 37, 2004
apters 3 (last ch. complete)	Shendge, 2004
mplete	Sferra, 2006
omplete	Kano & Tomabechi, 2008
omplete	Szántó, 2008, 2012, diss.
omplete	Szántó, 2008
omplete	Szántó, 2008
pter 1	Sferra, 2009
pter 10	Sferra, 2009
nplete	Chog, 2009
pters 13 complete),	Kuranishi 2014, Tanemura 2014
mplete	Kuranishi, published online

d	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
	La Vallée Poussin, 1896
	Shastri, 1927
	Bagchi, 1938
	Bagchi, 1938
	Bagchi, 1938
	Bagchi, 1956
	The Dharmodaya Sabha, 1956
	Grönbold, 1969
5	Sakurai, 1988–1996

(*cont.*)

Title of the comm. (and of the text)	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Rahasyadīpikā (*Vasantatilakā*)	Vanaratna	complete	Rinpoche & Dvivedī, 1990
Yogimanoharā (*Pañcakrama*)	Muniśrībhadra	complete	Jiang & Tomabechi, 1996
Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa	Vāgīśvarakīrti	complete	Pandey, 1996
Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā	Kuladatta	chapter 7	Tanemura, 1997
Sāramañjarī Samantabhadrasādhanaṭīkā	Samantabhadra	incomplete	Tanaka, 1997
Marmakalikāpañjikā (*Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhi*)	Vīryaśrīmitra	complete	Pandey, 2000
Dohākośaṭīkā (*Dohākośa* by Kṛṣṇavajra)	Amṛtavajra	complete	*Dhīḥ* 32, 2001
Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā	Kuladatta	chapter 3.6	Mori, 2003
Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā	Kuladatta	chapters 1.4, 3.3, 3.5, 6.8.8	Tanemura, 2004
Cakraśaṃvarābhisamayaṭīkā	Prajñārakṣita	complete	Sakurai, 2005; *Dhīḥ* 53 (with attribution to Śāśvatavajra)
Guhyāvalīvivṛti	Ghanadeva	complete	*Dhīḥ* 46, 2008
Sekanirdeśapañjikā	Rāmapāla	complete	Isaacson & Sferra, 2014

Published Subcommentaries

Title of the comm. (and of the text	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha (*Amṛtakaṇikā*)	Vibhūticandra	complete	Lal, 1994

Commentaries and Subcommentaries extant in manuscripts but not published

Title of the comm. (and of the text)	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Advayasiddhiṭīkā	(unknown)	complete (?)	TAR
Anāvilatantrapañjikā	Kumāracandra	complete	TAR
Amṛtadharā (*Vajrāmṛtatantra*)	Śrībhānu	complete	TAR (ed. under preparation)
Ekavṛkṣādipañjikā	[an] Āryadeva	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives; Asiatic Society, Calcutta

(*cont.*)

Title of the comm. (and of the text)	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Comm. on *Kalyāṇakāmadhenu*	Nāgārjuna	complete	Kathmandu, National Archives; TAR
Kramakaumudī (*Pañcakrama*)	Abhayākaragupta	complete	TAR
Comm. on *Guhyasamājanidāna*	Līlāvajra	incomplete	TAR
Guhyāvalīṭīkā	(unknown)	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Gūḍhapadā (*Nāmasaṅgīti*)	(Advayavajra [evidently different from the well-known author of that name])	complete	London, Royal Asiatic Society
Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikāyāścaturthapaṭalabhāṣitamantroddhāralakṣaṇasyapañjikā	anonymous	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Candraprabhā (*Guhyasamājatantra*)	*Pramuditākaravarman	incomplete	TAR
Ḍākinīvajrapañjaraṭippati	(anonymous)	complete	Kathmandu, Kaiser Library
Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhiṭippaṇī	Daśabalaśrīmitra	complete	London, Royal Asiatic Society; TAR
Tattvaviṣadā (*Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*)	Mahāmatideva	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives & Kaiser Library (ed. under preparation)
Tattvaviṣadā (*Laghuśaṃvaratantra*)	Śāśvatavajra	complete (?)	TAR
Trisamayarājaṭīkā	(unknown)	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives; TAR
Trivajraratnāvalīmālikā (*Hevajratantra*)	Kelikuliśa	complete	TAR
Pañcakramapañjikā	Samayavajra	incomplete	TAR
Padmāṅkuranibandha (*Hevajratantra ?*)	Padmāṅkura	incomplete (?)	TAR
Padmāvatī (*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*)	Mahāsukhavajrapāda	complete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Prakaraṇārthanirṇaya (*Saṃpuṭatantra*)	(unknown)	incomplete	Kathmandu, Kaiser Library

rt blished	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
nplete	Kathmandu, National Archives; TAR
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omplete	TAR
omplete	Kathmandu, National Archives
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mplete	TAR
plete	Kathmandu, Kaiser Library
plete	London, Royal Asiatic Society; TAR
nplete	Kathmandu, National Archives & Kaiser Library (ed. under preparation)
lete (?)	TAR
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plete	Kathmandu, Kaiser Library

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Title of the comm. (and of the text)	Author	Part published	Editor(s) & Date of *editio princeps*
Pradīpoddyotanoddyota	*Karuṇāśrī	complete	TAR
**Mahāmāyāpañjikā*	*Śrībhūṣaṇa/ *Alaṅkāraśrī (?)	incomplete	University of Tokyo
Ratnāvalī (*Hevajratantra*)	Kamalanātha	complete	Kathmandu, Kaiser Library
Vajrapradīpa ṭippanī (*Hevajrasādhanopāyikā*)	Jālandharipāda	complete	Kathmandu, National Archives; TAR
Vajrasattvasya ṭīkā (?)	(?)	(?)	Kathmandu (see Tsukamoto, *et al.* 1989, 510)
Vajrāmṛtapañjikā	*Vimalabhadra	complete (?)	TAR
Vohitā (*Ḍākārṇavatantra*)	*Padmavajra	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Vyavastholinibandha	Līlāvajra	complete	TAR
Sadāmnāyānusāriṇī (*Saṃvarodayatantra*)	(unknown)	incomplete	Kathmandu, National Archives
Sarvarahasyanibandha (*Sarvarahasyatantra*)	Ratnākaraśānti	complete	TAR (ed. under preparation)
Sādhananidhi (*Laghuśaṃvaratantra*)	Kambala	complete	Kathmandu, National Archives; TAR
Sāramañjarī Caturaṅgasādhanaṭīkā	Samantabhadra	complete (severely damaged)	TAR
Sūtakamelāpakaṇibandha	Līlāvajra	complete	TAR
Sūtakamelāpakavivṛti (?)	Kuloka (?)	complete	TAR (NB that this work has been wrongly identified by Sāṅkṛtyāyana [1937, 38] and others who followed him as *Pañcakramavivṛti*)
Svādhiṣṭhānakramavivṛti	(anonymous)	complete	TAR

Influential Commentators and Their Work

Like many tantric scriptures, many commentaries can now only be studied in Tibetan translation. This loss affects not only minor works, but also those written by celebrated authors, for instance, the works by Vajrapāṇi (11th cent.), one of the main disciples of Advayavajra (also known as Maitreyanātha, Maitrīpā, etc.), which were certainly influential in his time and also important for the later Bka' brgyud school. The original Sanskrit of none of his works (e.g. D 2255, D 2299, D 3716) has been identified in library collections to date.

Important commentaries lost in their original language are, just to quote a few examples, the commentary by *Buddhaguhya/*Buddhagupta (late 8th cent. CE) on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhitantra*; the numerous exegeses by Ānandagarbha (9th cent. CE), including two commentaries, a shorter and a longer, on the *Paramādyatantra* (his commentarial works include also exegeses on *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha, Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra, Māyājālatantra, Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* [lost, but known to have existed from a reference in Mahāmatideva's commentary *Tattvaviṣadā* on the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*], *Sarvakalpasamuccaya*, and *Guhyasamājatantra*); the exegetical works belonging to the cycle of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, among which the *pañjikā* by Śākyamitra (D 1661/P 2533) and the *pañjikā* by *Praśāntamitra (D 1663/P 2535), both likely composed in the 9th century CE; the two commentaries on the *Hevajratantra* written by *Ṭaṅkādāsa/*Kāyastha (10th–11th cent.) and Dharmakīrti (11th cent. [?]), the *Suviṣadasampuṭahevajraṭīkā* (translated twice in Tibetan: D 1184/P 2314, D 1190/P 2321) and the **Netrodghāṭanapañjikā* (D 1191/P 2320) respectively; the commentarial works by *Smṛtijñānakīrti (10th–11th cent. [?]), for instance the **Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* (D 1829/P 2694), the **Guhyasamājavṛtti* (D 1914/P 2777), the **Caturdevīparipṛcchāvyākhyāna* (D 1915/P 2778), and two commentaries on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (D 2538/P 3361, D 2584/P 3411).

Such commentaries, extant now only in translation, will not be considered here, nor will commentaries on Indian tantric scriptures composed in other languages such as Tibetan or Chinese. Of course we have cases of masters whose commentarial production is partly or completely available in Sanskrit. In this case, the study of the commentaries can be extended to, for example, the authors' style, their use of the language, the peculiarities of their terminology, and other aspects which are hard or impossible to study if texts are only available in translation. A thorough analysis of the tantric commentarial works extant in Sanskrit from these perspectives would go beyond the limits of this article. Here only a few words are said about some of the authors and works, in chronological order, that have been most influential.

One of the earliest commentators is Vilāsavajra, who probably lived in the 8th century CE (Tribe, 1994, 9–23). At the very beginning of his voluminous commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmsaṅgīti*, the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (D 2533/P 3356), perhaps the oldest of the Buddhist tantric commentaries presently available in Sanskrit, he states that he writes this text after having studied Buddhist works and keeping in mind the teachings of his guru lineage. Actually he does not mention specific texts, but lists the main categories to which they belong, which include the *kriyātantra*s, the *caryātantras*, the *yogatantra*s, the Pāramitānaya, the Sūtra and Abhidharma collections, and other Buddhist and even worldly, that is non-Buddhist, works (Tribe, 1994, 66, 210). Among the *yogatantra*s he "evidently includes texts such as the *Guhyasamāja*, *Vajrabhairava*, and *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, since he quotes these and other related works" (Sanderson, 2009, 146). The names of Mañjuśrī are interpreted from a Yogācāra perspective in a quite sophisticated ritual framework with Mañjuśrī as the main deity of the *maṇḍala*. Because of his early date, Vilāsavajra's quotations have proved important for establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of a number of texts, both tantric (see above) and non-tantric, such as the *Ālokamālā* by Kambala.

Candrakīrti (10th cent.[?]), one of the more important exponents of the Ārya school, not to be confused with the Madhyamaka master of the 7th century CE, composed a famous commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the *Pradīpoddyotanaṭīkā Ṣaṭkoṭivyākhyā*. This commentary is perhaps the most large-scale attempt to apply the exegetical system of the seven-fold *alaṃkāra* and, in particular, the "six points" (see above). After the *Vimalaprabhā* and the currently almost inaccessible *Āmnāyamañjarī* (Abhayākaragupta's commentary on the *Sampuṭatantra*, see below), the *Pradīpoddyotana* is probably the largest Indian commentary on a Buddhist *tantra* extant in Sanskrit. It is also a difficult work, and it is not surprising that it received several subcommentaries, of which one at least survives in Sanskrit manuscripts. The *Pradīpoddyotana* contains a wealth of material

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rare works quoted in the *Pradī*
text certainly deserves much mor
monograph-length study is J.R.B.
A project to translate the entire w
apparently underway, at Columbi

Another commentator wort
Bhavabhaṭṭa (around 1000 CE; va
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a Bengali master who was acti
and who wrote at least four c
Cakraśaṃvaravivṛti and the *C*
which are luckily preserved
the **Hevajratantravivṛti* (D 118
**Vajraḍākavivṛti* (D 1415/P 2131),
available only in Tibetan. The
mission shows Bhavabhaṭṭa's C
to have been important in
two centuries after his time,
on the *Sampuṭatantra* (a *tant*
rowed considerably from the
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on a wide range of tantric topics, out of which only one may be mentioned here: the commentary on the 14th chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra* is particularly rich in information on mantras and their exegesis. This draws in part on the *Vajroṣṇīṣatantra*, a work which has come down to us neither in Sanskrit nor in Tibetan, and is just one of the many rare works quoted in the *Pradīpoddyotana*. The text certainly deserves much more study. The only monograph-length study is J.R.B. Campbell, 2009. A project to translate the entire work into English is apparently underway, at Columbia University.

Another commentator worth mentioning is Bhavabhaṭṭa (around 1000 CE; variant forms of his name include *Bhavabhadra and Bhavabhaṭa [?]), a Bengali master who was active in Vikramaśīla and who wrote at least four commentaries, the *Cakraśaṃvaravivṛti* and the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha*, which are luckily preserved in Sanskrit, and the **Hevajratantravivṛti* (D 1182/P 2312) and the **Vajraḍākavivṛti* (D 1415/P 2131), which are presently available only in Tibetan. The manuscript transmission shows Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* to have been important in Nepal; and about two centuries after his time, when commenting on the *Sampuṭatantra* (a *tantra* which has borrowed considerably from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*), Abhayākaragupta made extensive use of Bhavabhaṭṭa's work (see Szántó, 2012, 9–10). His commentary on the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* is relatively rich in doctrinal material, especially because of a lengthy and apparently rather original digression on causality in the commentary on the first chapter. This interesting passage is rendered harder for the reader by the fact that both of the published editions are in need of correction at many points.

No doubt important for the later developments of tantric Buddhism in India are the works of three masters belonging to the Kālacakra tradition, that is, Vajrapāṇi, Vajragarbha, and Puṇḍarīka, who were likely active around the beginning of the 11th century and whose exegeses on the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, the *Hevajratantra*, and the *Laghukālacakratantra* respectively were later conceived as a "corpus" (*skor*) by some Tibetan authors.

Puṇḍarīka, the most influential among those three, also wrote a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, lost in Sanskrit (D 1398/P 2114). His *Laghukālacakratantraṭīkā Vimalaprabhā* reflects the encyclopedic character of the *Laghukālacakratantra*. It is a rather long and elaborate exegesis; in some of its parts the doxographical intent is preeminent and more than in other works one receives the impression that the audience to whom it is addressed (directly or indirectly) is not composed solely of Buddhists, but may include also Hindus, with the intention, presumably, to warn them against the common Islamic "enemy." The text, which includes numerous technical digressions, notably on astronomy and physiology, is written in a relatively uncomplicated style, although the sometimes complex doctrines and practices of the Kālacakra, abounding in detailed correspondences between the external and the internal world, can make the exposition less than perspicuous. The author was certainly an educated person, at ease with the Indian grammatical tradition (both Pāṇinian and Buddhist) and knew many major works of Brahminical culture (e.g. *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Manusmṛti*), as evidenced by short citations and references in various parts of the work. Most of the quotations, as might be expected, however, comes from Buddhist tantric texts (e.g. *Ādibuddha*, the *mūlatantra* of the *Laghukālacakratantra*, which is the most frequently quoted, *Guhyasamājatantra*, and *Hevajratantra*), although there are some from *dhāraṇī* literature (a stanza of the *Mahāvajrameruśikharakūṭāgāradhāraṇī* is cited twice) and from other non-tantric Mahāyāna works, including passages from the Prajñāpāramitā literature and the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*.

Among other influential masters who have also composed commentaries and who were active in the 11th century is the Mahāsiddha Nāropā (first half of the 11th cent.), who spent his religious life in the two famous monasteries of Nālandā and Pullahari. He wrote works connected to various tantric cycles (for a list of his compositions see Naudou, 1968, 150). In Tibetan we have the **Vajrapadasārasaṅgrahapañjikā* (D 1186/P 2316), an exegesis of the *Hevajratantra*, and the **Sarvaguhyapradīpaṭīkā* (D 1787/P 2652), dedicated to the *Samājottara*. Both are attributed to a certain *Yaśobhadra from Kashmir, which, along with Naḍapāda and Nāro, is most likely simply another name of Nāropā. His only commentary presently available in Sanskrit is the *Paramārthasaṅgraha*, a quite detailed exegesis of the *Sekoddeśa*. As the author himself states in the introductory stanzas, the text relies heavily on the *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka, from which he quotes numerous passages verbatim. A significant part of the *Paramārthasaṅgraha* is dedicated to the explanation of the sixfold yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*). In a long introduction to the commentary on stanzas 24–92 of the *Sekoddeśa*, which are those in which, in this scripture, the yoga practice is dealt with, although in a rather cryptic way, Nāropā quotes in full three of the major expositions of the topic: the *locus classicus Samājottara* 133–157ab, *Laghukālacakra* 4.115–117, 120, 5.115–116, and the pages dedicated to this subject by Vajrapāṇi in his *Laghutantraṭīkā* (ed. pages 137–143). While the stanzas of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and the words by Vajrapāṇi are simply reproduced with only a few words of introduction (the sources are explicitly mentioned), in the first case together with the commentary by Puṇḍarīka, the *Samājottara* stanzas are given an apparently original interpretation, which does not rely on the words of Candrakīrti, who had quoted and commented on the above mentioned stanzas of the *Samājottara* in the 12th chapter of his *Pradīpoddyotana*, and from whom Nāropā distances himself, more or less significantly, in some points (Raviśrījñāna will do otherwise, see below).

Ratnākaraśānti, an Eastern Indian, was active at the famous monastic center of learning Vikramaśīla in the first half of the 11th century. He appears to have been one of the most learned, prolific, and admired Buddhist authors of his time. A wide range of works on tantric as well as non-tantric Buddhism are attributed to him, and he also authored a handbook of Sanskrit metre, the *Chandoratnākara*, and a book of ingenious riddles, the *Vidagdhavismāpana*. Almost certainly, however, some of the works attributed to Ratnākaraśānti are not by the celebrated author of that name. In some cases it appears that a work has been deliberately given this attribution, presumably with the aim of increasing its status or readership (Isaacson, 2010, 267). Several commentaries on tantric texts do survive in Sanskrit, however, that seem to be genuinely by one man, the famous Ratnākaraśānti. Four of these are scriptural commentaries, divided into one on a Yogatantra (the *Sarvarahasyanibandha*), and three on *tantras* of the Yoginītantra class (the *Hevajratantra*, the *Mahāmāyātantra*, and the *Khasamatantra*). A manuscript of Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on a non-scriptural tantric text, the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* of Dīpaṃkarabhadra, is reported to be extant (Kawasaki, 2004, 904–903). There are also two tantric commentaries attributed to Ratnākaraśānti which are only accessible at present in Tibetan translation: they are on the *Guhyasamājatantra* (D 1851/P 2714) and the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* (D 1919/P 2782). A commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (D 2526/P 3453) is sometimes attributed to the same author, but seems rather to be by Ānandagarbha.

Among the four scriptural commentaries accessible in Sanskrit, the commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, called *Muktāvalī* (String of Pearls) is very noticeably the longest and most elaborate. It seems that this is not merely because the scripture itself is longer than the others commented on, but rather because the commentator regarded the *Hevajratantra* as at the pinnacle of Buddhist teachings. He has, it seems, written almost a whole cycle of works related to the *Hevajratantra*; apart from the commentary itself, two practice manuals related to the two stages of tantric meditation, and a manual of the initiations, though the latter appears to have survived neither in Sanskrit nor in Tibetan translation.

The general characteristics of Ratnākaraśānti's style as a commentator are lucidity, inventiveness, and a sense of the larger picture. His inventiveness often takes the form of creative, sometimes perhaps deliberately surprising, word explanations of the *nirukta* type (based on similarities in sound); his sense of the larger picture is one that embraces the whole of Mahāyāna Buddhism, tantric and non-tantric. An elegant, punning verse in the opening of the commentary on the *Hevajratantra* in which Ratnākaraśānti states that his work shows the continuity or agreement of the *sūtras* and the *tantras* (Isaacson, 2000, 126) might be taken as programmatic not only for the work in which it is found but for all of Ratnākaraśānti's tantric exegesis.

Doctrinally Ratnākaraśānti's position can be characterized as Yogācāra, though some prefer to call him a Yogācāra-Madhyamaka. A recent upsurge in scholarly interest in Ratnākaraśānti (e.g. Moriyama, 2013) is likely to lead in due course to a better understanding of the subtleties of his position; in this reassessment of one of the most important Buddhist authors of the 11th century his tantric commentaries should certainly not be neglected.

Probably active between the 11th and the 12th century, Raviśrījñāna, a master related to the Kālacakra tantric cycle, is mainly famous for his *Amṛtakaṇikā*, a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, which is preserved in numerous Sanskrit manuscripts and which has been in turn commented on by Vibhūticandra (12th-13th cent.). Two other commentaries of his are also worth mentioning, namely, his exegeses of the two *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* treatises written by Anupamarakṣita (first half of the 11th cent.), one of which, the *Guṇabharaṇī*, is preserved in Sanskrit, while the other is extant only in Tibetan translation (D 1368/P 2084). Although Raviśrījñāna shows, as expected, the influence of the earlier

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Kālacakra commentators, he is not without originality, especially in the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, which is a rich source of detailed discussions of tantric topics and of quotations, including many which are from less often cited works. In the *Guṇabharaṇī* he shows less originality. It is noteworthy, however, that he tries to make a connection with the tradition of Candrakīrti, quoting, although silently, his explanation of the *Samājottara* stanzas dedicated to the six members of the yoga (see above). Still, the arrangement of verses and comments in the *Guṇabharaṇī* reflects the subdivision of the *Samājottara* stanzas in relation to the yoga limbs (*pratyāhāra, dhyāna*, etc.) proposed by Nāropā, a subdivision that contrasts with that of Candrakīrti and Nāgārjuna in the latter's *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (P 4792; Sferra, 2000, 16).

Abhayākaragupta, an Eastern Indian master, active in the 12th century at both Nālandā and Vikramaśīla, is in many respects a striking counterpart to his predecessor of the previous century, Ratnākaraśānti. Abhayākaragupta too has written widely on both non-tantric and tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism, and he too was regarded as one of the most important teachers of his time. He appears to have received patronage from members of the royal family (Luo Hong, 2010, 120–122, translating and discussing the concluding verses of Abhayākaragupta's *Abhayapaddhati*). Celebrated during his lifetime, several Tibetans visited Vikramaśīla to meet Abhayākaragupta, study with him, and seek his help in the translation of Buddhist works from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

Commentaries by Abhayākaragupta survive in Sanskrit on two scriptures, the *Buddhakapālatantra* and the *Sampuṭatantra* (both *yoginītantras*), as well as on the *Pañcakrama*, the famous Ārya school work attributed to Nāgārjuna. The choice of the two *tantras* commented on is somewhat striking. The *Buddhakapālatantra* was apparently chosen because Abhayākaragupta had a special connection to this *tantra* and its practice (references to this *tantra* in his other works confirm this); the *Sampuṭatantra* perhaps because of its length and eclectic nature. Commenting on it gave Abhayākaragupta the opportunity to touch on virtually all the main aspects of the tantric Buddhism of his time, resulting in an encyclopedic work, the publication of which (so far only a small fragment has been edited and translated) is a very important desideratum. It may also be noted that Abhayākaragupta tells us at the beginning of both of his *tantra* commentaries that he wrote them after being commanded to do so by a goddess in a dream.

Next to the similarities to Ratnākaraśānti, some important differences are to be noted. Abhayākaragupta differs from his distinguished predecessor on a number of central points of doctrine and practice. It suffices to mention two: where Ratnākaraśānti's doctrinal basis is Yogācāra (see above), Abhayākaragupta's is Madhyamaka; and the later author has devoted considerable effort to refuting a position argued for by the former, according to which the "innate bliss" (*sahajānanda*), the soteriologically central, because non-conceptual, highest of the four blisses, is the third bliss to arise during sexual union. Abhayākaragupta's position, for which he argues at length in passages in both of his *tantra* commentaries, is that it is the fourth instead. This at first sight perhaps rather trivial disagreement was one of the main debates in Indian tantric Buddhism in the 11th and 12th century; it is linked to other central questions such as the existence and nature of a "fourth consecration" (Isaacson & Sferra, 2014, 97–104).

Stylistically, Abhayākaragupta's commentaries are less striking and have a less clearly recognizable individual flavor than Ratnākaraśānti's, apart from perhaps a tendency to write a few ornate and slightly difficult verses at the beginning and end of his works. To a much greater extent than Ratnākaraśānti, he composed his commentaries making extensive use of a copy and paste method. He drew not a few sections of his works verbatim or with very minor changes from writings of Ratnākaraśānti, while other sections are borrowed from other predecessors.

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FRANCESCO SFERRA

The *Jingangding yugazhong fa an*
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Putixin Lun

The *Jingangding yugazhong fa anouduoluo sanmiao sanputixin lun* (金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論; Treatise on the Realized Mind in Diamond-Peak Yogic Tradition), better known as the *Putixin lun* or, in Japanese pronunciation, *Bodaishin ron* (菩提心論; T. 1665), is the most important treatise in the Japanese esoteric or tantric tradition. As the title indicates, the *Putixin lun* belongs to the textual tradition of the *Jingangding jing* (金剛頂經; *Vajraśekharasūtra*), which alongside the *Dari jing* (大日經; *Mahāvairocanasūtra*) provides the inspiration for the twofold mandalic world (Chn. *liangjie* [兩界]) central to East Asian esoteric Buddhism. The twofold mandalic world comprises the womb (Chn. *taizang* [胎藏]) realm, based on the *Dari jing*, and the diamond (Chn. *jingang* [金剛]) realm, based on the *Jingangding jing*. The former of these two realms signifies the maternal principle, whereas the latter represents the paternal. A close examination of the contents of this treatise reveals that the text deals with doctrinal and practical issues based on both the *Jingangding jing* and the *Dari jing* scriptural traditions. Therefore, the author of the *Putixin lun* was knowledgeable about both systems and may have attempted to unify them.

The treatise is a Chinese apocrypha, the origin of which is impossible to ascertain. Traditionally considered to have been translated into Chinese and submitted to the imperial court by the important Tang dynasty master of Esoteric Buddhism Amoghavajra (Chn. Bukong [不空]; 705–774 CE), in fact, the text itself claims to record the words of the esoteric master "Da[bianzheng]guangzhi (大[辯]正廣智)," which is a reference to the posthumous title bestowed on Amoghavajra in 774 CE by the Chinese emperor Daizong (代宗; 726–779 CE; T. 2120 860a 25–26). However, the text's Indian origin has been questioned because it often refers to a Chinese esoteric commentary, the *Dari jing shu/yishi* (大日經疏/義釋; Commentary on the *Dari jing*) written by Yixing (一行; 683–727 CE), a contemporary of Amoghavajra. We can therefore assume that the actual author of the *Putixin lun* was a Chinese monk. A sensible conjecture may be that the treatise was compiled by one of Amoghavajra's disciples on the basis of Amoghavajra's teachings and further knowledge gained from other esoteric masters.

Although the title reads *fa putixin* (發菩提心) or *bodhicittotpāda* (awakening of the resolve to attain the mind of enlightenment), the *Putixin lun* principally describes practical methods to acquire *putixin* (菩提心), a term that in this treatise has two meanings. The first is *bodhicitta* (the aspiration to awakening), and the second is *bodhihṛdaya* ([physical] heart of enlightenment). Since both *hṛdaya* and *citta* were equally translated as *xin* (心) in Chinese, this difference has often been overlooked. Other characteristics of the *Putixin lun* include both its use of the term *jishen chengfo* (Jpn. *sokushin jōbutsu* [卽身成佛]; becoming Buddha within this very body) and a stress on (visualization) practices centered on *hṛdaya* and the flesh body. The terminology employed in the treatise thus suggests that the esoteric practitioners attain enlightenment without first having to transform their flesh body into a mind-spun body (Skt. *manomayakāya*; Chn. *yishengshen* [意生身]) through a gradual process of meditative refinement as envisaged in non-esoteric Buddhist soteriologies. This doctrinal orientation of the *Putixin lun* inspired the signature doctrine of *sokushin jōbutsu*, as taught in Japanese esoteric Buddhism, where it often connotes the identification of macrocosmos (*dharmakāya* Buddha) and microcosmos (practitioner) in a single lifetime. Needless to say, diverse interpretations of this doctrine emerged in later periods.

Three Types of Practice

The *Putixin lun* introduces three types of practice, namely *xingyuan* (行願), *shengyi* (勝義), and *sanmode* (三摩地). These three play the role of esoteric precepts. *Xingyuan* practice consists in making a vow according to which the esoteric practitioner will labor to save all sentient beings from their lives filled with defilements. *Shengyi* is an abbreviation of *shengyi kong* (勝義空; supreme emptiness). Referring to the *Dari jing*, the *Putixin lun* considers *shengyi* the practice of realizing supreme emptiness, which is equated with *bodhicitta*. Additionally, the *Nirvāṇasūtra* is quoted in the description of *shengyi* as scriptural support for the idea that *bodhicitta* is realized in the flesh body. Yet this attainment is

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considered inferior to the realization associated with *sanmode* practice. The latter consists of three kinds of visualizations, the *azi guan* (阿字觀; visualization practice of the syllable *a*) the *yuelun guan* (月輪觀; visualization practice of the moon disk), and the *wuxiang chengshen* (*guan*; 五相成身[觀]; [visualization] practice for obtaining the buddha bodies in five phases). In the above order, the practitioner first visualizes the syllable *a* on his *hṛdaya* in order to give rise to the first cause of enlightenment, which the *Putixin lun* considers to be supreme emptiness. The first cause of enlightenment becomes the new moon, and the syllable *a* remains on it. The *Putixin lun* explicates the method of the visualization practice of the syllable *a* in the following stanza:

> One cubit above the eight-petaled white lotus
> the pristine radiance of the syllable *a* is luminously revealed;
> Contemplation and wisdom join into the vajra *bandhanam mūdra*
> which indicates the quiescent wisdom of the Thus-Come-One.

This visualization practice continues until the practitioner visualizes a full moon. Next, the practitioner performs the visualization practice of the moon disk. Contemplating *hṛdaya* as if it were a pure and perfect full moon, the practitioner proceeds to visualize the 16 great bodhisattvas (*zhiliu dapusa* [十六大菩薩]), which are transformed from the four buddhas, Akṣobhya (Chn. Achu [阿閦]), Ratnasaṃbhava (Chn. Baosheng [寶生]), Amitābha (Chn. Amituo [阿彌陀]), and Amoghasiddhi (Chn. Bukong chengjiu [不空成就]). Once the above practices are completed, the practitioner attains the stage of celestial existence.

Among these practices, the *Putixin lun* regards the visualization practice for obtaining the buddha bodies in the five phases as the most advanced, since, according to the *Vajraśekharasūtra*, a former buddha bestowed this practice on Śākyamuni in order to initiate him into the diamond realm when he first attained buddhahood under the Bodhi tree (T. 865 207c–208b). The final (visualization) practice for obtaining the buddha bodies in five phases is the representative method of practice of not only the *Putixin lun* but the *Vajraśekharasūtra* tradition as a whole. This (visualization) practice is composed of visualizing (1) the awakening of the resolve to attain the mind of enlightenment (Chn. *tongda xin* [通達心]), (2) the mind of enlightenment (Chn. *puti xin* [菩提心]), (3) the diamond mind (Chn. *jingang xin* [金剛心]), (4) the diamond body (Chn. *jingang shen* [金剛身]), and (5) the solid diamond body (Chn. *jingang jiangu shen* [金剛堅固身]). The solid diamond body is also known as the perfection of buddha bodies (Chn. *foshen yuanman* [佛身圓滿]), which means that the practitioner obtains all four bodies of a buddha, namely the *svabhāvakāya* (Chn. *zixing shen* [自性身]), the *saṃbhogakāya* (Chn. *shouyong shen* [受用身]), the *nirmāṇakāya* (Chn. *bianhua shen* [變化身]), and the *niṣyandakāya* (Chn. *dengliu shen* [等流身]). In a famous stanza at the very end of the text, the author summarizes the nature of *bodhihṛdaya* or *bodhicitta* as follows, again emphasizing their sheer "fleshness":

> When a man seeks to acquire the wisdom of the Awakened One
> he thoroughly penetrates *bodhihṛdaya*/*bodhicitta*
> and immediately attains the stage of Great Realization
> in this very body born from father and mother.

The *Putixin lun* in Japan

We should note that, despite its initial flourishing, esoteric Buddhism – and consequently the *Putixin lun* – did not occupy a position of importance in China due to the decline of Buddhism triggered by the anti-Buddhist persecution carried out by the Tang dynasty emperor Wuzong (武宗; 814–816 CE). Hence, this treatise was almost completely disregarded in China, whereas in Japan the *Putixin lun* played a significant role in the doctrinal and practical development of esoteric Buddhism.

Transmission Narratives

The *Putixin lun* was first imported in Japan by Kūkai (空海; 774–835 CE), and came to constitute a foundational text of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. While the respective doctrinal importance of the *Putixin lun* differs in esoteric lineages tracing themselves to Kūkai (Jpn. *tōmitsu* [東密]) from those associated with the Tendai school (Jpn. *taimitsu* [台密]), in both cases the treatise is linked to the construction of sectarian identity. In this context, the question of the authorship of the *Putixin lun* is of vital importance. While the *Putixin lun* was most likely compiled on the basis of the teachings of Amoghavajra, the version imported to Japan during the Heian period did not name a specific author but simply referred to a "great esoteric master" (Jpn. *daiajari* [大阿闍梨]). For Japanese esoteric scholar-monks,

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Kūkai

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identifying this great esoteric master became a crucial problem. Prominent esoteric scholar-monks of the early Heian period, such as Kūkai and Annen (安然; 841–889; 915[?] CE), proposed their own theory concerning the authorship of the *Putixin lun*.

Kūkai considered Nāgārjuna (2nd cent. CE) to be the author of the treatise (T. 2425 336b 23–24). The *Kyōō kyō kaidai* (教王経開題; Explication of the *Jingangding jing*), attributed to Kūkai, asserts that Nāgārjuna is the first successor to the dual esoteric transmission (T. 2222 7a 8–9). Regardless of whether this text was in fact composed by Kūkai or compiled in the master's name after his death, it is obvious that the transmission narrative focused on Nāgārjuna as the first patriarch was of integral importance for legitimizing the sectarian identity of Tōmitsu. In contrast, Taimitsu did not have such a narrative focused on Nāgārjuna. Instead, Annen, who brought the Taimitsu doctrinal and liturgical system to completion, attributed the *Putixin lun* to Mañjuśrī, by referring to the *Dari jing gongyangcidifa shu* (大日經供養次第法疏; Commentary on the Offering Rite of the *Dari jing*), the *Jingangding jing yijue* (金剛頂經義訣; Commentary on the *Jingangding jing*), and the *Yaolue niansong jing* (要略念誦經; *Sūtra* of Invocation Synopsis; T. 2396 430a–b). Alongside these texts, the *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* (両部大法相承師資付法記; Record of Master-Disciple Transmission in the Dual Mandalic Teachings) played an especially significant role in Annen's argument, for in this work, a lineage chart featuring Mañjuśrī's name is given.

Kūkai

Kūkai employed the *Putixin lun* in order to provide one of eight pieces of scriptural evidence (*hakko no shōmon* [八箇の証文]) that he adduces for the correctness of the doctrine of *sokushin jōbutsu*, the identification of eternal Buddha and practitioner. Moreover, Kūkai heavily used this treatise in his *Heizeijōkō kanjō mon* (平城上皇灌頂文; Consecratory Rite of Abdicated Emperor Heizei; T. 2461 1–4), which gives an account of the meaning of the esoteric precepts (Jpn. *sanmaya kai* [三昧耶戒]). In this text, Kūkai basically adopted the *Putixin lun*'s three types of practice and modified them slightly by advocating four types of minds, namely *shinjin* (信心; mind of faith), *gyōan shin* (行願心; mind of vow), *shōgi shin* (勝義心; mind of supreme [emptiness]), and *daibodai shin* (大菩提心; mind/heart of great awakening; T. 2461 3c 6–8; Katsumata, 1970, 118–123). Here one can see at work Kūkai's doctrinal strategy in the classification of teachings (*kyōhan* [教判]) as he took only the fourth type of mind as belonging to the esoteric teachings by interpreting it as the *kongōkai shin* (金剛界身; the *nirmāṇakāya* buddha of the diamond realm; T. 2461 4b 8). The other three types were classified as exoteric. Furthermore, Kūkai used the (visualization) practice for obtaining the buddha bodies in five phases in his *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* (秘密曼荼羅十住心論; Ten Abiding Stages of Mind according to the Secret *Maṇḍalas*) and claimed that chanting *dhāraṇī*, or indeed mantra corresponding to the five phases, is the means to attaining buddhahood (T. 2425 354b; see also Abe, 1999, 141–149).

Saichō and Tokuitsu

Saichō (最澄 766–822 CE) might have borrowed from Kūkai the only copy of the *Putixin lun* available in Japan at the time, although the collection of Saichō's letters to Kūkai and other monks does not refer to this event (*Dengyōdaishi zenshū*, vol. V, 441–472). Saichō's usage of the *Putixin lun* is unique in that, unlike Kūkai, he cited it not as a proof of the notion of *sokushin jōbutsu* but rather to legitimize the *Lotus sūtra*'s One Vehicle (Jpn. *ichijō* [一乗]) teaching as endorsed by the Tendai school. In his *Hokke shūku* (法華秀句; Outstanding Teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra*; also known as *Hokke bushō* [法華輔照]; *Dengyōdaishi zenshū*, vol. III, 1–280), Saichō quoted passages from the *Putixin lun* in order to prove that *śrāvaka* and pratyekabuddha (Jpn. *nijō* [二乗]) partake in the type of enlightenment represented by the One Vehicle; Okubo, 2006, 19–39). This discussion stems from Saichō's debate with Tokuitsu (徳一; 749[?]–824[?] CE) of the Hossō school, whose doctrine asserted that certain types of sentient beings were excluded from salvation.

Tokuitsu, too, had an opportunity to read the *Putixin lun*, and in his *Shingonshū miketsu mon* (真言宗未決文; Questionable Teachings of the Esoteric School; T. 2458 862–865), he criticized it. He displayed a skeptical attitude toward esoteric doctrines such as the idea of the preaching of the *dharmakāya* (Jpn. *hosshin seppō* [法身説法]) and the notion of *sokushin jōbutsu*. For example, Tokuitsu argued that the *Putixin lun* divides the Buddha's wisdom into five degrees, each represented by one of the five buddhas at the center of the *maṇḍala*. He then claims that this interpretation is erroneous because it would imply that each of these buddhas acquires only a single wisdom, whereas Hossō treatises, such as the *Chengweishi lun* (成唯識論;

Skt. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*; Treatise on Establishing Consciousness-Only) and the *Fodejing lun* (佛地經論; **Buddhabhūmisūtra*; Treatise on the **Buddhabhūmisūtra*) assert that all buddhas obtain all five wisdoms (T. 2458 863c–864a).

Annen

Among Saichō's successors, Ennin (円仁; 793/794–864 CE) did not discuss the *Putixin lun* at all, and Enchin (円珍; 814–891 CE) – as well as the writings attributed to him – mentions it only occasionally and superficially. This makes Annen the first Taimitsu scholar-monk to tackle the various issues relating to the *Putixin lun* head on. He often refers to its teachings in his major compositions, such as the *Shingonshū kyōji mondō* (真言宗教時問答; Polemic on Teaching and Time in the Esoteric School; T. 2396 374–450) and the *Taizō kongō bodaishingi ryaku mondō shō* (胎蔵金剛菩提心義略問答抄; Commentary on the Meaning of Bodhi in Womb and Diamond Realms; T. 2397 451–560).

Annen composed the *Shingonshū kyōji mondō* in order to promote a reformed "Shingon school" intended to replace the one created by Kūkai. Annen reexamined Kūkai's esoteric theories and outlined five points of criticism. Among these, the criticism aimed at Kūkai's *sokushin jōbutsu* theory was used in the *Putixin lun* to provide evidence for the superiority of the esoteric teachings. (T. 2396 403b–c). In other words, Annen disagreed with presenting the *Putixin lun* as representative of esoteric Buddhism. This criticism may be rooted in Saichō, who expresses grief over the dominant schools of his times, such as Sanron (三論) or Hossō, all being based on treatises (*ronshū* [論宗]) rather than *sūtra* (*Dengyōdaishi zenshū*, vol. V, app. 1, 11–12). However, Annen never denied the importance of the *Putixin lun* and the practices that it advocated.

His *Taizō kongō bodaishingi ryaku mondō shō* in particular can be considered a commentary on the *Putixin lun* in its broader context, for Annen's primary aim is to interpret the three types of practice advocated in this treatise and discussed above by using the commentary on the *Dari jingi* and other esoteric and non-esoteric sources. Some new interpretations offered in the *Taizō kongō bodaishingi ryaku mondō shō* are worth mentioning. For example, the (visualization) practice for obtaining the buddha body in five phases came to be seen as corresponding to other fivefold series of esoteric concepts such as colors, wisdoms, and so on. It is Annen who first formalized one part of this correspondence (Tado, 2008, 83–99). Furthermore, Annen's interpretation of the three types of practices, all of which he considered esoteric, differed from Kūkai's, who had excluded *xingyuan*/*gyōgan* and *shengyi*/*shōgi* practices from the esoteric category. These new interpretations remained influential in later Taimitsu and Tōmitsu scholarship.

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SHINYA MANO

Belles Lettres

Narratives: South Asia

Narratives form an important part of the Buddhist tradition for as long as the scriptural heritage can be traced back. They can be found in almost all genres of literature, except in purely technical texts, and in virtually all languages in which Buddhist literature has been handed down. The Indian tradition recognized two partly overlapping narrative genres, *jātaka* and *avadāna*, which pertain to the biography of the Buddha and his disciples and illustrate the doctrine of the moral causality of actions and that of rebirth in different ways. These two genuinely Buddhist literary forms constitute the most comprehensive and important part of the Buddhist narrative literature, which also includes legends, myths, biographies, and historical (or quasi-historical) reports.

Jātaka as Genre

The term *jātaka* can be translated as "related to a birth." The Buddhist tradition reads this as "[a narrative] related to a [former] birth [of the Buddha]." Thus, a *jātaka* relates an incident from one of the former existences of the Bodhisattva (later to become the Buddha), in which he partakes as agent or beholder. He may appear in an animal or a human form and often, though not always, as the main protagonist of the narrative.

The existence and popularity of a genre called *jātaka* can be proved as being older than the earliest transmitted texts. An old traditional classification of Buddhist literary forms lists *jātaka* as the seventh limb (*aṅga*) out of nine (Lamotte, 1958, 157–162). The textual history of this division into nine *aṅgas* and its function can only be guessed at nowadays. Nevertheless, there is agreement that it is quite an early attempt to structure Buddhist literature (von Hinüber, 1994). Archaeology also confirms an old age for the *jātaka* genre, since the stone railings and gateways of the Bharhut and Sanchi stūpas, dating back to the late 2nd and the 1st centuries BCE and therefore ranging among the oldest surviving Buddhist monuments of India, depict numerous representations of *jātaka* stories. These low reliefs are often accompanied with brief inscriptions in a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, revealing the titles of the respective stories. These titles already contain the genre term *jātaka* (e.g. in Bharhut: *chadaṃtiya jātakaṃ* [i.e. *Chaddantajātaka*; *Jātaka* of the Six-Tusked Elephant]; Lüders, 1941, 133), and this enables us to associate many of the scenes with stories that are known to us from the Pali canon (Lüders, 1941, 136). But there are also stories that cannot be identified with the help of literary sources available to us, which indicates that only parts of the literary tradition have survived. In addition to the stūpas of Bharhut and Sanchi, there exist many other old monuments confirming the view that the popularity of the *jātaka* stories spread with the expansion of Buddhism, with illustrations found in such places as the reliefs of the Nagarjunakonda and Amarāvati stūpas in South India (1st to 3rd cents. CE), the Gandhara reliefs in the far northwest, originally also attached to stūpas (2nd cent. CE onward), the wall paintings in the rock caves of Ajanta and Bagh (2nd cent. BCE onward) in the West, and so forth.

There is hardly any historical evidence for the widespread view that the popularity of the *jātaka* stories is mainly or even exclusively due to monks catering to the needs and tastes of the illiterate lay practitioners of Buddhism as propagandistic means of preaching or converting (see e.g. Speyer, 1902–1909, v–vi). The prose portions of the Pali *jātakas* not infrequently have as their audience monks and nuns, who sometimes reach high levels of spiritual realization after listening to a *jātaka* story. Likewise, it was monks who inhabited the rock caves of Ajanta and Bagh, and even if they most likely did not create the sensuous mural paintings depicting *jātaka* stories themselves, they certainly ordered them and directed the way in which they were painted. There are also donative inscriptions on old stūpas at various archaeological sites in India. They provide information as to who (and sometimes even for what purpose someone) paid for certain architectural elements bearing *jātaka* motives. Already the oldest constructions in Bharhut bear witness to the patronage not only of many laypeople but also of a considerable number of nuns and monks, many of them scholars and of high rank in the monastic hierarchy, as their titles imply (e.g. *bhāṇaka* [reciter] or *sutaṃtika* [one who knows the *suttas*]; Schopen, 1997, 30ff.).

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We may speculate that *jātaka*s were so popular among lay and ordained people alike because they tell of incidents inextricably linked to the person of the Buddha and his long way toward perfection. And that is not all, for to faithful Buddhists it is the Buddha himself who relates his experiences in his former existences. It does not matter whether the Buddha acts as the narrator himself or a story is told by an anonymous narrator, for the Buddha is always held to be the ultimate source of the accounts, and hence they command highest authority, whether handed down as part of a canonical collection or not. According to tradition, the Buddha acquired knowledge about his former existences at a crucial point on his path, namely, in the night of his enlightenment. Several canonical texts contain a passage with the Buddha talking about that night when he gained three fundamental insights, the first of them being the complete and detailed memory of all his former existences:

> I recollected my manifold past lives, that is to say, one birth, two, three, four, five births, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births, many ages of world contraction, many ages of world expansion, many ages of world contraction and expansion: "I was there so-named, of such a race, with such an appearance, such food, such experience of pleasure and pain, such a life term; and passing away thence, I reappeared elsewhere, and there too I was so-named . . . with such a life term; passing away thence I reappeared here" – thus with details and particulars I recollected my manifold past life. This was the first true knowledge attained by me in the first watch of the night. Ignorance was banished and true knowledge arose. (MN i.248; trans. Ñāṇamoli, 1992, 23f.)

This presumably old passage may be considered a kind of a doctrinal nucleus of the entire *jātaka* literature. The countless existences in the countless eons to which the Buddha refers could be filled by the tradition with equally countless stories. This did not imply that all the stories had to be invented anew. Since only one of the agents had to be identified as the Bodhisattva, the Buddha in a former life, almost any story could be viewed as a *jātaka*. Especially the comprehensive collection of the Pali *jātaka*s contains numerous stories that would never be labeled Buddhist if they were to be found in any other than a Buddhist text. This shows how the manifold literary traditions of India found their way into the Buddhist tradition. Thus, it was possible to interpret familiar and favorite narratives of some other origin also as Buddhist – a fact that no doubt played a certain role in spreading the Buddhist teachings and converting people of different faiths. From very early on, a great number of stories of all kinds were firmly rooted in the Buddhist tradition, enabling it to offer its followers something for any taste. Probably there were stories for all kinds of purposes – analogies and parables to teach, lift up, and admonish or stories meant simply to entertain. We may say that the main reasons for the popularity of the *jātaka* genre are to be found in the direct relation of the stories to the person of the Buddha on his path to enlightenment and in its highly inclusivistic potential.

Avadāna as Genre

The original meaning of *avadāna/apadāna* as a term denoting a distinctive genre of Buddhist narrative literature is an unresolved subject of long discussion. We find the word *avadāna* attested in Sanskrit texts, Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist, in which it is written as either *avadāna* or (less often) *apadāna*, whereas in Pali, only *apadāna* occurs. Since in India both spellings were traditionally considered interchangeable (notably in the lexicographical works), henceforth I will write *avadāna*, unless I exclusively refer to Pali texts. Out of the different explanations of the Buddhist genre term (comp. e.g. the surveys in Handurukande, 1967, xix–xxii; Matsumura, 1980, xi–xviii; Ohnuma, 2007, 291n31), the following seems to be the most plausible, since it corresponds well to the central themes of the *avadāna* literature. In an old legend that is found in the canon of the Theravādins as well as in the *Mahāvastu*, the term *avadāna* is applied in a distinctly agricultural context in the meaning of "cutting off" or "harvesting" (DN iii.84ff.; Mvu I.338ff.; Trenckner *et al.*, 1948–2011; *s.v. apadāna*). In ancient India, it was common usage to resort to agricultural imagery to illustrate the doctrine of the causality of volitional actions (karma) reaching beyond the present existence. For instance, the deed is referred to as seed (*bīja*) and its effects on a later existence as the ripening (*vipāka*) of the fruit (*phala*). Thus, the transfer of the term *avadāna* from the agricultural realm to the effects of a deed with karmic relevance is quite comprehensible. In this sense, *avadāna* refers to the harvest reaped by a certain person, that is, to the karmic effects of one of the person's deeds or to an account thereof (Mellick Cutler, 1994, 5ff.; Tatelman, 2000, 5f.; Matsumura

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Tatelman, 2000, 5f.; Matsumura [1980, xxix–xl], however, suggests a connection of *avadāna* with the *vinaya* term *nidāna* [theme, subject matter]). Even if this is the correct explanation of the original meaning of *avadāna* as a genre term, we find no indications of it in the Buddhist exegetical tradition, so we may presuppose that it had been lost quite soon. Later, systematic, or commentarial texts often offer "comparison, example" as a definition of *avadāna*, which is further described as "an explanation by using comparison" or "a tale used as a comparison" (Matsumura, 1980, xxviii; also Tatelman, 2000, 39n38). In non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts, *avadāna* often has the meaning "exploit, (past) deed, feat, glorious/heroic deed" (Winternitz, 1930), which might have influenced the specifically Buddhist meaning of the term, especially in the case of later Buddhist authors who were acquainted with Sanskrit literature. The entirely positive connotation of *avadāna* understood as "feat" in non-Buddhist sources does not fit well with its Buddhist use as a term for a genre including stories about wicked deeds, so it is reasonable to assume that there was a specific Buddhist notion of the term. It has also to be considered that in the course of time and presumably also within different ideological environments, the Buddhist genre term *avadāna* certainly underwent shifts in meaning. Such developments have yet to be researched systematically.

In spite of the lack of clarity concerning the original meaning of *avadāna*, it is possible to outline the essential characteristics of this kind of narrative. Within the Buddhist tradition, *avadāna* stories seem to have gained the status of a distinctive genre later than the *jātakas*. The term is not part of the above-mentioned nine-limbed list of genres in the Buddhist literary tradition, which already contains *jātaka*, but it finds a place in a presumably later development of this list with 12 limbs (Nattier, 2004, with references to older studies). Nevertheless, there are narratives in the early Buddhist tradition that resemble later *avadānas* in many aspects. In this regard, the *Anavataptagāthā* (Songs from Lake Anavatapta) is especially worth mentioning. Different versions of this collection of "songs" must have been very popular and widely spread. On account of the attestation of the *Anavataptagāthā* in the very old Gandhari manuscripts, it can be dated as early as the 1st century CE, and judging from citations in other texts, probably as early as the 2nd century BCE (Salomon, 2008, 5ff.). We find in this text several karmic autobiographies by monks and the Buddha himself. The authors recount in verses one or various of their deeds, either good or bad, and their effects in later existences, up to the present one. It is quite remarkable that the Buddha himself tells of some bad deeds that caused suffering on his part even after having accomplished enlightenment. Even though, as R. Salomon (2008, 15ff.) shows, the narratives in the *Anavataptagāthā* are never referred to as *avadānas*, they resemble them in a striking way. Their most distinctive feature, compared to the so-to-speak classical *avadānas* like the *Avadānaśataka*, consists in the autobiographical point of view. The *Anavataptagāthā* and similar narratives are related by first-person narrators who talk about themselves, whereas the classical *avadānas* are told by the Buddha or by some other well-known member of the saṅgha. But this and some other differences (e.g. metrical form vs. prose with occasional verses) cannot conceal the fact that karmic autobiographies and karmic biographies have many essential thematic threads in common.

Thus, the overriding theme of these texts is the illustration of the working of karma. The stories of adventures of single persons show in an exemplary way that certain actions, if they are of karmic relevance, will inevitably have consequences in future existences and the manner in which these effects will manifest. In some of the earlier *avadāna* collections, these two aspects – the inevitability of the effects and the specific form in which they will show up – are repeated like choruses at the end of the narratives, as for example in the *Avadānaśataka*: "The deeds will not vanish, not even after thousand million eons. If all necessary factors are manifest and the [right] time has come, they will bear their fruit to sentient beings" (Av-ś I 80.13–14; trans. Speyer, 1902–1909). Another set phrase is the following:

> the result of utterly bad (literally: black) deeds is utterly bad, that of utterly good (literally: white) ones is utterly good, and that of mixed ones is mixed. This is why bad and mixed deeds should be avoided, whereas the utterly good deeds should be fully accomplished. (Av-ś I 226.2–4; trans. Speyer, 1902–1909)

This thematic focus can be related to further features of this genre: since the texts are mainly concerned to illustrate the effects of certain actions, the narratives usually consist of two parts – one reporting events from a past existence, the other referring to a later existence, mostly the present one, both of which are linked by a moral causality. Sometimes a prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) to be fulfilled in the future is substituted for (or even added to) a report of a past existence, transforming it, so to say, into a report of a future existence. The main concern with the effects of deeds may also be an important reason why the *avadāna* stories tend to lay emphasis on present events. This is different in the *jātaka*s, since they clearly focus on events from a past existence. Sometimes they lack a reference point in the narrative present completely, as is usually the case in the narratives of the *jātakamālā*s (see below). Even in the prose attached to the collection of the Pali *jātaka*s with its uniform threefold structure of a story of the present, a story of the past, and an identification in the present (see below), the reports of present events often have obviously been added afterward in a rather superficial manner. Moreover, there is the seemingly strange fact that some *avadāna*s tell of bad deeds and their subsequent effects committed not only by despicable persons or persons of low esteem but also by arhats or even by the Buddha himself. Obviously this is meant to convey how complex karmic processes are: certain actions have certain effects that may manifest instantaneously or be delayed, depending on all of the manifold relevant conditions. The most striking example can be found in the above-mentioned *Anavataptagāthā*, relating the bad deeds of the Bodhisattva himself and also pointing out their effects, which he has to suffer even after having become a fully enlightened Buddha (e.g. the food poisoning at the end of his life). Such topics are hardly to be found in the *jātaka*s (but see Appleton, 2010, 26–28, for some counterexamples). Another characteristic feature of the *avadāna*s, distinguishing them from the *jātaka*s, is the huge range of persons acting: from lay practitioners to monks and up to the Buddha himself. This element has often served as the dividing line between the two genres, defining *jātaka*s as stories of previous existences of the Buddha and *avadāna*s as similar stories about monks and laypeople. However, this is a rather simplistic criterion, which moreover represents a historically wrong view. This can easily be proved by a quick look at some texts from the Theravāda collection explicitly entitled *Buddhāpadāna* (*Apadāna* of the Buddha), or *Mahāpadānasutta* (Sutta of Great *Apadāna*s), namely, a scripture about the former existences of the Buddha (Mellick Cutler, 1994, 3ff.). Nevertheless, the wide range of people acting and addressed in the *avadāna*s is a feature of the *avadāna* literature that may well have contributed to the increasing popularity of the genre. This feature seems to have made it easy to link local legends, rulers, or sanctuaries to the Buddhist tradition, thereby legitimizing them. The *avadāna* stories seem to have been intended for various addressees. As in the case of the *jātaka*s, frequent references to monks and nuns as listeners, and also the usual directives to them on how to put into practice the lesson told, advise caution against a view that sees the *avadāna*s as restricted to the realm of the laity, even though the interests and practices of lay followers seem to have played a more prominent role in the *avadāna*s than in the *jātaka*s.

Taken together, these distinguishing marks should suffice to describe the classical *avadāna*s as a distinct genre of Buddhist narrative literature, which also holds true for the *Anavataptagāthā* and similar karmic autobiographies (perhaps to be viewed as a subgenre; Salomon, 2008, 16). On the one hand, resemblances to the *jātaka*s are grounded in the inherently structural and thematic closeness of the two genres. On the other hand, they seem to have increased in the course of time. Thus, not infrequently different versions of the same story were entitled *avadāna*, and on other occasions, they were referred to as *jātaka*. *Jātaka*s were also sometimes interpreted as just special forms of *avadāna*s, as can be inferred by the term *bodhisattvāvadāna* (*avadāna* of the Bodhisattva) used as a synonym for *jātaka* (Tatelman, 2000, 9f.).

Texts

Buddhist narrative literature is extremely substantial and wide-ranging, and hence hard to survey. There are numerous single studies, but we still lack a comprehensive up-to-date study of this important branch of Buddhist literature. Although outdated in many respects, the relevant passages of M. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (1933), enriched by many translations and summaries as they are, still provide the best survey of subjects, themes, and contents. Some works help to gain an overview of a major part of the narratives, first of all the registers of L. Grey (1994) and R. Hikata (1954, vol. II); J.L. Panglung's (1981) analysis of the vast Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* and D. Schlingloff's (2013) study of the Ajanta paintings also provide references to many literary works. The literature of the Theravāda and other "Hīnayāna" schools is sketched by K.R. Norman (1983); for the Pali literature, see also O. von Hinüber's handbook (1996). The recent past saw an increasing interest in Buddhist narrative literature, which has brought about some studies in genre (see esp. Strong, 1983; 1992; Tatelman, 2000;

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Narratives Dispersed in Canonical Texts of Different Buddhist Schools

The presumably oldest specimens of fully elaborated narratives are dispersed throughout the *Vinayapiṭakas* and *Sūtrapiṭakas* of the canonical collections of the different Buddhist schools. These texts are transmitted in various Indian dialects and stem from a prior oral tradition. They represent an advanced stage of the entire textual tradition. Therefore, a certain text or a segment of a text contained in these collections cannot be dated conclusively. Nevertheless, the fact that many narratives are passed on in almost identical form within the canons of the different schools shows that they date back to the time before the schisms between the schools took place. In other words, these narratives must have belonged to an older common stock of the Buddhist transmission. Among these stories, there are some *jātakas* with the Buddha telling a story from one of his former existences in order to explain a present event, sometimes also identifying characters in the story with himself and with persons in the audience. This already represents the threefold structure of a "narrative in the present," a "narrative in the past," and an "identification [of the past protagonists with the present ones]," which is later often to be found in various *jātaka* and *avadāna* collections. Within the *sūtra* collections (*nikāya, āgama*), the *jātakas* are entirely in prose, with the Bodhisattva usually acting as either a king or some other person of high social rank. That is to say, these collections do not yet contain such animal tales, fables, and humorous stories that later became so popular within the *jātaka* literature. In addition to these *jātaka*-like narratives, the *sūtra* collections also include biographical accounts of the Buddha and some of his disciples as well as myths, legends, and historical accounts, often extended to substantial stories, an illustrative instance being the well-known *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* with its diverse episodes, among them the *Mahāsudarśana* story, a genuine *jātaka* narrative (Norman, 1983, 37f.).

The *vinaya* collections of the different schools contain a considerable amount of narratives. Outstanding among the preserved *vinaya* texts is the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, since the sheer quantity of stories narrated there tends to disguise the purpose of this *vinaya* work, which, like similar texts of the other schools, supplies the monastic rules to the monks and nuns. The Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* has survived in a complete form only in its Tibetan translation (late 8th to early 9th cents. CE); major fragments of the original Sanskrit version are among the Gilgit manuscripts (written in the late 6th to 7th cent. CE); there also exists an incomplete Chinese translation from the beginning of the 8th century (see Panglung, 1981, xiiiff.; Wille, 1990, 15f.). The fragmentary Sanskrit text is to a certain extent complemented by the *Divyāvadāna*, an *avadāna* collection that incorporates many of the stories from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* (see below). The Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* is composed in a simple prose with interspersed verses. On the basis of the Tibetan translation, J.L. Panglung (1981) analyzed its narratives thoroughly while presenting summaries, references to parallel versions, and various indices. His classification of the narratives according to their function within the frame of a monastic code (Panglung, 1981, xxff.) can be transferred to the similar *vinaya* sections of other schools, and for this reason, it is worth describing briefly here. Stories in the narrative present recount events of the Buddha's lifetime. Among them are biographical stories about the Buddha and his disciples, reports about Indian kingdoms, and the like. Besides these historical narratives, there are stories regularly related to the monastic rules. These rules were not put down as a systematic catalogue of regulations but in the form of singular instructions occasioned by concrete incidents. Stories in the narrative present function as precedents in order to justify the introduction of a specific rule as well as its application, exceptions, expansions, and modifications. Basically, the relation between a story as a precedent and a certain monastic rule most likely has a historical origin. This explains and legitimates the existence of these stories within the *vinaya*, even if many of them seem quite far-fetched and might be later additions. Stories in the narrative past tell of events prior to the stories in the present. They are of the *jātaka* and – in contrast to the *sūtra* collections – also of the *avadāna* type, as they serve to illustrate present incidents narrated (usually by the Buddha himself) about events that the persons involved experienced in their past lives. These *jātakas* and *avadānas* contain narratives of Buddhist content as well as fairy-tale-like stories about humans and animals. We may conclude that the thematic diversity and the wide range of persons involved situate the *vinaya* narratives closer than those of the *sūtras* to the later collections of *jātakas* and *avadānas*.

The *Mahāvastu* ([Chapter on the] Great Subject[?]; Senart, 1882–1897; Jones, 1949–1956; Hiraoka, 2010; facsimile of important manuscripts not used by Senart: Yuyama, 2001), also bears special significance as a source of narratives. It belongs to the *vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravādins; being a historically oriented section of the *vinaya* (Windisch, 1909), it contains very few monastic rules but all the more *jātakas* and *avadānas*. They are embedded in a complete biography of the Buddha, which, like the *Nidānakathā* from the Theravādins' *jātaka* collection (see below), comes in three parts relating at first the Buddha's remote past (his former lives); then his birth, childhood, and spiritual search up to the enlightenment; and finally his activities as a teacher and founder of a monastic order. Thus, the numerous stories do not promulgate monastic rules but rather illustrate deeds and virtues from former lifetimes within the biographical frame. This feature of the text may explain why in the chapter colophons found in later manuscript copies from Nepal the book is often entitled not only *Mahāvastu* but frequently also *Mahāvastvavadāna*. Though the latter designation has found its way into the edition of É. Senart and also into the influential translation of J.J. Jones, it has been shown recently to be a historically quite late change of the original title, which according to the oldest manuscript was most probably *Mahāvastu* (Tournier, 2012). The *Mahāvastu* is written in a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect influenced by Sanskrit (often called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit), although the language is not consistent throughout the entire text (comp. Oldenberg, 1912). This fact, as well as the lack of a clear structure and the diversity of dogmatic topics, supports the assumption that the text grew over a long period of time, while various parts were added to it. Hence, the time of its origin can be defined only approximately as the period from the 2nd century BCE to the 4th (Winternitz, 1933, 246f.) or even the 6th (Tournier, 2012, 94f.) century CE. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that the narratives stem from different sources, and often two versions of the same story follow each other. The language, as well as the style and idiomology, of the *Mahāvastu* is quite close to the texts of the Theravāda canon. Correspondingly, many of the narratives have striking similarities to parallel Pali texts (esp. in the *jātaka* collection), while other stories display features unknown to the earlier Buddhism.

Narratives Dispersed in Commentaries

As was common practice in ancient India, many commentaries resort to stories in order to explain or illustrate certain points. In the Buddhist tradition, commentaries on canonical texts are the most rewarding sources for narratives. By far the most substantial body of commentarial literature of this kind now available belongs to the Theravāda school, and virtually all the commentaries on the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Suttapiṭaka* contain narratives (Winternitz, 1933, 185f.). Among them, the commentary on the *Dhammapada* is especially worth mentioning (often referred to as *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* [Disclosure of the *Dhammapada*'s Meaning]; Norman, 1906–1915; Burlingame, 1921). An unknown author wrote it, presumably shortly after the editing of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* (see below), in order to explain the circumstances of the Buddha reciting the verses of the *Dhammapada*. For this purpose, first of all, it recounts when and in relation to what person or event the Buddha recited the respective stanza(s). The actual narrative follows, then the verse(s), and after a grammatical and lexicographical commentary of the verse(s), a brief formula of the religious merit of the audience. Sometimes this is followed by one or more stories of the past (*atītavatthu*) or a present story (*paccupannavatthu*) that suit(s) the occasion, and finally the protagonists of the stories are identified (*samodhana*; Burlingame, vol. I, 1921, 27f.). In this way, many paragraphs (called *vatthu* [subject]) become *jātakas* not only in content but also in form, structured as in the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*. This is not accidental, since the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* presumably had a strong impact on the design of the *Dhammapada* commentary (von Hinüber, 1996, 134f.). With respect to their contents, the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* and the *Dhammapada* commentary are closely related, too. On the one hand, the *Dhammapada* commentary includes many parallels and cross-references to narratives and stanzas from the *jātaka* collection (Burlingame, vol. I, 1921, 52ff.). On the other hand, it shares its manifold narrative forms and contents with the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*: fables, fairy tales, and droll stories of a folksy origin are easily discerned (Burlingame, vol. I, 1921, 29ff.). In addition, there are several uplifting legends obviously designed to illustrate certain stanzas. Although the design of the *Dhammapada* commentary with its blend of verse and prose suggests a striking similarity to the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, the relation of verse and prose is different in the two collections.

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While the *jātaka* stanzas were probably furnished with an interpreting prose (though in an undetermined way) from the very beginning, often essential for the correct understanding of the text, the narratives of the *Dhammapada* commentary were later added to the initially independent stanzas (von Hinüber, 1996, 134).

We also have access to a commentary on the *Udānavarga* that can be regarded as the counterpart of *Dhammapada* within the (Mūla) sarvāstivāda school. The Bengali Prajñāvarman composed it around the year 800 CE under the title *Udānavargavivaraṇa* (Explanation of the *Udānavarga*), most likely in Sanskrit (as is also the *Udānavarga*). Since the original text is lost, we have to rely on its Tibetan translation made in the 11th cent. CE (Balk, 1984). Prajñāvarman frequently resorts to stories of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* type while commenting on the stanzas of the *Udānavarga*, though not in such a systematic or formalized fashion as the unknown commentator of the *Dhammapada* commentary, as well as to stories and legends of the Hindu lore with which he obviously was thoroughly conversant.

Single Narratives and Collections

Apart from the narratives dispersed in the *sūtra* and *vinaya* collections, and in commentaries, there are also *jātakas* and *avadānas* that have been transmitted – mostly anonymously – in separate manuscripts (e.g. the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* [Handurukande, 1967] or the single *avadānas* in the Gilgit manuscripts [von Hinüber, 2014]). We rarely know whether these have been composed as single works or whether they stem from other texts or collections, though at least some of them seem to be compiled from different sources (e.g. the *Kaṭhināvadāna*; Degener, 1990). But, as a remarkable recent discovery shows, single stories were also transformed into sophisticated poetry by individual authors. Sarvarakṣita, a 12th-century poet from east India, presumably belonging to the Sāṃmitīya school, wrote his *Maṇicūḍajātaka* comprising 376 stanzas in a literary language hitherto unknown (Hanisch, 2008). The poem, which is transmitted in a single manuscript written in a peculiar script (the so-called arrow-headed or Bhaiksuki script) apparently used exclusively by the Sāṃmitīya school, draws heavily on the conventions of classical poetry (*kāvya*) as regards style and aesthetics.

The major part of the narrative literature is, however, transmitted in special collections of different form. On the one hand, there are anonymous collections of narratives compiled mainly for their narrative and didactical content; these collections cover a wide range: compilations into which the source texts were taken over in an essentially unmodified form (e.g. the *Divyāvadāna*), compilations with texts having undergone a strict editing and adaption process (e.g. the *Avadānaśataka*), and compilations with narratives partly derived from different sources, enriched with additions and integrated into a narrative frame (e.g. the *avadānamālās*). On the other hand, there were individual authors who handled the traditional stories in a more or less free manner, creating texts conforming to the rules of classical poetry (*kāvya*) with regard to themes as well as aesthetics (first of all the *jātakamālās*). Moreover, different ways to structure the collections can be found. Sometimes the structure is determined by that of the sources, as in the *Divyāvadāna* or in some of the later *avadānamālās*. Other collections adhere to the old Indian tradition to arrange texts according to their length, as is most prominently the case in the *jātaka* collection of the Theravāda school. Some collections are arranged in thematic sections, as in the case of the *Avadānaśataka* and some of the *jātakamālās*, whereas others have a narrative frame, as in some *avadānamālās*. Finally, there are collections with little or no discernible structure at all, like Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

Avadānas and *Pūrvayogas* in the Kharoshthi Manuscripts from Gandhara

The early Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhara (Salomon, 2014) include a considerable corpus of narrative literature. These texts represent by far the earliest scriptural specimens of Buddhist narrative literature in South Asia. The manuscripts of the British Library collection date back to the 1st century CE (Salomon, 2014, 10). Moreover, the form of the narratives is remarkable. Compiled in numbered collections, they all adhere to a rigid structure in an extremely abbreviated diction. These summaries probably had the function of providing a narrative skeleton as a memory aid for oral presentation – a thesis that is supported by formulas at the beginning or the end of the notes demanding the completion of the stories according to a (not-yet-discovered) pattern (Lenz, 2003, 80f.). The form of the summaries, some features of their language, and some peculiarities of the scripts suggest that they may be autographs (Lenz, 2003, 102ff.) and, therefore, part of the autochthonous literature of Gandhara. Accordingly, the content of the narratives is quite unique. Very few of the texts already edited and studied (Lenz, 2010, 8–12, table 1–2) bear similarities to Buddhist texts in other languages. Most of them seem to stem from local traditions of Gandhara, some even refer to historical persons known from finds of coins and inscriptions (Salomon, 1999, 37, 141–145). There are two types of narratives, also identified in the titles at the beginning of the texts (Lenz, 2003, 92f.). *Pūrvayoga* ("former connection," the term is rarely attested in other texts; Lenz, 2003, 79f.) refers to narratives reporting deeds that some person committed in the past, whereas *avadāna* denotes only narratives of the present existence (the narrative present). The Gandhari *pūrvayogas* can be compared to the classical *jātakas* and *avadānas*, and, accordingly, they contain most of the stories also known from other sources, for example a version of the famous *Viśvantarajātaka* (Lenz, 2003, 157–165). They mainly deal with the former existences of the Buddha or some other well-known Buddhist, after identifying them as such at the beginning of the narratives. By contrast, the Gandhari *avadānas* cover a greater variety of subjects: the effects of actions (karma) as in the classical *avadānas*, exemplary deeds of Buddhist monks and other kinds of ascetics, events from Buddhist or Gandharan history, and deeds related to the future demise of the dharma. A connection between the present and a former existence of the protagonists is very seldom established in these so-called *avadānas*. Knowledge of the old Gandharan narrative tradition is yet to accrue, though some aspects will probably remain obscure. The extremely spare diction allows only very limited inferences about the source narratives. This is aggravated by the fact that many of the manuscripts are fragments, which makes it even harder to interpret them (Lenz, 2010, 8, table 1).

A Collection of Narratives from the Merv Oasis

A composite manuscript on birchbark containing an untitled collection of *avadānas* and *jātakas* was found in the 1960s in the Merv oasis in Turkmenia. The manuscript is divided into three sections with different handwriting and content; besides the collection of narratives, it also contains extracts from Vinaya texts and an Abhidharma-like text with extracts from *sūtras*. A colophon attached to the Vinaya section links the texts contained in it with the school of the Sarvāstivādins (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, part 1, 1999, 27–30). The section containing the narratives consists of 68 full folios and several fragments with a total of 193 stories, while both the beginning and the end of the collection is lacking; on the basis of its handwriting it can be dated to the 5th century CE (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, part 1, 2000, 23). Hence we may assume that this collection of narratives belongs to the school of the Sarvāstivādins as well and was composed not later than in the 5th century CE. Parts of it were published in a series of articles by M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (2000–2002); a complete edition and translation is under preparation (Karashima & Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 2015).

The narratives in the Merv collection (as the untitled text henceforth will be called) are written in a simple Sanskrit that is interspersed with Middle Indo-Aryan words and grammatical elements to a decidedly greater extent than other narrative texts affiliated with the school of the (Mūla)sarvāstivādins (e.g. Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna). The collection is structured by way of *uddānas* (summaries) inserted after each 10–12 stories. In addition there are headings before the individual stories that give their titles (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, part 1, 2000, 23f.). As in the case of the collections in the Kharoshthi manuscripts from Gandhara (see above), the individual stories are given as summaries only. This means that – besides mentioning the protagonists and the scenes – the plots are either not given at all or are presented by just some catchwords or laconic sentences. Frequently we find formulas that prompt one to tell the story in question in detail, for example, "thus it should be related in detail" (*iti vistareṇa vācyaṃ*), as well as references to the Vinaya that we may assume as the source of many of the stories, for example, "in detail [to be told] as in the Vinaya" (*vistareṇa yathā vinaye*; Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, part 1, 2000, 24). But unlike the Kharoshthi collections, many stories of the Merv collection contain stanzas mentioning the main event(s) of the plot or an important statement of one of the protagonists. This is a feature that places the Merv collection near the Pali *jātaka* collection that is made up of stanzas and explanatory prose as well (see below) except that in the Merv collection, the explanatory prose has not been written out in full. It seems very likely

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that the collection once served a preacher who knew the stories by heart as an abstract for his sermons. Thus it seems doubtful that the Merv collection represents something like a fixed collection of narratives; rather it is likely that the preacher drew up his abstract by himself (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, part 1, 2000, 24).

Most of the stories in the Merv collection belong to the *avadāna* type of narratives, some of them even explicitly are called *avadāna*. Frequently we find the question "what [is] his karma?" (*kiṃ tasya karma*, or shortly *kiṃ karma*, or even simply *karma*), which points to a concern about deeds and their results, a typical feature of the *avadāna* genre. But we also find stories of the *jātaka* type, though none of them is explicitly termed a *jātaka*. Instead we come across the term *pūrvayoga*, which is used in the Kharoshthi collections as well (see above). Many of the stories from the Merv collection have parallels in other collections of narratives, for example, in Pali texts, the *Karmaśataka* or in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. While these identifications help to understand a considerable portion of the stories, the plots of some others remain only vague in the absence of any parallel presently known. It is to be hoped that a future complete edition and translation (see above) will shed some more light on the character and the genesis as well as on the sources of this important and interesting collection of narratives.

Collections of the Theravāda Tradition

The Theravāda school is the only Buddhist school with a canonical collection of *jātakas* preserved. It is the most comprehensive collection, as well as the one most popular in the West. This is why it is often referred to when talking about *jātakas*. In its surviving version, it contains 547 *jātakas* out of the original 550 (three are lost). It was edited and formed as a collection presumably around 500 CE and is commonly known under the title *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* (Explanation of the Meaning of the *Jātakas*; Fausbøll, 1877–1896; Andersen, 1897; Cowell, 1895–1907; von Hinüber, 1996, 54; for the textual history of the *jātaka* collection, see von Hinüber, 1998). The *jātakas* consist of one or more stanzas (*gāthā*), interspersed with prose. Apart from very few exceptions, only the stanzas (a total of approx. 2,500) are taken as part of the canon, whereas the prose sections are considered to be a commentary. The stanzas, composed in an antiquated language, form the basic structure of the narratives, which is filled up by the narrative prose containing the main story. Grammatical and lexicographical notes (Pal. *veyyākaraṇa*) comment and explain the stanzas. Within this collection, the *jātakas* are arranged in a strictly formal fashion according to the number of stanzas embedded. The actual collection is preceded by a long prose introduction interspersed with verses, called *Nidānakathā* (Jayawickrama, 1990). It contains in its first part brief biographies of the 24 former buddhas in the present eon, leading up to a comprehensive biography of Buddha Śākyamuni in the following two parts. We are told about the Buddha's birth and life up to his enlightenment and subsequently about his career as the founder of the saṅgha. The narration closes with the lay follower Anāthapiṇḍika donating the Jetavana grove to the Buddha, the place where the Buddha tells most of the following *jātakas*. Thus, the *Nidānakathā* closely connects the *jātaka* narratives to the biography and the person of the Buddha, both with respect to the dogma and in terms of the time and place. This link is also intensified by the *jātaka* prose frequently cross-referencing the *Nidānakathā*.

The *jātakas* all share the same structure: a "story in the present" (*paccupannavatthu*) reports an event in the Buddha's lifetime, giving him the opportunity to tell a "story of the past" (*atītavatthu*). This story, introduced by "once on a time" (*atīte*), is the actual *jātaka*, regularly containing the stanza(s) as well as the grammatical and lexical commentary. A so-called link (*samodhāna*) closes the narrative frame by leading back to the present, identifying the past protagonists with the present ones. The first quarter of the initial stanza serves as a headline of the entire narrative. The *jātakas* draw from various literary traditions, few of them Buddhist, many of them dating back to oral traditions before the advent of Buddhism. This accounts for the immense variety of form and content and also for the fact that many stories lack Buddhist features entirely. The collection comprises fables, fairy tales, legends, droll stories, ballads, small epics, and complex narratives ranging from less than one up to more than a hundred printed pages (for a detailed survey, see Winternitz, 1933, 113ff.). The division into canonical verses and postcanonical prose points to the old Indian narrative form of *ākhyāna*, which has a fixed wording of the stanzas only, whereas the actual story is to be shaped anew during each oral performance (comp. Alsdorf, 1963–1964). Initially the major part of the first five hundred stories must have been of this type, since most of the stanzas are hardly comprehensible without their corresponding prose paragraphs, although the surviving prose does not always fit the stanzas. The second part of the collection consists of longer poems or even smaller epics. In contrast to the *ākhyāna*-like narratives, they are not in need of any interspersed prose parts for the sake of clarity, and indeed they probably contained very few or none of them originally. Many of the stories have equivalents in common Indian narrative literature, in the two old Indian epics (the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), and also in the literatures of other countries and cultures. Apart from this, similar versions of several *jātakas* can be found elsewhere in the canon and in the commentaries of the Theravāda tradition, as well as in other schools.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* (Basket of Conduct [of the Buddha]; Jayawickrama, 1974; Horner, 1975), a later supplement to the canon of the Theravādins, contains 35 *jātakas* with most of their narrative content also to be found within the *jātaka* collection. The book is worth mentioning, less as a source of narrative material than because of its ideological stance: the *jātakas* in this text, entirely composed of verses, serve to illustrate the Bodhisattva's determination to attain Buddhahood by practicing the ten perfections (*pāramī*; Skt. *pāramitā*; Appleton, 2010, 66ff.). Since the stories are arranged according to a traditional sequence of the perfections, they are also linked to the *jātakamālā* literature outside the Theravāda tradition.

The school of the Theravādins includes various volumes that can be perceived as collections of *avadānas*, since the predominant subject of the stories is the efficacy of the law of karma. The book called *Apadāna* is dedicated to the Buddha, the monks, and the nuns (Lilley, 1925–1927; there is no complete translation, but see Mellick, 1993; for a study of the *Apadāna*, see Mellick Cutler, 1994). The bulk of the work contains karmic biographies: 547 of elder monks form the third part of the book and 40 of elder nuns form the fourth part, both composed in verses usually recited by the respective persons themselves. A typical narrative starts with the report of a meritorious deed in a former existence, usually worshipping a buddha or his relics, or giving some gift to the Buddha or the saṅgha. Then the karmic effect of this deed is related, which usually consists in subsequent fortunate existences, culminating in the attainment of the state of an *arahat* (Skt. arhat) in the present existence. Some poems of the elder monks and nuns are also known to be contained in the collection of the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, therefore the *apadānas* of the *theras* and of the *therīs* may be interpreted as a supplement to them, and their commentary also containing *apadānas*. The first part of the *Apadāna* is a so-called *Buddhāpadāna*, illustrating the karmic effects of a single event in a former existence of the Buddha. The second part, the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, is not an *apadāna* proper and can be left aside in the present context (Mellick Cutler, 1994, 10f.). Parts of the *Anavataptagāthā*, which are quite similar with respect to the form and subject matter, have found their way into the *Apadāna* collection (Salomon, 2008, 28f.; also see above). Collections similar to the Pali *apadānas* seem to have existed in other Buddhist schools too, as can be seen from fragments of the *Sthaviragāthās* (Songs of the Elders) found in Central Asia (Bechert, 1961).

The *Vimānavatthu* ([Book] about Heavenly Mansions) and the *Petavatthu* ([Book] about the Ghosts) may be considered complementary to the *Apadāna*, because in these two books, Buddhist lay followers are telling their stories (Jayawickrama, 1977; Horner & Gehman, 1974; Stede, 1914). In a similar fashion to the monks and nuns in the *Apadāna*, they report in verse by what kind of good or bad actions they were rewarded with an existence in a *vimāna*, a mansion imagined as a kind of marvelous flying castle located in heaven, or thrown into the suffering existence as a *peta*, a wandering ghost. Since the stanzas are often few and scarce, the commentary of Dhammapāla is indispensable in order to understand their meaning (after the 5th cent. CE; Hardy, 1894; 1901; Kyaw & Masefield, 1980; Masefield, 1989). It supplies philological explanations but most importantly the frame narrative for each story. Its relation to the canonical stanzas is of a similar kind as that of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*.

Anonymous Collections in Sanskrit Prose with Interspersed Verse

The *Avadānaśataka* (The Hundred *Avadānas*; Feer, 1891; Speyer, 1902–1909) is a collection of narratives, compiled and edited between the 2nd and the 6th century CE, presumably in northern India. The Sanskrit text has survived in a complete form in Nepalese manuscripts. However, this is not the original version, for it is probably based on a 7th-century revision done in the dogmatic environment of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda school, as can be seen by the use of phrases and verbal clichés that stem from canonical texts of that school. A Chinese transla-

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that school. A Chinese translation was made between the second half of the 5th and the late 6th century CE, which on the whole seems to be nearer to the assumed Indian original, though the translators have incorporated several passages from another text (for the dating and the transmission history, see Demoto, 2006). Findings of manuscript fragments in Afghanistan and Central Asia (Demoto, 2006, 214ff.), numerous adaptations in later Sanskrit texts, and the Chinese as well as a Tibetan translation (early 9th cent.) testify to the wide distribution and sustained popular appeal of this text. The narratives are written in a plain and unadorned Sanskrit prose with occasional verses interspersed. Compared to similar texts, one feature appears to be particularly striking, namely, the frequent use of stereotyped phrases and clichés, at times of substantial length, repeated in a mechanical way at suitable places in the narrative and at its beginning and end, contributing to a certain longwindedness and monotony. The uniform language and the consistent use of these clichés indicate that the *Avadānaśataka* underwent a rigid editing process. In accord with its title, the *Avadānaśataka* contains exactly a hundred narratives, divided into ten sections (*varga*) with ten narratives each (the fifth narrative is lacking in the Sanskrit version). The sections are arranged according to thematic features: there are stories about prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Buddha, foretelling someone to become a Buddha or a pratyekabuddha (first and third sections); stories about a previous existence of the Buddha, therefore in substance *jātakas* (second and fourth sections); stories about persons whose bad deeds made them become ghosts (*preta*) or whose good deeds brought them to heaven (fifth and sixth sections; thematically related to the Pali *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*); and stories about different types of persons becoming arhats (members of the Śākya tribe, women, and former evildoers: seventh to tenth sections; see Feer, 1891, xiv–xvi, for a detailed survey).

The *Karmaśataka* is similar to the *Avadānaśataka* with respect to content and style. Its title (The Hundred Deeds) can also be read as roughly synonymous to that of the *Avadānaśataka*, provided that the general meaning "exploit" is applied to *avadāna*. The original Sanskrit text has not survived, but we have access to a Tibetan translation with the title *Las brgya tham pa*. It probably dates back to the first half of the 8th century (Skilling, 2001, 140), and it was afterward included in the *sūtra* section of the Tibetan Kanjur (DN 340). It is difficult to determine the date of the Indian original more precisely than establishing this *terminus ante quem*, but there is reason to presume that it was created in roughly the same period as the *Avadānaśataka*. The analysis and the summary translations by M.L. Feer (1901) are still the basic reference point for this work (for subsequent studies, mostly Japanese, see Silk, 2008, 180n7, who also translates a few stories). The *Karmaśataka* contains 127 narratives, written in a style very similar to that of the *Avadānaśataka*, as far as can be deduced from the Tibetan translation. Besides everything else, both collections apply the same clichés, and they share numerous stories.

The compilation entitled *Divyāvadāna* (Heavenly *Avadānas*), or *Divyāvadānamālā* (Garland of Heavenly *Avadānas*), possesses a different character. The individual parts of the text, mostly *avadānas* but occasionally also of the *sūtra* type, have different sources and dates (Tatelman, 2000, 12f.), which can easily be deduced by the diversity of theme, ideology, language, and style. All manuscripts hitherto known by the title *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*) come from Nepal, and none is older than the 17th century. Concerning the narratives and their arrangement, they do not have much in common apart from a shared core of only seven narratives (according to Iwamoto, 1967, 143–149; see also Rotman, 2008, 8–15). One version with 38 narratives has been edited, entitled *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil, 1886; no. 38, however, is a later accretion to the archetype of the manuscripts used by Cowell & Neil; comp. Hahn, 2010a, 86), though no title occurs with the manuscripts used by the editors (comp. Cowell & Neil, 1886, viif.). Since, however, both titles, *Divyāvadāna* and *Divyāvadānamālā*, can be found in colophons of other manuscripts known so far (comp. the descriptive catalogue of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project [NGMCP]), they should be seen as merely conventional designations as long as they are not used with regard to single manuscripts or clear-cut recensions of the textual tradition. Excerpts of the edition of E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil have been translated into several Western languages (Dimitrov, 2008, 47n7; for a first part of a projected complete English translation, see Rotman, 2008; for an important review article, see Hiraoka, 2011), and the complete text exists in a Japanese translation (Hiraoka, 2007; for extracted text-critical remarks in English, see Hiraoka, 2009). Other versions have hardly been researched. Nevertheless, there are outlines of the contents of most of the manuscripts (most notably Matsunami, 1965, 222–226; Iwamoto, 1967, 144–147; see also Dimitrov, 2008, 45f.; and the descriptive catalogue of the NGMCP). It is still uncertain whether the different versions that have been handed down can be traced back to one single source or whether the title *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*) rather functioned as a kind of a genre term. The date of the collection(s) also remains obscure. Two small compilations of *avadāna*s (both untitled) among the Gilgit manuscripts (late 6th-7th cents. CE) contain narratives that are also part of the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*) tradition (von Hinüber, 2014, 96 [entry no. 9], 98 [entry no. 13a]), and the pages of one of the compilations, having survived as fragments, list two narratives in the same order as in the text edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil (Hartmann, 1980, 251). These or similar collections may perhaps have formed the core of collections only later to be entitled *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*), since the Gilgit manuscripts as well as a major part of the narratives transmitted within the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*) tradition can be assigned to the school of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (see below). More detailed information can only be obtained by arranging the remaining folios in proper order and editing them completely. The Nepalese manuscripts point to the origin of the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*)s in their present forms not much earlier than the 17th century. This, together with some of its versions bearing the term *avadānamālā* in the title, would position them closer to the genre of the Nepalese *avadānamālā*s (see below). From the point of view of literary history, the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*)s gain their importance not so much as a compilation but rather as a substantial source of narratives dating back to the 1st century CE. This view finds support in the early Chinese translations (2nd to 3rd cents. CE) of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil, 1886, 611ff.; reedited by Mukhopadhyaya, 1954), in certain fragmented manuscripts of narratives having been found in Central Asia as well as in Pakistan and Afghanistan (see above and Rotman, 2008, 15f.; also Wille, 2014, 203f.), and mainly in the close relationship between the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*)s and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*. The latter contains a major part of the narratives transmitted as a part of the collections in almost identical wording (21 out of a total of 38 narratives in the version edited by Cowell & Neil; comp. Panglung, 1981, xv–xvii). It is not clear whether one text took the narratives from the other or whether both of them share one common source that did not survive. There is, however, good reason to assume that the narratives found their direct or indirect way from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* into the *Divyāvadāna* (Hiraoka, 1998, containing an overview of the older literature; for a different though not convincing view, see Li, 2011, xiii–xvii). Especially worth mentioning among the narratives of the *Divyāvadāna* is a series of four stories dealing with the famous "Buddhist" king Aśoka and his preceptor Upagupta (Cowell & Neil, 1886, 348–434; Strong, 1983). These stories are probably to be considered partial adaptations of an otherwise lost legend of Aśoka and Upagupta, the only ones known in an Indian language. We find other adaptations of the legend only in Chinese translations (Li, 1993; for a survey of the current state of research pertaining to the legend of Aśoka and Upagupta, see Steiner, 2009, 459f.; for the legendary figure Upagupta, see also Strong, 1992).

There are several other collections of *avadāna*s and *jātaka*s, some of them of old Indian origin but accessible only in Chinese translations, the sources missing. Brief surveys can be found by H. Nakamura (1980, 139f.), L.N. Menśikov (1980), and D. Schlingloff (vol. II, 2013, 254). É. Chavannes (1910–1934) translated a comprehensive choice of narratives from compilations and from *vinaya* texts (comp. also de Jong, 1965). The Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai English Tripiṭaka series contains two volumes with narrative texts from the Chinese *tripiṭaka* (Li, 1993; Willemen, 1994).

The *Jātakamālā*s and Their Predecessors

The *jātakamālā*s are an important branch of the Buddhist *jātaka* literature and also a major contribution to classical Indian poetry in general. They are not just anonymous compilations or editorial treatments of narratives already existing but distinct works of poets known by name who strove to find a new expression for traditional content by means of the style and the conventions of classical poetry (*kāvya*). In order to do so, they applied the genre of *campū*, a literary form characterized by a balanced and effectively composed blend of prose and verses in various meters (Hahn, 2011, 44f.). We have (partial or complete) access to fully fledged works by three authors: Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta. Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, the oldest, contains 34 narratives (concerning the use of "*Jātakamālā*" both as a title and as a genre term, see Hanisch, vol. I, 2005, xivf.). It has survived completely in its original Sanskrit and in a Tibetan translation (early 9th cent.). At least since the complete volume was first edited in Sanskrit (Kern, 1891), it was held to be the only representative of the genre (Speyer, 1895; Khoroche, 1989; for a first part of a projected

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complete new edition, see Hanisch, 2005). Only recently parts of Haribhaṭṭa's and Gopadatta's *Jātakamālās*, the successors of Āryaśūra's, were discovered in their original Sanskrit, and these fragments have already been partly translated and published. Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, which also contains 34 narratives (with an apocryphal 35th), has survived in a complete Tibetan translation from the 12th century and in considerable fragments of the original Sanskrit (edited in various places by M. Hahn; for the most complete edition, see Hahn, 2011; for older publications, among them translations of single *jātakas* as well as editions and translations of some *jātakas* preserved only in Tibetan translation, see Hahn, 2011, 368ff.; for hints at Haribhaṭṭa's personality, see Hahn, 2011, 1–10). Discoveries of manuscript fragments in Afghanistan and Kashmir and along the Silk Road, references in Indian Sanskrit texts, translations into various Buddhist idioms, and the mural paintings of Ajanta confirm the long-lasting and wide appeal of the works by Āryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa in India and Central Asia (for the former, see Hanisch, 2005, xxi–xxiii; for the latter, see Hahn, 2011, v). Haribhaṭṭa most likely composed his *Jātakamālā* before the early 5th century (Hahn, 2011, 9f.). In his foreword, he also mentions Āryaśūra, whom he obviously venerated as his predecessor (Hahn, 2011, 3ff.). Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* probably dates from the late 4th century (the meager biographic facts about Āryaśūra are collected in Khoroche, 1989, xi–xiv; Hanisch, 2005, xvii–xx). A complete text of Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā* has not survived, though we have knowledge of its former existence from Somendra's postscript to his father Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (composed in 1051 CE). Sixteen narratives have been handed down as editorial revisions in later Nepalese compilations, and there is one separate text including a Tibetan translation, even though only in two cases can Gopadatta be defined with confidence as the author of the narratives. Thus, we have only vague hints as to the structure, content, and size of his oeuvre (Hahn, 2007; 2010a; for editions and translations, see Hahn, 2007; 2010a; esp. Hahn, 2007, 1045, 1045n7). The dates of birth and death of Gopadatta are also uncertain; he probably lived after Haribhaṭṭa and before the 8th century (Hahn, 1992, 28). The above-mentioned reference to his *Jātakamālā* by Somendra is the only valid reference point, and also one of the rare hints to his reception history (also Hahn, 1992, 27f.).

All three authors composed their narratives according to a similar pattern: at the beginning, there is a motto, frequently pointing out the moral of the narrative, followed by the opening formula *tadyathānuśrūyate*, "thus it is transmitted," which is a kind of trademark of the *jātakamālās*. Then the Bodhisattva is introduced in his respective existence, and after that, the actual *jātaka* is narrated in *campū* style. It frequently ends with a paragraph presenting the moral and calling on the audience to follow the example of the Bodhisattva (Hahn, 2011, 17–22; for differences among the individual authors, see Hahn, 1992, 20–22). This form differs from the three parts of the Pali *jātakas* and most of the *avadānas* and their frame in the narrative present with the Buddha or some other well-known member of the saṅgha relating the actual *jātaka* or *avadāna* as an event in the past. In contrast, the narrator in the *jātakamālās* remains anonymous. Nevertheless, in the opening formula, the narrator establishes a link to the tradition, in this way legitimizing the report as a third-person narration, starting with the identification of the Bodhisattva as the main protagonist. Instead of the narrative frame relating the circumstances and the occasion of the narration in a quasi-historical manner, the introducing motto of the *jātakamālās* and their concluding formula establish an ideological and didactic frame interpreting the conduct of the Bodhisattva in the light of the Buddhist cardinal virtues and demanding that one follow this example. Both Āryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa (who explicitly refers to Āryaśūra as his predecessor) establish the six perfections (*pāramitā*) not only as an ideological frame but also as a blueprint for the structure of the entire work and the arrangement of the individual narratives (Hahn, 2011, 13–17). As far as we can tell from the limited sources at hand, Gopadatta seems to blaze new paths with regard to his preferred contents, because some of his narratives relate historical and philosophical themes (Hahn, 2007, 1048–1050). At the current state of research, general assumptions concerning the sources of the narratives in the three *jātakamālās* can only be made with respect to Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, which shares several narratives with the *jātakas* of the Theravāda tradition (Khoroche, 1989, xviif).

Apart from the classical writers Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, there are two other authors related to the *jātakamālā* genre. Around the 2nd century CE, Kumāralāta composed a collection of 90 narratives, presumably entitled *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* (or *Kalpanālaṃkṛtikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*; Collection of Examples, Adorned with an [Artistic] Arrangement; Lüders, 1926, 17ff.; interpretation of the title according to Hahn, 1982, 315; for dissenting opinions, see

Hahn, 1982, 315). The entire work exists only in a Chinese translation from the 5th century CE, which found its way into some older works of literary history under the wrong author Aśvaghoṣa and the equally wrong title *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (for a French translation, see Huber, 1908; comp. Hahn, 1982, 1f.). Fragments of a manuscript with the original Sanskrit text were found in Kizil (Lüders, 1926), and the first narrative with the verses introducing the complete oeuvre exists in a Tibetan translation as part of the Tanjur (Hahn, 1982). With the aid of these sources, this work can be classified as a predecessor to the above-mentioned three classics of the *jātakamālā* genre. It already contains all the stylistic features of the later works: the preceding motto (in prose), the introducing formula *tadyathānuśrūyate*, the blend of prose and verse, and the admonishing ending (Lüders, 1926, 46–53). Compared to his successors, Kumāralāta applies a plain language, scarcely shaped after the fashion of Indian poetry (*kāvya*). The contents are of a wide variety: apart from proper *jātaka*s, there are legends and quasi-historical reports of all kinds, and the last decade of the work consists of peculiar brief allegories, followed by comprehensive interpretations (Lüders, 1926, 36f., 53). Consequently, many of the legends should rather be classified as *avadāna*s, a view supported by the term *dṛṣṭānta* (example) used in the title of the work, which is often applied by Buddhist authors as an explanation of *avadāna* (see above).

In the current state of research, it is not possible to assign a date to Saṅghasena, the second known predecessor of the *jātakamālā* classics, who composed a compilation of narratives of hitherto unknown extent. The work (for the title, see below) is available in a Chinese translation, consisting of eight narratives (T. 153; for a German translation, see Höke, 1984). Up to now, it has been dated to the mid-3rd century CE, but this can hardly be sustained (Hahn, 2010b, 466). Fragments of a manuscript found in Kizil containing parts of the Sanskrit original have not yet been edited (Schlingloff, 1987, 96). The manuscript can confidently be dated to between the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 4th century CE (Mette, 2007, 352); thus, it provides the *terminus ante quem* for Saṅghasena's work. The original Sanskrit title is unknown, but the Chinese translation is titled *Pusa benyuan jing* (菩薩本緣經; *Sūtra* of the Bodhisattva's *Avadānas*; pointing to a Sanskrit title **Bodhisattvāvadānasūtra* that most likely is not the original title). The structure of the narratives in the Chinese translation proves Saṅghasena to be another predecessor of the *jātakamālā* classics. Thematically, his work is quite close to Āryaśūra's and Haribhaṭṭa's *jātakamālā*s, since the eight narratives retell typical *jātaka*s (some of them very popular), explicitly referring to the perfections (*pāramitā*), notably to generosity (*dāna*) and morality (*śīla*).

Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*

The versatile Kashmirian author Kṣemendra (*fl.* c. 1036–1065 CE) was considered the only Indian poet composing *jātaka*s solely in a metrical form, until Sarvarakṣita's *Maṇicūḍajātaka* (see above) was discovered. Nevertheless, his substantial *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (Wish-Fulfilling Creeper Consisting in *Avadānas* of the Bodhisattva) is still held to be the only compilation of its kind (Dās *et al.*, 1888-1918; for reeditions and translations of single parts, see Straube, 2009, 379). Kṣemendra's son Somendra completed the work in 1051 CE by adding one more *jātaka* to the 107 *jātaka*s of his father – 108 is an auspicious number – as well as a detailed postscript delineating his father's biography and the circumstances of the production of the work. From this we learn that Kṣemendra was aware of Āryaśūra and Gopadatta, and their blend of prose and verse, and also that he deliberately intended to blaze new paths by composing a work entirely in verse (Straube, 2009, 300f.). The narrative material of his *jātaka*s (for which *bodhisattvāvadāna* is obviously a synonym) is derived from different sources, although a special affinity to the tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and to the narratives of their *Vinayavastu* (see above) can be discerned. Kṣemendra's oeuvŕe gained and still exerts a substantial influence in Tibet by means of its Tibetan translation (dating from the second half of the 13th cent.; Dimitrov, 2002, 37n151).

The *Avadānamālās*

These texts, named after the frequently applied component *avadānamālā* (Garland of *Avadānas*; e.g. in *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā* [Garland of *Avadānas* from the Fortunate (i.e. Present) Era]) form a substantial body of works hitherto little researched (see the survey in Hahn, 1985, 16ff.; 2010a, 76ff.; Tuladhar-Douglas, 2006, 39). They are anonymous, mainly metrical compilations of *jātaka*s and *avadānas*, derived
from older sources, either left unc
fied by abridgments or additions, o
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language. The dates and intellectu
of these texts have not been establ
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38–52) identifies the *avadānamā*
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(e.g. the *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa*). In ad
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from older sources, either left unchanged or modified by abridgments or additions, or, especially in the case of prose texts, reformulated in verse in a plain language. The dates and intellectual environments of these texts have not been established in all cases, although some if not all of the texts originate from around the 15th century in Nepal. By means of a couple of shared features, W. Tuladhar-Douglas (2006, 38–52) identifies the *avadānamālās* as a part of a genuinely Nepalese genre, which he calls "Garland literature." Apart from the *avadānamālās*, this genre also comprises Buddhist *māhātmyas*, works dealing with the specific virtue of a particular sacred place (e.g. the *Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa*). In addition to the features already mentioned (verse recensions of older works), the texts of this genre also share features with respect to conceptual, dogmatic, and ritual matters and most importantly a similar narrative frame. This frame fits the narratives into a dialogue between the Indian king Aśoka and his spiritual advisor Upagupta or between the Nepalese king Jinaśrī and his teacher Jayaśrī. The king repeatedly asks his advisor for instructions concerning a particular subject matter, and the teacher answers the enquiry by delivering the narratives. The sources of the narratives contained in the *avadānamālās* have only partly survived. It seems that the *Avadānaśataka* enjoyed immense popularity. It was almost completely retold in a cycle of cross-referencing *avadānamālās*, partly following a numbered scheme (Okano, 2006). Other popular sources were Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, as well as the *Jātakamālās* by Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta. The *avadānamālās* are an especially precious and rewarding source for the latter two authors, since their works can be derived from other sources only partly (Haribhaṭṭa) or not at all (Gopadatta; Hahn, 2010a; 2011). Some other text passages, to be regarded as Indian poetical works (*kāvya*) by virtue of their language and style, cannot be found within the oeuvres of Buddhist poets as known today, and thus they offer precious insights into works otherwise lost without a trace.

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Martin Straube

Narrati

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Aśvaghoṣa's Life and T

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MARTIN STRAUBE

Narratives and Long Poetry: Aśvaghoṣa

Aśvaghoṣa (c. 2nd cent. CE) was a prominent author of Buddhist poems and dramas in Sanskrit. His most influential and popular works were two epic poems, classics of refined poetic style (*mahākāvya*), the *Buddhacarita* (Life of the Buddha) and *Saundarananda* (Handsome Nanda or Sundarī and Nanda), which are acknowledged masterpieces both of Sanskrit poetry and of Buddhist didactic literature. He was also the author of a Buddhist drama, the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (The Drama of Śāriputra), preserved only in fragmentary form. According to the generally accepted chronology of Sanskrit literature, Aśvaghoṣa's poems and plays are the earliest surviving specimens of their genres. But we know that both genres existed well before his time, since he explicitly refers to his adoption for Buddhist purposes of an established *kāvya* style. Although his work lay outside of the Brahmanical mainstream, Aśvaghoṣa had a strong influence on later poetry, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Echoes of his style and imagery are traceable in later works such as the so-called Bhāsa plays and the poems of Kālidāsa (Johnston, 1936, lxxxi–lxxxii; B. Bhattacharya, 1976, 380–383). For example, the description of the women watching Prince Aja in canto 7 of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (Dynasty of Raghu) seems to be modeled on that of the return of the future Buddha to Kapilavāstu in canto 3 of the *Buddhacarita*. Although this is a standard genre scene and certainly not a matter of direct imitation, it is nonetheless generally agreed that Kālidāsa and other classical poets must have been familiar with and at least indirectly influenced by Aśvaghoṣa's works. Although not the only poet to have written influential Buddhist *kāvyas*, Aśvaghoṣa's position in the tradition is unique.

Aśvaghoṣa's Life and Times

In addition to his two *mahākāvyas* and the drama fragments, some two dozen other Buddhist texts have been attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (Kanakura, 1959), including the *Vajrasūcī* (The Diamond Needle), *Gaṇḍīstotra* (Praise of the Gong), *Nairātmyaparipṛcchā* (Questions about Selflessness), the so-called **Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* (Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna; *Dasheng qi xin lun* [大乘起信論]), and *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (The Stage of Imagination), but it is generally agreed by modern researchers that most if not all of these attributions are doubtful, since these texts are not consistent in style, content, and doctrinal position with his unquestionably authentic works. It therefore seems either that there were multiple authors named Aśvaghoṣa, or that works by other later authors were attracted to his renowned name.

As with most authors of Buddhist and Sanskrit literature, little is known with certainty about Aśvaghoṣa's life. The only incontestable information is the few details provided in the colophons of his three main works, in which he is described as the son of an otherwise unknown Suvarṇākṣī, a native of Sāketa (i.e. Ayodhyā in north India), a Buddhist monk (*bhadanta*), a great poet (*mahākavi*), and a great preacher (*mahāvādin*). In later hagiographical traditions he is said to be a Brahman, and although this is not stated in the colophons it is generally accepted by modern critics in light of the detailed knowledge of Brahmanical literature and traditions that he exhibits in his poems, especially the *Buddhacarita*.

Aśvaghoṣa's dates are uncertain. Most experts have placed him in the 1st or 2nd century CE, principally because in later Buddhist traditions, such as his biography entitled *Maming pusa zhuan* (馬鳴普薩傳; T. 2046; Li, 2002), he is associated with Kaniṣka, the great Kushana emperor and Buddhist patron who probably ruled in or around the second quarter of the 2nd century. A 2nd century date is supported by the Central Asian fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramatic work, which on paleographic grounds seem to date from around the time of Kaniṣka or his successor Huviṣka (Lüders, 1911a).

Aśvaghoṣa explicitly states the intent of his literary efforts in the two final verses of the *Saundarananda*, where he justifies his use of an ornate and sensual poetic style (*kāvya*) which might seem inconsistent with the Buddhist ideals which his poem teaches. His explanation is that "this composition was written in the guise of poetry, in order to attract the attention of listeners whose minds are on

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other matters, as one coats a bitter medicine with honey to make it palatable" (*Saundarananda* 18.63). Similarly, the final verse of the *Buddhacarita* (28.74; preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese translation) declares that "This poem has been composed for the good and happiness of all people . . . and not to display the qualities of learning or skill in poetry" (Johnston, 1937, 286).

Here Aśvaghoṣa shows that his intended audience was the sophisticated Sanskrit-speaking elite, especially Brahmans, and that he was trying to present Buddhism in a format that would be accessible and attractive to them. The *Buddhacarita* in particular records many discussions and debates between the Buddha and the followers of the Vedic/Brahmanical traditions, wherein he establishes the superiority of his path to enlightenment and salvation; for example, the famous debate with the sage Arāḍa Kalāma, who espouses an early form of Sāṃkhya (12.1–83). In these discussions the Bodhisattva (the Buddha before his awakening) frequently cites and criticizes Brahmanical legends, belief systems, and social conventions, referring particularly frequently to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Johnston, 1936, xlvii–l; Hiltebeitel, 2006, 247–54), and even borrowing poetic motifs from it (Raghavan, 1956).

Aśvaghosa's works are all imperfectly preserved, no doubt because they fell out of popularity with the decline of Buddhism in India, so that their manuscripts ceased to be copied and preserved. Only the *Saundarananda* is more or less complete in the original Sanskrit, while other works are preserved only fragmentarily, or perhaps totally lost. Both his poems and plays were entirely forgotten in India until the late 19th and early 20th centuries when modern scholars discovered in Nepal manuscripts of the two poems dating from around the 12th to 13th centuries. Subsequently, much earlier but very fragmentary remnants of the plays as well as the poems have been discovered in Central Asia. Although Aśvaghoṣa's works eventually ceased to be studied and were not retained in the traditional canon of (non-Buddhist) Sanskrit literature, it is clear from numerous references to and citations of his poems that they were known to scholars, Buddhist and otherwise, for many centuries after their composition. For example, the rhetorician Rājaśekhara (9th–10th cent.) refers in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Inquiry into Poetry; Stchoupak & Renou, 1946, 72) to a verse from the *Buddhacarita*, and many lexicographers and grammarians cite his works.

A great deal has been written about the ordinational and scholastic affiliations of Aśvaghoṣa, but the results have been inconclusive and have led to no consensus (see the summary in de Jong, [illegible] 125–126). E.H. Johnston, in the still-authoritative introductory essay to his translation of the *Buddhacarita* (1936), thought it most likely that he belonged to the Bahuśrutika or a related doctrinal school, but this opinion has since been criticized and other affiliations, such as Sautrāntika and Yogācāra, have been proposed. Among ordination lineages (which have not always been clearly distinguished from scholastic positions in the relevant literature), Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Dharmaguptaka have been suggested. The Sarvāstivādin theory deserves attention since the Central Asian fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's works were found together with a large corpus of texts belonging mostly to that school. A recent study of canto 16 of the *Buddhacarita* (Eltschinger, 2013) compares its biographical episodes with corresponding accounts in the Vinayas of the various schools, showing that Aśvaghoṣa closely follows the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin versions of the legends. However, according to E.H. Johnston (1936, xxv), a verse in the *Saundarananda* (XVII.18) seems to criticize a basic tenet of Sarvāstivādin doctrine, and in at least one case there is reason to suspect that the text of the *Saundarananda* was tampered with by later editors in order to make it agree with their doctrinal positions (Choi, 2010). In light of this contradictory evidence, it is still not possible to decisively determine Aśvaghoṣa's affiliations; in any case, his works were evidently meant to inculcate the overall principles of Buddhism rather than the traditions or doctrines of any particular Buddhist school.

Works

Saundarananda

The *Saundarananda*, the only one of Aśvaghoṣa's works that is almost completely intact in its original Sanskrit, is a *mahākāvya* (ornate epic) in 18 sargas (cantos), telling the story of the Buddha's forcible conversion of his half-brother Nanda ("The Handsome"), who was vain and infatuated with worldly pleasures, especially the charms of his beautiful young wife Sundarī ("The Beautiful"). The first three cantos describe the historical background of the story, going back to (1) the founding by the Śākya clan of the city of Kapilavāstu, (2) the birth of the Buddha and Nanda, and (3) an account of the Buddha's early career up to his return to Kapilavāstu in order to convert his clansmen. The 4th and 5th

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cantos recount how the Buddha lure
from his mansion and his beloved w
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tions of Nanda and Sundarī and Na
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When that monk's efforts prove
dha himself flies Nanda to heaven
its nymphs, compared to whom his
repulsive (9–10). Nanda then undert
in the hope of being reborn in heav
explains to him the foolishness
(11–12). Nanda finally begins to see
Buddha preaches to him about faith
and self-control (13), meditation (14
mind (15), and the four noble truths
concluding cantos, Nanda finally a
enment and dedicates himself to
dharma.

The plot of the *Saundarananda* i
end which appears in varying for
texts, most notably in the Pali *U*
pada commentary, and *jātakas*,
Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānak*
Chinese and Tibetan translations
skrit versions such as those in the M
Vinaya and the so-called *Abhinisk*
benxing ji jing [佛本行集經]; T.
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Aśvaghoṣa freely adapted the tra
for instance adding such elements
of Ānanda. The story of Nanda's co
favorite theme in Buddhist art, es
the 2nd to 5th centuries CE, illustr
30 pieces at Nagarjunakonda, Gol
Ajanta in the south and at Hadda
sites in Gandhara, as well as at B
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t his clansmen. The 4th and 5th

cantos recount how the Buddha lured Nanda away from his mansion and his beloved wife by handing him his begging bowl and then refusing to take it back, so that Nanda had to follow him to the monastery where he was initiated as a monk against his will. Cantos six and seven describe the lamentations of Nanda and Sundarī and Nanda's decision to flee back to his wife. In cantos eight and nine, an unnamed monk tries in vain to persuade Nanda of the evils of sexual and sensory pleasures.

When that monk's efforts prove futile, the Buddha himself flies Nanda to heaven and shows him its nymphs, compared to whom his wife now seems repulsive (9–10). Nanda then undertakes strict vows in the hope of being reborn in heaven, but Ānanda explains to him the foolishness of such efforts (11–12). Nanda finally begins to see the light as the Buddha preaches to him about faith (12), discipline and self-control (13), meditation (14), control of the mind (15), and the four noble truths (16). In the two concluding cantos, Nanda finally achieves enlightenment and dedicates himself to propagating the dharma.

The plot of the *Saundarananda* is based on a legend which appears in varying forms in numerous texts, most notably in the Pali *Udāna*, *Dhammapada* commentary, and *jātaka*s, in Sanskrit in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, and in Chinese and Tibetan translations of original Sanskrit versions such as those in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and the so-called *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* (*Fo benxing ji jing* [佛本行集經]; T. 190). In expanding that relatively brief tale into a full length epic Aśvaghoṣa freely adapted the traditional versions, for instance adding such elements as the preaching of Ānanda. The story of Nanda's conversion is also a favorite theme in Buddhist art, especially between the 2nd to 5th centuries CE, illustrated in more than 30 pieces at Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Amaravati, and Ajanta in the south and at Hadda, Swat, and other sites in Gandhara, as well as at Borobudur in Indonesia (Zin, 2006). In some cases, notably at Ajanta and Borobudur, the artistic representation is evidently based on Aśvaghoṣa's version rather than on the canonical texts and commentaries (Schlingloff, 1975).

The central theme of the *Saundarananda* is Nanda's particularly difficult quest to rise above worldly attachments and attain the serenity of Buddhist insight. Aśvaghoṣa may have chosen this theme in order to demonstrate that even a person with deep-rooted attachments to the world can ultimately transcend them by assiduously following the Buddhist way, with the help of the Buddha and his followers. The theme of conversion, central to the *Saundarananda*, is also prominent in Aśvaghoṣa's other works, and this may reflect his personal experience as, according to later traditions, a Brahman convert to Buddhism.

The *editio princeps* of the *Saundarananda* was published by H. Sastri in 1910. This was followed by a series of critical studies by prominent Indologists whose contributions were incorporated into E.H. Johnston's definitive edition (1928) and translation (1932). This edition was based mainly on two Nepali manuscripts, the principal source being a palm leaf text dating from about 1165. But this text has suffered from extensive damage by ants, so that the missing portions, some one-third of the whole, depend on a much later (c. 17th cent.) and inferior paper manuscript which was directly descended from the earlier one. Moreover, both the manuscripts contain numerous corrupt readings.

Since E.H. Johnston's edition, two fragments of much older manuscripts of the *Saundarananda* were discovered in Central Asia. A single complete leaf of a manuscript found at Šorcuq and published by F. Weller (1953a) preserves the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th canto, while another fragment, also from Šorcuq, consists of three pieces of a single palm-leaf folio containing parts of 13 verses from canto 16 (Hartmann, 1988, 66–73). Despite their meager remnants, these fragments have considerable textual significance, evidently belonging to a recension independent from that preserved in the Nepali manuscripts. While they largely confirm and justify E.H. Johnston's judicious and insightful editorial methods, they also present some variants from his manuscripts which are clearly preferable and which elucidate the processes of transmission of the text in antiquity (Salomon, 1999; Choi, 2010).

Since these fragments show that the *Saundarananda* was known in the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia in the 1st millenium CE, it is surprising that there exists no Chinese or Tibetan translation of the poem, unlike the case of the *Buddhacarita*. We also have no record of commentaries on either poem; these might have once existed, but if so, they have not survived. Johnston's translation of the *Saundarananda*, 1932, remains definitive, while the most recent translation is that of Covill (2007). Worthy of special note is the Italian rendition by Passi (1985), which contains numerous improvements on Johnston's interpretation, which however have mostly gone unnoticed in subsequent scholarship.

Buddhacarita

The *Buddhacarita* seems to have been more popular than the *Saundarananda* in antiquity, presumably because of the intrinsic importance and appeal of its subject matter. It was translated into both Chinese and Tibetan, and its popularity is attested in Yijing's account of Buddhism in India and Southeast Asia in the 7th century CE, where he reports that the *Buddhacarita* was "widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea" (T. 2125 [LIV] 228a14; Takakusu, 1896, 166). By way of explanation of its appeal, Yijing says that the poet "clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrines in a concise form." (T. 2125 [LIV] 228a14–16). A further indication of its popularity is the existence of Central Asian fragments of what seems to be a reworking of the poem in mixed verse and prose (Hartmann, 1988, 60–66).

The poem opens with descriptions of the future Buddha's birth and early years (cantos 1–2) and his rejection of the pleasures of his life as a wealthy prince (3–4). He flees the palace and begins to undertake a life of ascetic meditation (5–7) while his family mourns for their lost son and seeks in vain to induce him to return (8–9). King Śreṇya of Magadha then offers the Bodhisattva half his kingdom if he will renounce asceticism, but he refuses the offer and reaffirms his determination to pursue spiritual rather than worldly goals (10–11). The Bodhisattva goes to hear the teachings of the sages Arāḍa Kālāma and Udraka, but, deeming them unsatisfactory, undertakes severe austerities on his own. Finding that this path too does not lead to the goal, he takes a seat at Gayā and resolves not to get up until he finds the ultimate secret of transcending saṃsāra (12). Māra attacks the Bodhisattva in order to distract him from his quest, but in vain, and the Bodhisattva discovers the principle of dependent co-origination and achieves enlightenment (13–14).

As the Buddha, he then proceeds to the Deer Park of Vārāṇasī and preaches the dharma there (15). He converts the five mendicants, Yaśas and his 53 companions, the three Kāśyapa brothers and their followers, and Śreṇya, king of Magadha (16). Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana become the Buddha's chief disciples, and Mahākāśyapa also joins the community (17). The Buddha converts the wealthy Sudatta (Anāthapiṇḍada), who offers the Jeta Garden to the saṅgha (18). He then returns to his home city of Kapilavāstu and after converting his father and other relatives there (19) goes on to Śrāvastī to preach to Prasenajit, king of Kosala (20).

After the Buddha converts many others in various parts of India, his cousin Devadatta plots unsuccessfully to assassinate him (21). He then proceeds to Vaiśālī, where he converts the courtesan Amrapālī (22), preaches to the Licchavis, and is again approached by Māra (23). The Buddha announces that his end is near, and Ānanda and the Licchavis mourn (24). He offers his final instructions for preserving the dharma, takes his last meal at the home of Cunda, and lies down to await the end (25). After converting the ascetic Subhadra, he instructs the monks in how to behave after he is gone, and finally enters into nirvāṇa (26). After a eulogy by Aniruddha, the Mallas cremate the body and recover its relics (27), which are then shared with seven neighboring kings by the Brahman Droṇa (28).

The *Buddhacarita* draws its material from biographic traditions about the Buddha recorded in canonical sources such as those reflected in the *Nidānakathā* (prologue to the *jātaka*), the biographical sections of the Vinaya, and, for the latter part of the poem, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. While Aśvaghoṣa felt free to adapt the details of the traditional material for his literary purposes, he remained true to the tradition in all essential points. According to A.K. Warder (1974, 146–147), the poem as a whole can be considered as structured in four sections of seven cantos each, treating the Buddha's birth and youth, quest for enlightenment, teaching and conversions, and later life and *parinirvāṇa*.

The *Buddhacarita* was first edited by E.C. Cowell in 1893 on the basis of three recent and incomplete Nepali manuscripts. The standard edition by E.H. Johnston (1935) is based on a much older Nepali manuscript on palm leaf, datable to about 1300, which was the direct archetype of the three modern manuscripts. However, this manuscript was evidently never finished, ending abruptly in the middle of the 14th of 28 cantos, and it also lacks substantial portions of the first two cantos due to the loss of four of its original 55 leaves. However, the contents of the parts of the poem which are lost in the Sanskrit original – more than half of the whole – can be accurately determined from the Tibetan and Chinese translations, respectively *Sangs rgyas kyi spyod pa zhes bya ba'i snyan dngags chen po* (D 4156/P 5656; see Jackson, 1997) and *Fo suoxing zan* (佛所行讚; T. 192).

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Our knowledge of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* has been supplemented by small remnants of three much older manuscripts from Central Asia preserving portions of cantos 2, 3, 13, and 16 (Weller, 1953b; Hartmann, 1988, 57–60). As with the Central Asian fragments of the *Saundarananda*, these fragments, though meager, are textually revealing, especially in providing a sample (from canto 16) of the portion which was previously not extant in Sanskrit. Three verses from canto 28 are also preserved in Sanskrit in the *Aśokāvadāna* (Okamoto, 2006). The surviving Sanskrit portion of the *Buddhacarita* has been translated many times into various European and Asian languages, first by Cowell (1894), and most recently by Olivelle (2009). The most influential translation is still that of Johnston (1936), which, though it had no pretension to literary quality, established a standard interpretation that remains largely intact. The part of the text for which the Sanskrit original is lost was translated by Johnston (1937), on the basis of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. The Chinese translation has been rendered into English by Beal (1883) and Willemen (2009); and part of the Tibetan [cantos 1–17] into German by Weller (1926–1928).

Śāriputraprakaraṇa and Other Dramas

A drama by Aśvaghoṣa entitled *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* is preserved only in the form of several dozen small fragments of two manuscripts found in Kizil in Central Asia, which seem to contain parts of the last two acts (act 8 and 9). Fortunately, the final colophon of one of the manuscripts has survived, providing both the title *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (along with the alternate title *Śāradvatīputraprakaraṇa*) and the name of the author, "Aśvaghoṣa, son of Suvarṇākṣī." There can be no doubt that this is a genuine work of Aśvaghoṣa; this is certified by the agreement of the names with those given in the colophons in his other works, by textual and stylistic similarities with those works (e.g. Lüders, 1911b, 399), and by the age of one of the manuscripts, one of which can be dated on paleographic grounds to the Kushana era.

As far as can be determined from the title and the meager remains of the text, the play concerns the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the Buddha's two foremost disciples. But some of the associated fragments seem not to be consistent with the content that would be expected in this play. Some of them concern a series of allegorical figures called Buddhi ("Wisdom"), Dhṛti ("Strength"), and Kīrti ("Fame"), while others involve a courtesan (*gaṇikā*). Moreover, one fragment of the earlier manuscript has on the recto the end of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, while the verso refers to the courtesan. Therefore the editor (Lüders, 1911a; 1911b) proposed that there were actually three separate dramas which had been combined in a single anthological manuscript. The style and wording of the so-called "allegorical drama" are so close to that of the authenticated works of Aśvaghoṣa that it can safely be attributed to him (Johnston, 1936, xx–xxi; B. Bhattacharya, 1976, 76–90). The style of the "haetera drama" also shows similarities to Aśvaghoṣa's, but the situation here is less clear (Johnston, 1936, xxi–xxii).

However, the interpretation of these fragments as parts of three separate plays has not gone unchallenged (B. Bhattacharya, 1976, 90–101), for example on the grounds that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who are evidently the main characters of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, also appear in fragments of H. Lüders's "haetera drama." B. Bhattacharya thus came to the conclusion that all of fragments belong to a single play, namely the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa.* The surviving fragments simply are not sufficient to permit a definite decision on the question of how many works are involved, so the issue remains open.

In any case, these manuscripts prove that Aśvaghoṣa was a playwright as well as a poet, and certain points indicate that his plays were popular in Central Asia. The earlier drama manuscript, which was evidently written in India and imported to Central Asia, must have been read repeatedly, as the edges are worn and the ink rubbed off in many places, and in some places the damaged text has been rewritten in a later Central Asian hand (Lüders, 1911a, 15). Moreover, some of the secondary additions and corrections seem to be based on variant readings, which must have been taken from other manuscripts that have not survived (Lüders, 1911a, 65). Thus although Central Asian manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's works are far less common than those of some other Buddhist Sanskrit authors, notably the *stotras* of Mātṛceṭa, it is still clear that his poems and dramas were popular in the Buddhist monasteries there.

Several later Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Chinese, notably Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, refer to another drama entitled *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka* (The Drama of Rāṣṭrapāla) which they attribute to Aśvaghoṣa, while the Jaina *Piṇḍaniryukti* (*Piṃḍanijjutti*) refers to a similar composition by one Aṣāḍhabhūti (Lévi, 1928; V. Bhattacharya, 1938; Johnston, 1938). The brief references provided in these texts to the theme and contents of this play are consistent with those of Aśvaghoṣa's certified works;

for example, the conversion of Rāṣṭrapāla, which was presumably its main subject, is also mentioned in the *Buddhacarita* (21.26). Therefore, although no text of this play is extant, it is quite likely that it was one of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works.

Style and Language

Aśvaghoṣa is beyond question one of the master poets of Sanskrit literature, whose works anticipate and influence the high classical mode. His relatively simple and elegant style prefigures the towering works of Kālidāsa some two or three centuries later. His poems are masterpieces of precise and vivid description; the observation of E.H. Johnston, the master of Aśvaghoṣa studies, that "Every word in Aśvaghoṣa has its point" (1928, 162) is almost literally true. For example, the poignant love scene of Nanda and Sundarī in canto 4 of *Saundarananda*, often cited as one of the high points of Aśvaghoṣa's poetry, is subtly echoed in Sundarī's lamentation in canto 6, where the same or similar words and images are recycled as tokens of grief and separation instead of love and joy. Thus in canto 4 he describes Sundarī's necklaces as "tossed up from her breasts" (*stanodvartitahārayaṣṭir*; 4.19a), whereas in canto 6 they are "hanging down" (*vilambahārā*; 6.3a); here the poet employs directional shifts to convey the inevitability of the transformation of pleasure into suffering (Salomon, 2009, 183–184; Covill, 2009, 215–241). In this way Aśvaghoṣa manipulates the conventions of romantic poetry to express his Buddhist message of the evanescence and ultimately unsatisfactory nature of worldly happiness.

Like all Sanskrit poets, Aśvaghoṣa makes abundant use of formal figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*), including figures of sense (*arthālaṃkāra*) and of sound (*śabdānuprāsa*; Johnston, 1936, lxxxviii–xciii; B. Bhattacharya, 1976, 363–74; Warder, 1974, 174–178). Among the former category he uses the two basic figures, simile (*upamā*) and metaphor (*rūpaka*), particularly frequently and creatively, often using multiple similes (*mālopamā*) and complex, multi-part comparisons. These devices are exemplified in *Saundarananda* 18.1:

> *atha dvijo bāla ivāptavedaḥ kṣipraṃ vaṇik prāpta ivāptalābhaḥ/jitvā ca rājanya ivārisainyaṃ nandaḥ kṛtārtho gurum abhyagacchat* // Then, like a Brahman boy who has mastered the Vedas, like a merchant who has returned after quickly winning a profit, and like a king who has conquered his enemy's army, Nanda, having achieved his goal, approached his teacher [to thank him]. (trans. by author)

Here the main proposition in the 4th quarter is balanced by a set of three similes in the first three quarters. This pattern is typical of Aśvaghoṣa's liking for symmetrical syntactic structures, and the structural balance is reinforced by the balance in the sense of the three similes, referring in turn to each of the three highest social classes (Brahman, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya). This relatively simple parallel verse structure contrasts with the more complex syntax and structures which predominate in the highly ornate style of later *kāvya*. Also characteristic of Aśvaghoṣa, and again contrasting with later *kāvya*, is the relatively limited and moderate use of nominal compounds, typically, as here, with only two members. This verse also exemplifies Aśvaghoṣa's use of syllabic alliteration (*yamaka*) in the repetition of the sequence (*āpta*) three times in the first half of the verse.

Thus Aśvaghoṣa's poetry is characterized by structural balance at all levels: not only in the individual verses and in the relationships between verses and cantos, but also in the overall distribution of themes and images. For example, L. Covill (2009) shows how such themes as the training of elephants, the curing of disease, and the refining of gold are strategically deployed throughout the *Saundarananda* as overarching thematic links.

In his two *kāvyas* Aśvaghoṣa utilizes a wide range of the usual classical meters, 18 different ones in all (Johnston, 1936, lxiii–lxiv; Warder, 1974, 173). These include common shorter meters such as *anuṣṭubh* (679 verses), *upajāti* (936) and *vaṃśastha* (201) as well as rarer and more complex ones like *kusumalatāvellitā* (1) and *suvadanā* (2), which are typically used only for the concluding verses of a canto.

The language of Aśvaghoṣa's works resembles high classical Sanskrit, but with a distinctly Buddhist flavor. This is manifested, first of all, in his vocabulary, which naturally includes not only many Buddhist technical terms such as *upaniṣad* (cause) and *pratyaya* (secondary or coordinating cause; Hakeda, 1962) but also nontechnical terms characteristic of Buddhist idiom such as *ādarśana* (mirror) and *pratimaṇḍita* (decorated; Salomon, 1983). Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit is also characterized by occasional features of syntax and morphology that would be considered solecisms from the point of view of strict classical usage but which are typical of Buddhist languages such as Pali and Buddhist s teacher [to thank him]. (trans. by

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uages such as Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, such as the nominative absolute construction, the locative case in place of the instrumental, the optative with preterite indicative sense, and nonstandard gerund forms like *gṛhya* and *vivardhayitvā* (Salomon, 1983). Most of these features are not exclusive to Buddhist languages but also appear in epic and other less formal varieties of Sanskrit that may be generally characterized as "Vernacular Sanskrit." Such informal usages may have been more acceptable in the earlier stages of the development of classical *kāvya*, of which Aśvaghoṣa's works are virtually the only surviving examples.

Aśvaghoṣa's choice of Sanskrit as the language of his Buddhist poems is on the surface surprising, since during his presumed lifetime Buddhists still favored Prakrit over Sanskrit, in keeping with the traditional Buddhist preference for vernacular languages. No doubt he chose Sanskrit in large part because of its appeal to his intended audience of Brahmans and other elite non-Buddhists. Even as he sprinkles his classical language with occasional Buddhist forms and usages, he takes care to address the aesthetic values of the grammatically oriented scholasticism of the Brahmanical tradition, for example by providing a comprehensive catalogue of aorist verb forms (*Saundarananda* 2.12–44).

It is perhaps not coincidental that Aśvaghoṣa's lifetime coincided with the beginning of a shift from Prakrit to Sanskrit among Buddhists in northern India, and his innovation may even have provided an impetus for the gradual adoption of Sanskrit over the next few centuries. Since this is the period at which Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and similar dialects emerge, it is striking that he occasionally sneaks in bilingual puns, for example on *aśvattha* (fig tree) and *asvāsthya* (disturbance; *Buddhacarita* 13.7), which in Prakritic pronunciation would be homophonous (*assattha*; Johnston, 1936, xci). Thus Aśvaghoṣa simultaneously appeals to the linguistic and aesthetic sensibilities of the Brahmanical tradition while addressing the Buddhists in something resembling their familiar idioms.

The several Prakrit dialects spoken by some of the characters in the drama, characterized by H. Lüders (1911a) as Old Magadhi, Old Ardhamagadhi, and Old Shauraseni, present important material for the historical development of the literary Prakrits. They generally prefigure the corresponding dialects (Magadhi etc.) of the later classical dramas, but are archaic in their phonological features, especially in generally retaining intervocalic consonants in their original (Old Indo-Aryan/Sanskrit) form.

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Buddhist Narratives in
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Narratives: Tibet

Tibetan Buddhist narratives comprise indigenous Tibetan themes and stories as well as stories and legends received from the surrounding Buddhist countries, most notably India, but also Central Asia and China. No clear-cut distinction between Buddhist and non-Buddhist narrative is possible, however, since Buddhist legends and narrative cycles have often incorporated elements from Tibetan folk stories, and Tibetan tales have become Buddhicized by adding Indic features and a religious moral. A survey of Tibetan Buddhist narrative therefore perforce takes account of a number of different strands, such as foreign and indigenous stories and motifs and secular and religious themes.

Tibetan narratives are transmitted, historically and down to the present day, in both oral and written form. Storytelling was purely oral until the creation of the Tibetan script in the 7th century CE; since then, oral and written narratives have flourished side by side, often inspiring and influencing each other. Buddhist legends were translated into Tibetan and transmitted in a written form, but they are also retold orally, for example at religious gatherings, when Buddhist teachers give public instructions. Indigenous narratives that were originally oral were also published in manuscript and block-print versions, as, for example, the popular tales of the "arisen corpse" (*ro langs*) and the Tibetan epic of Gesar; such written versions may then again become a basis for oral renderings. Due to these fluid forms of transmission, legends and tales develop and change over time and according to region. Stylistically, stories can be composed in prose, in verse, or in a combination of both. A particularly frequent form of storytelling in Tibet consists of a combination of prose narrative, providing the plot, and song or verse, usually rendering the direct speech of the characters, and in religious works often containing a doctrinal or spiritual message.

Buddhist Narratives in the Tibetan Canon

Together with the Chinese Buddhist canon (for a survey of its narratives, see Chavannes, 1910–1934), the Tibetan canon is an important source for the knowledge of Buddhist stories and legends, especially since a considerable number of Indian works did not survive in the original but have been preserved in Chinese and/or Tibetan translations. Indian Buddhist tales and legends were translated into Tibetan from the 8th century onward and later included in the Tibetan canon. They include the life story of Buddha Śākyamuni as well as *jātaka*s and *avadāna*s. The canon also contains translations of a certain number of non-Buddhist narrative and poetic materials (including even the famous Sanskrit poem *Meghadūta* by Kālidāsa).

The life of the Buddha was known in Tibet from several sources, the most important version being the *Lalitavistara* in the *sūtra* section of the Kanjur (D 95/P 763) and the account contained in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (D 1/P 1030), both translated into Tibetan in the late 8th-early 9th centuries. The Tanjur also contains Aśvaghoṣa's famous poem *Buddhacarita* (The Life of the Buddha; D 4156/P 5656). Many Tibetan authors have retold the life story of the Buddha, sometimes following the convention of subdividing it into the most significant "twelve deeds" (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*), starting with his descent from Tuṣita heaven and ending with his passing into *parinirvāṇa*. An early example of a Tibetan adaptation based on the "twelve deeds" scheme is found in the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* (Introduction to Buddhism) by Bsod nams rtse mo (1142–1182; on this and later works, see van der Kuijp, 2002, 119). The pattern of "twelve deeds" became so prominent in Tibet that it was applied to some hagiographies of Tibetan Buddhist masters and even to the life of Gshen rab mi bo, the founding figure of the Tibetan Bön tradition (see e.g. Bon brgya dge legs lhun grub rgya mtsho *et al.*, 2011, xiii; for a modern retelling, see Sangye Tenzin, 1995). As the foundation narrative of the Buddhist tradition, the life of the Buddha is practically omnipresent and is retold or summarized in various contexts; for example, it is usually included in the introductory sections of Tibetan works on the "history of Buddhism" (*chos 'byung*), thus authenticating the origins of the Tibetan transmission lineages.

Numerous Buddhist legends of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* type are contained in the Tibetan canon. Like their Pali and Sanskrit counterparts, these

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pre-birth stories are meant to illustrate the effect of karman or, in some cases, the Buddhist *pāramitās* (perfections), and due to their edifying and entertaining nature, the canonical stories became highly popular in Tibet. Within the Kanjur, toward the end of the *sūtra* section (*mdo*), one finds the Tibetan translation of several important collections of pre-birth stories: the *Avadānaśataka* (D 343/P 1012), the *Karmaśataka* (D 340/P 1007; for a summary, see Feer, 1901), and the *Mdzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* (*Sūtra* of the Wise and the Foolish; D 341/P 1008). The latter, translated from the Chinese by 'Gos Chos grub (a well-known translator active in Dunhuang in the early 9th cent., known in Chinese as Wu Facheng), became particularly popular in Tibet and is often referred to by Buddhist authors. For unknown reasons, the number and arrangement of the stories in the Tibetan version differ from the Chinese (see Takakusu, 1901; Baruch, 1955; Roesler, 2007). These three large *avadāna* collections are followed by several individual *avadānas* (D 344–350/P 1013–1019), including the *Sumāghadhāvadāna*, *Puṇyabalāvadāna*, and *Candraprabhāvadāna*. These Buddhist legends became so popular that they were adapted by Buddhist scholars of much later times; for example, the Rnying ma scholar Zhe chen 'Gyur med padma rnam rgyal (1871–1926) published a slightly modernized and abridged version of the above-mentioned canonical collections in a voluminous compilation in 1819 under the title *Mdo las byung ba'i gtam rgyud sna tshogs* (Various Stories from the *Sūtras*; TBRC W3888).

The Vinaya section of the Kanjur contains the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya with its numerous legends (Panglung, 1981). Several Tibetan scholars composed anthologies and abridgments of these legends. For instance, the famous polymath Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) published a collection of stories from the Vinaya called *'Dul ba pha'i gleng 'bum chen mo* (Large Collection of Stories from the Vinaya; 1971), which in turn formed the basis for the *'Dul ba gleng 'bum* (Collection of Stories from the Vinaya) of Dge 'dun grub (1391–1475), the disciple of Tsong kha pa, who was posthumously identified as the first Dalai Lama (on the techniques of quotation, paraphrase, and abridgment used, see Eimer, 2007).

The Tanjur, in its *skyes rabs* (*jātaka*) section, contains several poetical *jātaka* and *avadāna* cycles composed in Indian *kāvya* style: the *Jātakamālās* of Āryaśūra (D 4150/P 5650; Hanisch, 2005) and his successor Haribhaṭṭa (D 5152/P 5652; most recently Hahn, 2011) as well as Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (D 4155/P 5655; for a bibliographical survey, see Kirde, 2002; on its impact in Tibet, see van der Kuijp, 1996b). The legends of the two *Jātakamālās* are arranged to illustrate the Buddhist *pāramitās* (Hahn, 2007, 12–15). Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, translated into Tibetan in the early translation period (8th cent.), became so emblematic of the genre that the term *skyes rabs* is often used by Tibetan authors to refer specifically to the 34 legends of his work. The third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1248–1339), enlarged the work by composing 66 additional *jātakas* and, as the logical conclusion, the life story of Buddha Śākyamuni (*Skyes rabs brgya pa* [A Hundred *Jātakas*]; TBRC W1KG16609; see Tropper, 2005, 68–70; Hanisch, 2005, lxxxi). His *jātakas* were based on Indian Buddhist legends and emulated Āryaśūra's style, a poetical combination of prose and verse (Skt. *campū*). This enlarged cycle was also visually represented in a cycle of *jātaka* paintings and inscriptions in the *skor lam chen mo* (the great circumambulation path) of Zha lu Monastery, executed shortly after the composition in the 14th century (Tropper, 2005).

Another cycle of pre-birth stories that became influential in educated circles by shaping the Tibetan understanding of Indian poetry was Kṣemendra's above-mentioned *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (*bodhisattvāvadāna*, "deeds of the Bodhisattva," being used in the same sense as *jātaka*). Its translation in the 13th century was a "major event in the history of Tibetan poetry and poetics" (van der Kuijp, 1996b, 401). The work was translated by Shong ston (13th cent.) and revised by Dpang Lo tsa ba (1276–1342), two scholars who had also been instrumental in introducing Indian poetics in Tibet through the translation of and commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (Mirror of Poetics; Dimitrov, 2002, 25–60). Several commentaries were written on the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, its legends were retold by various authors (van der Kuijp, 1996b, 401f.) and were also represented visually in block prints and paintings (Tucci, vol. II, 1949, 442–533; for further references on visual representations, see Kirde, 2002, nos. 4.16, 4.23, 4.32, 4.33, and 4.37).

Apart from these influential large cycles, the *Skyes rabs* section of the Tanjur contains Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (see above) and two dramas based on Buddhist legends (Candragomin's *Lokānanda* and Harṣadeva's *Nāgānanda*; D 4153–4154/P 5653–5654; see Hahn, 1987; Steiner, 1997), which reminds us that Buddhist legends were not only retold but also performed (Seyfort Ruegg, 1999, 196f., 214). Some further individual literary *avadānas* are found toward

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In addition to stories of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* type, some works within the Tanjur have incorporated Indian material that is not specifically Buddhist in outlook. Most important in this respect are the *stotra* (poetic homily) commentaries of Prajñāvarman (late 8th–early 9th cents.), an author from Bengal who spent part of his life in Tibet collaborating with Tibetan translators and became an important source for the knowledge of Hindu mythology in Tibet. He wrote not only a commentary on the *Udānavarga*, the *Udānavargavivaraṇa* (D 4100/P 5601; Balk, 2011), but also commentaries on two *stotras* composed by Śaṃkarasvāmin and Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin (D 1109–1110, 1112–1113/P 2001–2002, 2004–2005), two brothers who had converted from Hinduism to Buddhism. The titles of both works have been transmitted in slightly varying forms. J. Schneider (2014, 19) argues that the original title of Śaṃkarasvāmin's work was **Devātiśayastotra* (and not *Devatāvimarśastuti*, as in the Sanskrit manuscript edited in Hahn, 2000); Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin's work was probably entitled **Viśiṣṭastava* (rather than **Viśeṣastava*, as in Schneider, 1993; 2014), judging from the rendering of the Sanskrit title in the Tanjur. Both works highlight the qualities that make the Buddha superior to the Hindu gods. The allusions to Hindu mythology contained in these eulogies would not have been comprehensible for a Tibetan readership without further explanation, and Prajñāvarman's commentaries thus became indispensable guides for the Tibetans in understanding the Indian world. It is tempting to assume that he composed them during his stay in Tibet for his local audience. It is also Prajñāvarman who in his commentary on the **Devātiśayastotra* (st. 3) provided the Tibetans with a variant of the origin story of the Tibetan people that links their ancestry with India: their forefather was an Indian prince named Rūpati, who fled to Tibet with his soldiers during the turmoil of the *Mahābhārata* war (Haarh, 1969, ch. 10; Roesler, 2002, 438–440; see also Karmay, 2014, 32f.). In the context of these polemical Buddhist *stotras*, it may also be mentioned that the Tanjur has preserved another Buddhist parable meant to illustrate why the Buddha is superior to the Hindu gods, entitled *Dpe'i phreng ba* (D 4196/P 5695; it corresponds to the first story from Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*; for an edition and translation of the Tibetan text and an overview of relevant scholarship, see Hahn, 1983). Thus, not only is the Tibetan canon a rich source for *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature and the life of the Buddha, but it also contains some general Indian and even Hindu narrative material.

Indian Folklore and Mythology in Tibet: Didactic Stanzas and Their Commentaries

Tibetan adaptations of Indian narratives are also found outside the Tibetan Buddhist canon in commentarial literature, in particular in commentaries on stanza collections dealing with *nīti* (social/political skill). Several works on *nīti* are contained in the section *thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos* (common [i.e. not specifically Buddhist] treatises on political skill) of the Tanjur. One of them is the **Jantupoṣaṇabindu* ascribed to Nāgārjuna (D 4330/P 5822; Hahn [1985; 1993] has shown that for chronological reasons, this cannot be the philosopher Nāgārjuna). Some of its stanzas allude to popular Indian tales. The respective stories are provided in an extracanonical Tibetan commentary that has been preserved in at least two main recensions containing 27–31 stories, one of them entitled *Nor bu'i rgyan* (Damdinsüren, 1982; Damdinsüren & Tsendina, 1983). One of the stories in this extra-canonical commentary is mentioned in Dmar ston's commentary (see below), which suggests that it already existed around the mid-13th century. Most of the tales are known from the Indian *Pañcatantra/Tantrākhyāyika* cycle and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. This commentary, which made non-Buddhist Indian didactic narratives known in Tibet, became popular enough to be translated into Mongolian no fewer than four times (for a survey, see Roesler, 2011, 68–72), and some of the tales have also survived in the Tibetan oral tradition (documented e.g. in Hermanns, 1955).

Very similar in style and contents are the *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* (Skt. *Subhāṣitaratnanidhināmaśāstra* [Treatise [on *Nīti*] Called Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels]; see Eimer, 2014) by the famous Indophile scholar Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) and the commentary written by his disciple Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (TBRC W20459). Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po comments on 47 of Sa ska Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's stanzas, rendering stories from the *Pañcatantra/Tantrākhyāyika* cycle as well as some episodes of Hindu mythology. For example, he summarizes the plot of the *Mahābhārata*, apparently deriving the plot partly from Prajñāvarman's commentaries mentioned above (Roesler, 2002). His rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems not primarily based on the early Tibetan version of the Rāma story attested among the Dunhuang documents (de Jong, 1989), but it shares certain features with the wider Asian traditions of the epic. While the commentary on the _*Jantupoṣaṇabindu_ has the tendency to assimilate the plot to the Tibetan cultural context, Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po is keen to preserve as much of the Indian original as he possibly could, which makes him an interesting witness to the knowledge of Sanskrit narratives and literature in Tibetan scholarly circles. Like the commentary on the _*Jantupoṣaṇabindu_, Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po's commentary was translated four times into Mongolian. Both story collections have been analyzed in detail by D. Ëndon (1989).

A third Tibetan work deserves to be mentioned in this context – the *Mdo sde me tog gsil ma* (TBRC W1KG3958), a commentary by a certain Dpal mdzes rgyal mtshan on a work entitled *Me tog gi mdzes pa'i rgyan*. It seems to date from the first half of the 13th century and was, according to the transmission lineage at the beginning of the work, transmitted in Bka' gdams pa and Bka' brgyud pa circles. It contains numerous well-known Buddhist legends, many of them of the *jātaka* type, but in addition there are also ten tales from the *Pañcatantra* cycle (Roesler, 2011, 97–100). This makes the *Mdo sde me tog gsil ma* another witness to the circulation of Indian *nīti* tales in Tibet around the 13th century. These stories therefore seem to have been popular across the different *gsar ma* ("new") schools of Tibetan Buddhism, the Bka' gdams pa, the Bka' brgyud pa, and the Sa skya pa.

The genre of *legs* (*par*) *bshad* (*pa*) (lit. elegant sayings, h. elegant didactic stanzas) with story commentary, as described above in the context of Sa skya Paṇḍita's work and Dmar ston's commentary, lived on in later times. An example is the *Dge ldan legs bshad* of Paṇ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478–1554), the 15th head of the Ganden Monastery (*dga' ldan khri pa*), who explicitly refers to Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter* (see above) as his model (comp. the evaluation in van der Kuijp, 1986). About 250 years later, the prolific scholar and commentator A kya yongs 'dzin Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740–1827) wrote a commentary providing the stories alluded to in the stanzas (see *Dge ldan legs bshad*, 2000; TBRC W942). However, this commentary mainly renders legends that are truly Buddhist in content and does not include secular and Hindu themes and stories, unlike the commentaries mentioned above. This may reflect a later shift from the innovative *phyi dar* (latter diffusion) period (roughly 11th–13th cents.), in which various elements of Indian culture were readily absorbed, to a more strictly Buddhist culture at a time when Tibet had developed a well-established tradition of Buddhist literature while there was no new influx from India due to the disappearance of Buddhism in its home land.

Creative Assimilation: Indic and Indigenous Narratives in Tibet

During the formative period of Tibetan literature around the 11th–13th centuries, Tibetan authors adopted and adapted genres such as the *jātaka* and playfully integrated Indic themes and motifs into their own indigenous Buddhist literature. In this period, in which Buddhism itself became fully assimilated into the Tibetan environment, they also created truly Tibetan forms of Buddhist narrative, going far beyond a mere adoption of Indian (or Chinese) material. At the same time, they often retained an Indic flair that links their tales and legends to the Indian Buddhist tradition. Many tales are a colorful blend of Buddhist instruction and secular entertainment. The early Bka' gdams pa tradition was particularly prolific in this respect. Three narrative cycles deserve special attention: the *Ro sgrung* (Tales of the Corpse), the Tibetan version of the tales of the parrot (see below), and the *jātaka* stories from the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* (The Book of Bka' gdams; TBRC W1KG8718, W1KG4473, etc.; partial transl. in Thupten Jinpa, 2008).

The *Ro sgrung* uses an Indian frame story (similar to the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*) that at the same time resonates with indigenous Tibetan folklore about the "undead" (*ro langs; 'das log*). There are two main versions, one with 13 tales and the other with 21 tales (for a summary, see Lörincz, 1965; 1968; Macdonald, 1967; for a comparative overview, see, Riva, 1999; for compilations of different length, see Roesler, 2011, 86–89). The tales themselves are not taken from the Indian *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, and they may at least in part be of Tibetan origin, since in addition to some Indian features, they also contain indigenous Tibetan motifs. They are embedded in a Buddhist frame story: in both versions the hero of the frame story is a boy who is sent by Nāgārjuna to fetch a corpse from a charnel ground without uttering a word. On the way back, the corpse

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Another narrative cycle from India has had a similar fate: the tales of the parrot (Skt. *Śukasaptati* [Seventy (Tales of the) Parrot]). A Buddhicized version of the frame story and 13 embedded tales are contained in the above-mentioned *Bka' gdams glegs bam* (Herrmann, 1983). Similar to the Indian *Śukasaptati*, a parrot recounts tales in order to prevent the lady left in his charge from leaving the house to meet a lover. The Tibetan tales, however, are independent of the Indian version and may well be indigenous Tibetan stories, although the compilers have added some Indian flavor, for instance by mentioning Indian proper names, place names, and Indian animals. However, some names are truly Tibetan, and even Gesar, usually the hero of the Tibetan epic, appears in the plot of the third story. Within the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, the whole cycle of the tales of the parrot is embedded as one of the pre-birth (*jātaka*) stories about the founder of the Bka' gdams tradition, 'Brom ston (full name 'Brom ston Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas; 1005–1064).

All in all, the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* contains 22 such *jātaka* stories (summarized in Schuh, 1981, 1–23), which use an ingenious narrative device. While in the Pali *jātaka* collection, the Buddha narrates stories about his previous lives and those of the people around him, here it is the Bengali scholar Atiśa (full name Atiśa Dīpaṃkarasrījñāna; 982–1054) who narrates the pre-birth stories (*skyes rabs*) of 'Brom ston. Apart from the legendary previous incarnations of 'Brom ston, the stories also feature Atiśa himself and some of his other Tibetan disciples in their previous existences. 'Brom ston is the main hero (corresponding to the Bodhisattva of the traditional *jātaka*) in these stories, and Atiśa has the role of the omniscient narrator that would traditionally be taken by the Buddha. This narrative frame creates a powerful way of endowing the main teachers of the tradition with spiritual authority (Miller, 2004). The compilation of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* in 1302 in the monastery of Narthang may be understood as one part of the industrious efforts of the scholars of Narthang to collect, compile, and publish their Buddhist heritage during a time that saw the extinction of Buddhism in India and Mongol Sa skya hegemony in Tibet.

That the early Bka' gdams pa circles were creative storytellers is also documented in the *Be'u bum sngon po* (Blue Compendium; TBRC W1KG15517) and *Dpe chos* (Dharma Exemplified; TBRC W1KG15518) from the tradition of Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1027–1105). These two works on the *lam rim* (graded path [to awakening]) illustrate each step on the Buddhist path by parables and examples (Roesler, 2011). They combine Indian canonical material with indigenous parables and anecdotes and demonstrate that Tibetan Buddhist narratives were not just adaptations of Indian material. A 14th-century commentary on the *Dpe chos*, the *Gtam rgyud rin chen phreng mdzes* (Beautiful Necklace of Narrative Gems), by 'Gro mgon Dpal ldan ye shes, contains retellings of 73 Indian legends that the *Dpe chos* only alludes to (TBRC W1KG5964; on editions and content, see Roesler, 2011, 192–200; on various recensions, see Khamaganova, 1998). Po to ba Rin chen gsal's parables have remained extremely popular and are referred to in works ranging from Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (Great [Treatise] on the Graded Path; TBRC W466; 1402) to the 20th-century *lam rim* teachings of Pha bong ka pa Bde chen snying po (*Lam rim rnam grol lag bcangs* [Liberation in the Palm of Your Hand]; TBRC W3817, W1KG8583). Another, much later story collection that demonstrates the continuity of the technique of illustrating the *lam rim* by parables is the commentary on the *Lam rim chen mo* by Skyu ra yongs 'dzin Byams pa khun khyab (18th cent.) entitled *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i sgo nas rang sems dge sbyor la 'dzug pa'i man ngag rin chen snying po* (Precious Core Advice on Engaging One's Mind in Virtuous Conduct through the Graded Path to Awakening; TBRC W23549).

Didactic narratives, both canonical and extracanonical, were also used widely in other Buddhist traditions. To mention just a few early examples, the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud master Lo ras pa (1187–1250) compiled a voluminous cycle of the *Dam chos thub pa lnga'i sngon 'gro'i skabs kyi gtam rgyud rgyu 'bras la yid ches bskyed byed* (Stories that Generate Faith in [the Karmic Law of] Cause and Effect; TBRC W23440). The *Gsung rab rin chen bang mdzod* (TBRC W23752), a work by the little known early 'Bri gung author Dpal chen Chos kyi ye shes, employs numerous parables and canonical quotations to illustrate doctrinal points, and a 13th-century commentary on the 'Bri gung *Dgongs gcig* contains numerous canonical legends and some life stories of *siddhas* (see *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i 'grel chen sngang mdzad ye shes sgron me*; TBRC W00EGS1017136).

While most Tibetan Buddhist storytelling is related to either pre-birth stories or life stories, illustrating karman, the *pāramitās*, or the Buddhist path in general, a small number of works deals with the benefits of specific Buddhist scriptures, demonstrating the power inherent in the recitation, copying, and veneration of these texts. An example from Dunhuang is PT149, a one-folio text in which Dba' Dpal byams, the priest of king Khri Srong lde brtsan, makes a *thugs dam* (practice commitment) to recite the *Āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* and thus reaches Sukhāvatī (van Schaik & Doney, 2009). There is also a set of 15 tales demonstrating the benefits of the *Vajracchedikā* entitled *Rdo rje gcod pa'i phan yon*, adapted from Chinese stories of the same type (Ho, 2013, 403–409). As in the previous case, people achieve certain benefits by making the *Vajracchedikā* their *yi dam* (practice commitment). It has to be said, however, that *sūtra*-related stories were much less widespread in Tibet than in China, possibly because the Tibetans did not develop the cult of specific *sūtras* in the same way as the Chinese Buddhists did.

Among the Tibetan narrative literature of later centuries, a genre that deserves special mention due to its great popularity is that of didactic animal stories in general and bird stories in particular (Namkhai Norbu, 1995, 16–17), as for example those contained in the anthology *Bya dang ri dwags kyi rtogs brjod* (Didactic Tales on Animal and Bird Themes; TBRC W23796). Two fairly well-known examples of the genre of bird stories are the *Mgrin sngon zla ba'i rtogs brjod* (*Avadāna* of [the Bird Called] Blue Neck Moon; TBRC W1KG5397) by Sumati alias Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (18th cent.; see Schuh, 1981, 23–38) and the *Bya chos rin chen phreng ba* (Jewel Garland of the Dharma among the Birds; TBRC W23796, vol. 1; see Conze, 1955), vaguely reminiscent of South Asian didactic bird stories such as the *Kuṇālajātaka* (Pali *jātaka* no. 536; Bollée, 1970).

Tibetan storytelling has preserved Buddhist narratives in various media and performative contexts. Temples and monasteries have wall paintings of individual *jātaka*s and *jātaka* cycles. *Ma ṇi pas* (itinerant storytellers) used to retell Buddhist legends with the help of painted scrolls (on "picture recitation" in a comparative perspective, see Mair, 1988). A smaller number of *jātaka*s were adapted as theatre plays (*a lce lha mo*; sometimes called "Tibetan opera"), the written versions of which are called *rnam thar* (liberation [story]), a term also used for life stories in general (for a range of articles, see Tashi Tsering & Henrion-Dourcy, 2001).

Stories of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* type were sometimes combined with biographies (*rnam thar*) of reincarnate Buddhist teachers, forming narrative cycles of previous, present, and sometimes even future lives of the subject. But the relationship between *avadāna* and biographical literature goes further than that: even when the previous lives are not addressed at all, Tibetan biographies of Buddhist teachers or lay officials may be designated as *avadāna* (Tib. *rtogs* [*par*] *brjod* [*pa*]; e.g. the biography of Pho la nas, the ruler of Tibet in the first half of the 18th cent.; TBRC W7734). In Tibetan literature, the vast and varied corpus of life writing (*rnam thar*, *rtogs brjod*, and related types) is an important narrative genre in itself, which cannot be dealt with in detail here. Suffice it to mention the life stories of two extremely popular Buddhist saints: the hagiographies of Padmasambhava (see Vostrikov, 1970, 32–51; Dalton, 2004; Cantwell & Mayer, 2013) and of Mi la ras pa (Tiso, 1989; Roberts, 2010; Quintman, 2014). These works have undergone various redactions and recastings, leading to narrative formats with carefully woven plots and novelistic traits. Another genre that could arguably be included under Tibetan narrative in the wider sense is Buddhist historiography (*chos 'byung*; see Vostrikov,

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1970; van der Kuijp, 1996a; Martin, 1997). Tibetan biographical and historical writings are at the very core of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions; possibly originally inspired by Chinese traditions of historiography and life writing, they have developed into vast and truly Tibetan genres of literature.

It should also be mentioned here that (quasi-)biographical and (quasi-)historical narrative can be embedded in ritual settings. Since pre-Buddhist times, Tibetan societies have had a tradition of ritual "antecedent tales" (Tib. *smrang*, *rabs*, or *lo rgyus*), narratives about the origin of a specific ritual, relating by whom and under what circumstances it was performed in ancient times. These antecedent tales had to be recited during the performance of the ritual in order to render it effective. It has been shown that this genre of antecedent tales was also adapted for various Buddhist contexts (on antecedent tales in funeral rites, see Dotson, 2013; on the emergence of the Padmasambhava legend in ritual contexts, see Cantwell & Mayer, 2008).

The epic of King Gesar should be mentioned in the context of Tibetan Buddhist narrative too. It is situated between oral and written literature since it is traditionally recited by bards, but there are relatively recent written versions as well. Although the epic features the adventures and heroic feats of the king Gesar, he is at the same time portrayed as a Buddhist ruler who conquers the world and subdues the demons for the welfare of sentient beings (for a detailed analysis, see Stein, 1959; for a concise overview, see Samuel, 1996).

The narrative traditions of Tibet are manifold and exuberant, blending indigenous and foreign elements, and have been transmitted through the centuries in various mediums that inspire one another, such as written composition, oral storytelling, and performance. This article has tried to introduce the most important literature with a focus on the earlier period (mostly pre-15th cent.), giving a few examples for its reception in more recent times. It necessarily finds its limitations in the restriction to written sources, which are the more accessible but presumably smaller part of the vast and vibrant tradition of storytelling in Tibet.

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ULRIKE ROESLER

Buddhist Narrative Literature in China

In addition to the masses of stories in the vast ocean of Buddhist literature that were translated into Chinese, narrative literature intended to propagate Buddhism was also composed in Chinese. In addition, Chinese popular literature was inspired by the forms, ideas, and images of Buddhist literature. The Buddhist doctrine of "skillful means" (Chn. *fangbian* [方便]; Skt. *upāya*) – adapting the level of discourse to the aptitude of the audience – encouraged the creation of narratives dealing with various aspects of Buddhist teaching.

Indian Buddhist narratives had been translated into Chinese beginning in the 2nd century CE. Among these were biographies of Gautama Buddha and didactic stories on the working of karmic law: *jātakas* (birth stories; Chn. *bensheng* [本生]) – stories relating the Gautama's earlier existences – and *avadānas* (parables; Chn. *yinyuan* [因緣]) about the deeds of bodhisattvas and other Buddhist figures. Many of the themes of these stories originated in India's oral literature. A representative collection of such stories is the *Liudu ji jing* (六度集經; Collected Scripture of the Six Perfections; T. 152), which was translated by the Sogdian monk Kang Senghui (康僧會; 3rd cent. CE). Though apparently based on original Indian sources, it is also to a considerable extent a composition by the monk himself (trans. Chavannes, 1910–1911, 1934). One large collection of Buddhist tales, constituting various parables, is the *Baiyu jing* (百喻經; Canonical Scripture of a Hundred Parables; T. 209) attributed to the Indian monk Saṃghasena (5th cent. CE) and translated into Chinese by his disciple Guṇavṛddhi, who lived in southern China, in 492 CE. It is known for its high literary quality (Lo, 2006). Another very influential collection of stories included in the Buddhist canon is the *Xianyu jing* (賢愚經; Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish; T 202), which consists of tales collected by Chinese monks in the Central Asian city of Khotan in 445 CE (Mair, 1993).

Narrative fragments also appeared in predominantly non-narrative works of Buddhism. For example, scriptures of the *sūtra* type, especially popular in China, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* [妙法蓮華經]; Lotus Sūtra of the Wonderful Law; T. 262) and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie jing* [維摩詰經]; T. 474), contain many parables and tales intended to propagate their teachings. The Larger Prajñāpāramitā commentary known as *Da zhidu lun* (大智度論; *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*; T. 1509), attributed to Nāgārjuna, contains a wealth of *jātakas*, *avadānas*, and so on (Lamotte, 1944–1980). The tales included in the *Da zhidu lun* have been collected and translated by Saigusa Mitsuyoshi and Watanabe Shōgo (1973).

Furthermore, when Buddhist monks preached the doctrine to the Chinese, they often resorted to the tales about retribution that were inserted into long religious services. This situation is described in the Buddhist biographical work *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳; Lives of Eminent Monks; T. 2059) by the monk Huijiao (慧皎; 497–554 CE), which refers to the early period of the spread of Buddhism among the native populations of China. This work notes that the sermons were given in the middle of the night, when the audience was exhausted with the monotonous chanting of ritual texts and the invocation of the Buddha's names, and that they included explications of major Buddhist ideas, religious practices, and the structure of the universe (heaven and hell). These notions were illustrated in the exemplary stories, called *jātakas* and *avadānas* in this text, which were certainly related to the above-mentioned Buddhist written genres (T. 2059 [L] 417c). Huijiao described the effect of these sermons on the audience of Buddhist believers (including both clerics and lay persons) in the following words:

> [W]hen the preacher speaks about impermanence, he makes heart and body shiver with fear; if he speaks about hell, tears of anxiety gush forth in streams. If he points out earlier karma, it is as if one clearly sees one's deeds from the past; if he predicts future consequences, he manifests coming retribution. If he talks about the joys [of the Pure Land], his audience feels happy and elated; if he discourses on the sufferings [of hell], their eyes are filled with tears. (T. 2059 [L] 418a4–7)

Thus, stories illustrating major Buddhist notions functioned in both a scriptural and a performative

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(liturgical and storytelling) setting
devices.

Before going on to a discussion
of Buddhist narratives in China, we
great influence of Buddhist narrati
the development of Chinese literat
the following aspects:

1. Many topics, ideas, and ter
scriptures and their popular retelli
porated into Chinese literature, incl
ated by authors who were highly er
Chinese (e.g. Sun Changwu, 2007
Hong, 2007; Liu Huiqing, 2013);

2. The Chinese translations of
tures and sermons based thereon
elements of vernacular language
lated the development of vernacula
the 8th to the 13th centuries, inclu
fiction and musical drama; and

3. Buddhist texts, such as *sūtras*
lar explanations, were written in p
(alternation of prose sections with
ent forms), which was then borrov
vernacular literature, including th
ous storytelling genres.

Two main categories of nar
were created by Buddhist monks
ers in China: (1) miracle tales, m
Chinese, and (2) long prosimetr
semi-vernacular language.

Early miracle tales, though of
monastic settings, were mostly crea
of lay believers and were written
authors (Campany, 2012, 2, 31). I
narratives that originated in Buddh
transcriptions of oral performance
or by lay entertainers. Nevertheles
were generally despised by Confuc
formed the majority of literate ind
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tions were often dismissed and los
centuries. Some, however, were re
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Gansu province of northwestern
Zhongmin *et al.*, 1957; Kanaoka Sh
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Xihou, 2000), and others later on i
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in China

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trating major Buddhist notions
a scriptural and a performative

(liturgical and storytelling) setting as explanatory devices.

Before going on to a discussion of major genres of Buddhist narratives in China, we should note the great influence of Buddhist narrative literature on the development of Chinese literature, revealed in the following aspects:

1. Many topics, ideas, and terms of Buddhist scriptures and their popular retellings were incorporated into Chinese literature, including those created by authors who were highly erudite in Classical Chinese (e.g. Sun Changwu, 2007, 197–202; Chen Hong, 2007; Liu Huiqing, 2013);
2. The Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures and sermons based thereon often contained elements of vernacular language and thus stimulated the development of vernacular literature from the 8th to the 13th centuries, including traditional fiction and musical drama; and
3. Buddhist texts, such as *sūtras* and their popular explanations, were written in prosimetric form (alternation of prose sections with poetry of different forms), which was then borrowed into Chinese vernacular literature, including the novel and various storytelling genres.

Two main categories of narrative literature were created by Buddhist monks and lay believers in China: (1) miracle tales, mostly in Classical Chinese, and (2) long prosimetric narratives in semi-vernacular language.

Early miracle tales, though often referring to monastic settings, were mostly created in the milieu of lay believers and were written down by literati authors (Campany, 2012, 2, 31). Long prosimetric narratives that originated in Buddhist sermons were transcriptions of oral performances either by monks or by lay entertainers. Nevertheless, both categories were generally despised by Confucian scholars, who formed the majority of literate individuals in traditional China; therefore, individual texts and collections were often dismissed and lost in the course of centuries. Some, however, were rediscovered beginning in 1900 in the form of manuscripts preserved in the sealed library of the Dunhuang cave temples in Gansu province of northwestern China (e.g. Wang Zhongmin *et al.*, 1957; Kanaoka Shōhn, 1971; Huang Zheng & Zhang Yongquan, 1997; Mair, 1983; Zhang Xihou, 2000), and others later on in monastic libraries in Japan (e.g. Makita Tairyō, 1970).

Miracle Tales

Miracle tales (*lingyan* [靈驗], *yingyan* [應驗], or *ganying* [感應]; lit. miraculous responses), written down from the 4th century onward, are records of miraculous events that "testify for" the power of Buddhist deities, monks, and nuns and the efficacy of Buddhist devotional practices, as well as illustrate the veracity of Buddhist claims and warn of the consequences of violating Buddhist norms. Most scholars, especially scholars from China, consider them to be a subset of the genre of "tales of anomalies" (*zhiguai* [志怪]) that has indigenous Chinese roots and also developed during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589 CE) (Liu Jianguo, 2004, 579–600; Campany, 2012, 17). Both were quite similar in terms of formal characteristics and language (Campany, 2012, 29). Even those scholars who insist on a clear distinction between these two types of stories agree that a considerable number of the later *zhiguai* (5th–6th cents.) were influenced by Buddhist ideas, topics, and motifs (Zhang Zhenjun, 2014, 82–147, 226). Despite disagreement on the literary qualities of these tales (traditionally they were presented as a type of historical record), they were of paramount importance for the development of later fiction in China. Miracle tales present Buddhist concepts transplanted to Chinese soil and illustrated through the personal experience of local people; thus they represent the Chinese adaptation of Buddhism to a lay audience (Campany, 2012, 31–36).

Such Buddhist tales of the supernatural are mainly of three kinds:

1. accounts of miraculous responses to the pleas of believers who found themselves in trouble (usually about the help rendered by the almighty bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; Chn. Guan[shi]yin [觀(世)音] or Guangshiyin [光世音]);
2. examples of piety and sincere belief; and
3. remarkable deeds of monks and laymen who possessed particular spiritual powers.

The earliest known collection of stories about the miraculous responses of Avalokiteśvara was Xie Fu's (謝敷) *Guangshiyin yingyan ji* (光世音應驗記; Accounts of Miracles by Avalokiteśvara), which was soon lost but, reconstructed from memory, became the basis of the *Guangshiyin yingyan ji* (光世音應驗記) compiled by Fu Liang (傅亮; 374–426 CE) in 399 CE (Dong Zhiqiao, 2002, 2). The latter had long been lost in China also, but a manuscript copy was discovered in Japan in 1943. Following research by

Japanese scholars, it was edited and published (e.g., Makita Tairyō 1970; Dong Zhiqiao, 2002, 1–27). These collections have been quite extensively studied by scholars in several countries (e.g. Rice, 2008; Zuo, 2008). Other well-known collections of this type compiled during the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties include the following:

> the *Xuanyan ji* (宣験記; Records in Proclamation of Manifestations) by Liu Yiqing (劉義慶; 403–444 CE; Liu Jianguo, 2004, 586–590); the *Xu Guangshiyin yingyan ji* (續光世音應驗記; Further Accounts of Miracles by Avalokiteśvara) by Zhang Yan (張演; early 5th cent. CE; Dong Zhiqiao, 2002, 28–56); the *Xi Guanshiyin yingyan ji* (繫觀世音應驗記; Continued Accounts of Miracles by Avalokiteśvara) by Lu Gao (陸杲; 459–532 CE; Dong Zhiqiao, 2002, 57–207); the *Mingxiang ji* (冥祥記; Accounts of Mysterious Revelations) by Wang Yan (王琰; c. 500 CE), which, with 131 tales, is the largest of these collections (Liu Jianguo, 2004, 590–596; Campany, 2012, 63–260); and the *Jingyi ji* (旌異記; Citations of Marvels) by Hou Bo (侯白; late 6th cent.; Liu Jianguo, 2004, 602–605).

There were also miracle tales related to the most popular Buddhist *sūtras*; the rich narrative tradition related to the *Diamond Sūtra* is the most notable in this respect (Ho, 2013). These tales about miracles constitute an immense corpus of Buddhist literature in China; they have been continuously composed up through later times (see e.g. Gjertson, 1989, for a study and translation of the *Mingbao ji* [冥報記; Records of Miraculous Retribution] of Tang Lin [唐臨; 600–? CE]).

Prosimetric Narratives

Sūtra Explanation Texts and Karmic Tales

From such early sources as the *Gaoseng zhuan* we learn that there were itinerant monks who preached Buddhism to the laity and who often used exemplary tales as a means of proselytizing (known as *shuo fa* [說法] or *changdao* [唱導]; lit. sing and lead), called *changdaoshi* (唱導師; instructors in faith) during the Northern and Southern dynasties. The *Gaoseng zhuan* has a whole section devoted to these monks-proselytizers (T. 2059 [L] 415c–418a). During the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), oral Buddhist preaching for the laity was usually called *sujiang* (俗講; lectures for the laity). These lectures on the Buddhist scriptures were quite popular in the capitals of the Tang state and were even sponsored by the imperial court, at least before the persecution of Buddhism in 845 CE, as is attested by several historical sources, for example, the diary of the Japanese pilgrim Ennin (圓仁; 793/794–864 CE), the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* (入唐求法巡禮行記; Record of Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Law; Ennin, 2007; Reischauer, 1955a; 1955b). Lectures for the laity were given on festival days and were also performed at the request of believers who paid for this service in conjunction with Buddhist rituals (e.g. Reischauer 1955a, 150–156). The written versions of these sermons apparently are *jiangjing wen* (講經文; *sūtra* explanation texts), as found in Dunhuang. They were used to explain the contents of the most popular Buddhist scriptures, to a broader audience. Examples of this genre are the *Miaofa lianhua jing jiangjing wen* (妙法蓮華經講經文; Explanation Text of the Lotus Sūtra of the Wondrous Law), the *Weimojie jing jiangjing wen* (維摩詰經講經文; Explanation Text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), the *Jingang boruo boluomi jing jiangjing wen* (金剛般若波羅蜜經講經文; Explanation Text of the *Diamond Sūtra*), and others (Huang Zheng & Zhang Yongquan, 1997, 706–750, 751–923, 635–666). The complete transcripts of the Buddhist lectures demonstrate that they consisted of quotations from a certain *sūtra* followed by long explanations in both prose and verse passages. Lectures were conducted by two persons: a dharma master (*fashi* [法師]), who explained the contents of the *sūtra*, and a cantor (*dujiang* [都講]), who sang the title and text passages of the *sūtra* (Sun Kaidi, 1956; Mair, 2013). This division of roles apparently originated in the Buddhist explanation of *sūtras* of the earlier period (Fukui Fumimasa, 1973; Tang Yongtong, 2000). The explanation of *sūtras* was preceded by the short introit in verses called *yazuo wen* (押座文; seat-settling text; Mair 1989; 29).

There is another genre of literature similar to the *jiangjing wen*, usually called *yuanqi* (緣起; or *yinyuan* [因緣]; tales of conditioned origin), which continues the canonical tradition of Buddhist parables (*avadānas*; Schmid, 2002, 122–123). These describe the workings of karma in a biographical context, and apparently were performed at the same religious assemblies as the lectures on *sūtras*. The texts that represent the genre of *yuanqi* were also found only in Dunhuang, the most important being *Mulian yuanqi* (目連緣起; Circumstances of Mulian), dealing with the story of Buddha's disciple Mulian (Mahāmaudgalyāyana) rescuing the soul of his mother from hell, and *Chou nü yuanqi* (醜女緣起; Circumstances of the Ugly Girl), telling a story of karmic retribution (Schmid, 2002, 163–228).

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Transformation Texts and Thei

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Their use of canonical subject matter and prosimetric form make them quite different from the mostly prose miracle tales composed in China. D.N. Schmid further argues that *yuanqi* should be distinguished from "records of circumstances of…" (*yinyuanji* [因緣記]), also discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts, that concern the lives of Chinese monks and represent the blend of Buddhist hagiographies and narratives of karmic retribution (Schmid, 2002, 124–127).

Transformation Texts and Their Legacy

Another important narrative literary genre rooted in Buddhist traditions is the *bianwen* (變文; transformation text), which was popular during the periods of the Tang and Five Dynasties (907–960 CE) but disappeared in the early Song dynasty (960–1279). Transformation texts had been lost for many centuries before they were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts and published by Chinese scholars in the mid-20th century (Wang Zhongmin *et al.*, 1957). They were written in vernacular language and prosimetric style.

The term "transformation" (Chn. *bian*) in their titles is related to the Buddhist technical terms meaning supernatural manifestation (e.g. Skt. *nirmāṇa*, transformation; *prātihārya* and *virkurvita*, manifestation, etc.; Mair, 1989, 68–69). These "manifestations" originally stood for the miracles performed by Buddhist deities and monks; by extension the term was applied to the performing practices of preachers and storytellers, who often tried to imitate these effects while narrating miraculous events. The extant transformation texts are considered to be connected to the oral performance called *zhuanbian* (轉變; presentation of transformations), which involved showing images related to the story being narrated (Mair, 1989, 107). A picture scroll used in these performances (P 4524), as well as manuscripts that directly mention or indirectly refer to the pictures, were also discovered at Dunhuang (Mair, 1989, 99–100).

Many East Asian scholars consider transformation texts to be a further development of the above-mentioned *sujiang* tradition. V.H. Mair (1988) has argued that transformation texts evolved out of the Indian tradition of picture storytelling, which spread to Asia and ultimately to Europe, apparently reaching China from Central Asia. In the Buddhist context, this type of pictorial storytelling is related to the practices of visualizing buddhas and bodhisattvas, together with the recitation of their names, as well as the painting of pictures showing heavens and hells. These pictures are called *bianxiang* (變相; transformation tableaux) in China and thus have a parallel relationship to the genre of transformation texts.

According to the strict (narrow) definition of *bianwen* offered by V.H. Mair (1989, 26–27), based on the original generic titles and specific formal characteristics of the texts, there are only 7 to 12 extant transformation texts. Furthermore, there appear to be two types of these texts: the first uses subject matter borrowed from the Buddhist scriptures, most notably the *Xiangmo bianwen* (降魔變文; Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons) and *Damujianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen* (大目犍連冥間救母變文; Transformation Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana's Rescue of His Mother from the Underworld; the second type narrates secular (historical) stories, such as *Wang Zhaojun bianwen* (王昭君變文; Transformation Text on Wang Zhaojun) and *Zhang Yichao bianwen* (張義潮變文; Transformation Text on Zhang Yichao). V.H. Mair has also argued for the necessity of a distinction between *sujiang* (lectures for laity) and transformation texts (Mair, 1989, 29), between which Chinese scholars usually did not distinguish (Wang Zhongmin *et al.*, 1957; Huang Zheng & Zhang Yongquan, 1997). As several historical records demonstrate, the former category was the preserve of monks, whereas the latter was performed by professional entertainers, apparently similar to the storytellers known from later Chinese writings (Mair, 1989, 149–170). The transformation texts' treatment of secular subjects also reveals the lay affiliation of their performers.

Although transformation texts were no longer being performed by the early 11th century, the tradition of oral Buddhist narratives continued. Several sources of the 12th–13th centuries mention a type of storytelling of Buddhist subject matter called *tan jing* (談經; discourse on scriptures) or *shuo jing* (說經; telling scriptures), which was performed in the capitals by lay entertainers rather than ordained Buddhist monks. "Telling scriptures," often in a humorous fashion, was one of the performing arts of the entertainment quarters (Průšek, 1938). The long prosimetric narrative (discovered in Japan in the 20th cent.) called *Datang Sanzang qu jing shihua* (大唐三藏取經詩話; Story with Verses about Monk Tripiṭaka of the Great Tang Fetching *Sūtras*; alternative title: *Datang Sanzang fashi qu jing ji* [大唐三藏法師取經記]), whose author is unknown, perhaps dates back to the 13th century and is related to this oral storytelling on Buddhist themes (Li Shiren & Cai Jinghao, 1997). On the one hand, it is based on the historical story of the Chinese monk Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE), who traveled to India in search of new Buddhist texts, as narrated in the *Datang xiyu ji* (大唐西域記, T. 2087; Accounts of the Western Regions under the Great Tang), written down by his disciple Bianji (辯機) in 646 CE – though it adds many fantastic fictional details. On the other hand, it can be regarded as an antecedent of the famous fantastic novel *Xiyou ji* (西游記; Journey to the West), attributed to a scholar named Wu Cheng'en (吳承恩; 1501–1582; Dudbridge, 1970).

Precious Scrolls

During the Yuan (1260–1368) period, another genre of popular religious narratives appeared in China: *baojuan* (寶卷; precious scrolls). These also are prosimetric texts in vernacular language. Scholars still debate the origin of this literary form and especially its relation to the Tang transformation texts. Although the form of later 18th–19th centuries precious scrolls resembles that of transformation texts, the earliest examples of this genre are rather closer to the monastic tradition of scripture explanation than to entertaining storytelling. The form and content of the early precious scrolls follow those of *Xiaoshi Jingang jing keyi* (銷釋金剛經科儀; Liturgy Based on the *Diamond Sūtra* with Full Explication; c. 1242) by the monk Zongjing (宗鏡), which closely resembles *sūtra* explanation texts discovered in Dunhuang (Wang Jianchuan & Lin Wanchuan, vol. I, 1999, 1–62). It is considered to be an antecedent of the later precious scrolls that imitated the form of the Buddhist scriptures (Sawada Mizuho, 1975, 29, 101; Overmyer, 1999, 34–38; Che Xilun, 2009, 66–72). The earliest known example of narrative precious scrolls, the *Mulian jiumu chuli diyu shengtian baojuan* (目連救母出離地獄生天寶卷; Precious Scroll on Mulian Rescuing His Mother [and Helping Her] to Escape from Hell and Be Born in Heaven; two incomplete manuscripts are dated to 1372 and 1440), deals with the same topic as the *Damujianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen*. However, the details of the story in this precious scroll are closer to the ones in the later apocryphal Buddhist scripture (c. 13th cent.) than to those of transformation texts (Berezkin, 2013a).

From the 16th century onward, precious scrolls were used as a form of writing by religious leaders who founded their own teachings. These teachings often represent specific interpretations of Buddhist doctrine, notably the ideas of the Chan and Pure Land schools. Among the early examples of these sectarian precious scrolls is the *Wubu liuce* (五部六冊; Five Books in Six Volumes) by Patriarch Luo or Luo Qing (羅清; 1442–1527), the founder of Wuwei jiao (無爲教; Teaching of Non-Activism), first printed in 1509 (Pu Wenqi, vol. CI, 2005, 97–534). Numerous precious scrolls that date back to the 16th-18th centuries are filled with Buddhist imagery, terms, and ideas, although many religious beliefs and practices that they propagate are unknown in mainstream Buddhism (Sawada Mizuho, 1975, 34–38; Overmyer, 1999; ter Haar, 2014).

However, sectarian precious scrolls existed alongside narratives on more mainstream Buddhist themes that were not necessarily related to sectarian teachings. An example of such a precious scroll, which still remains popular in China, is the *Xiangshan baojuan* (香山寶卷; Precious Scroll of Incense Mountain; c. 14th–15th cent.). It tells the story of the female incarnation of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin as Princess Miaoshan (妙善; "Marvelous Goodness"), who overcame many obstacles on her path of spiritual realization (Dudbridge, 2004; Idema, 2008). The early recension of this text (printed c. 16th-17th cents.) was transmitted to Vietnam, so the earliest extant edition is that reprinted in Hanoi in 1772 on a royal order (Berezkin & Riftin, 2013). This text is typical of precious scrolls, many of which tell stories of the spiritual self-cultivation of Buddhist women. Other early examples of such texts include the *Huang shi nü baojuan* (黃氏女寶卷; Precious Scroll on Lady Huang; the 16th-cent. recension is included in part in the famous novel *Jin Ping Mei cihua* [金瓶梅詞話; Plum Flowers in the Golden Vase with Lyrics]; before 1617) and the *Liu Xiang nü baojuan* (劉香女寶卷; Precious Scroll on Woman Liu Xiang; earliest ed. is dated 1774; Grant, 1989; Overmyer, 1985; Grant & Idema, 2011). These precious scrolls were in high demand by female believers, who constituted the majority of the audience of precious-scrolls performances.

Precious scrolls were recited at religious assemblies by Buddhist monks and nuns, as well as by lay specialists (including sectarian masters), and this performance art became known as *xuanjuan* (宣卷; scroll recitation). The peculiar feature of these performances is the use for recitation of manuscripts and printed copies. From early descriptions we know that in the 16th–17th centuries, such performances took place in believers' homes and in temples (Che Xilun, 2009, 130–139). Usually the event started in

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Buddhist Narrative Subjec
Chinese Fiction and Dram

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period. The most famous example
on a Buddhist narrative is the
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the evening and lasted the whole night. Before the recitation of precious scrolls started, the performers burned incense and prayed to various Buddhist deities. Women in the audience chanted the Buddha's name in unison after each rhymed verse line sung by the performers.

By the early 19th century, most precious-scrolls performance traditions had lost their connection with sectarian teachings (Johnson, 1994). At that time, such performances had become especially popular in the Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Shanxi, and Gansu provinces. These texts are performed in several rural areas even now and are recognized by the Chinese state as part of its "intangible cultural heritage" (Bender, 2001; Berezkin, 2011; 2013b; Berezkin & Mair, 2014). Nowadays, they include retellings of traditional Buddhist narratives, such as hagiographies of Gautama Buddha, Bodhisattva Guanshiyin, Mulian, Bodhisattva Dizang (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), and the monk Xuanzang (Duan Ping, 1992–1994; You Hong, 2007; Wang Xiang, 2007; Yao Linrong, 2011). Many precious scrolls of the late period adapt secular stories often borrowed from novels and dramatic works. However, these entertaining stories usually appear in a religious context: they are interpreted from the point of view of Buddhist teachings about karma and have a didactic function.

Buddhist Narrative Subjects in Chinese Fiction and Drama

Buddhist narrative subjects also appeared in Chinese vernacular fiction and drama of the late imperial period. The most famous example of a novel based on a Buddhist narrative is the above-mentioned *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the West), which describes Xuanzang's traveling experiences. Buddhist images and ideas also feature in other fantastic novels, such as *Fengshen yanyi* (封神演義; Investiture of the Gods) by Xu Zhonglin (許仲琳; 16th cent.) and *Nanyou ji* (南游記; Journey to the South), ascribed to Yu Xiangdou (余象斗; late 16th cent.; Meulenbeld, 2014; von Glahn, 2004, 213–221). Besides, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, vernacular novels appeared dedicated to particular Buddhist deities, including Guanyin, the Chan patriarch Bodhidharma (Chn. Damo [達摩]), and the eccentric monk Jigong (濟公; "Crazy Ji"; 1133–1209; Shahar, 1998, 8–19).

The story of Mulian rescuing his mother was adapted for dramatic performances as early as the 12th century; however, the earliest extant recension of the Mulian drama is the didactic *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen* (新編目連救母勸善戲文; Newly Compiled Drama Exhorting Goodness of Mulian Rescuing His Mother) by Zheng Zhizhen (鄭之珍; 1518–1595), which dates back to 1582 (Guo, 2005). The stories of Miaoshan, Liu Xiang, and Lady Huang that were used in precious scrolls also were adopted for dramatic pieces around the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Dudbridge, 2004, 73–79; Che Xilun, 2009, 125–126; Grant 1989, 236–237). The Mulian story is still used in the ritual theatrical performances (usually related to funerary or memorial services) in the modern period, along with several indigenous Buddhist subjects of quite early origin (10th–12th cents.), such as Tang Emperor Taizong's (598–649 CE) journey to hell (which can be found in the Dunhuang materials) and the stories of Lady Huang and Miaoshan. These dramatic pieces still appear during popular Buddhist and Daoist events of the Han and other ethnic groups in various areas of southern China, including Guangdong, Fujian, Yunnan, and Taiwan (Johnson, 1989; Wang Kui, 2010; Yang Shixian, 2011).

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Poetry: South Asia

Traditional Indian terminology does not provide a collective word for hymns and short poetry. They are subsumed under the general category of *kāvya*, "ornate poetry." Therefore a range has to be defined, and in the present article, short poetry is taken to comprise hymns (*stotra, stava*, and *stuti*), letters (*lekha*), religious talks or sermons (*parikathā*), instructions (*nirdeśa*), and songs (*gīti*). Again, these terms establish no independent genres in Indian literary history, but their traditional Buddhist use allows subsuming a number of works characterized by the use of poetical embellishments (*alaṃkāra*) under those categories. Sermons and letters are directed toward an explicit addressee, and in this regard, they are closely related to the category of hymns; this provides an additional argument for treating them together. The addressees of *lekha*s, *parikathā*s, and *nirdeśa*s, however, are rather different from those of the *stotra*s. Letters and sermons are directed toward people of the world, toward other unenlightened persons, and they convey religious instruction for the receiver who is in need of being thus instructed. Hymns are, on the contrary, addressed not only to higher beings, foremost to the Buddha himself, but also, depending on school or vehicle, to other manifestations of the enlightened activity, and these beings are beyond any need of instruction. This is not at all meant to say that hymns are without a religious message, but their message is not directed toward the object and does not serve for the instruction of the addressee. The message of a hymn is descriptive, and if there is an educative purpose, then it is directed toward the subject, namely the reciter or reader of the hymn. Usually a *stotra* describes the appearance and the salvific qualities of its enlightened object, thereby serving the needs of the suffering subject. Since its basic mode is that of devotion, it has the power of generating considerable religious merit (*puṇya*) in the mind of the person who composes, recites, or copies it.

Different from most other literary genres, hymns, letters, and sermons employ the personal pronouns "I" and "you" for expressing the relation between the author and the addressee. In the sermons, this is much less frequently observed, but in the hymns, this is one of the most significant characteristics. It establishes a direct and very intimate relation between the reciter of a hymn and the object of veneration, be it the Buddha himself or another being of the more advanced stages on the path to liberation. Within the realm of verbal expressions the highest degree of immediacy in the relation to a higher being is probably reached in a hymn. A second distinctive characteristic of the hymns is the frequent use of words of veneration – *namas* (homage), *vande* (I venerate), *namāmi* (I bow down), and so on. Immediacy, veneration, and the recollection of the qualities of the venerated object turn hymns into an ideal means for establishing a personal link between subject and object. Therefore it is not surprising that hymns, different from letters and sermons, became an inherent part of ritual practice. This explains their number, which exceeds by far that of the other two genres, and also explains why hymns continue to be composed and recited in the Buddhist countries of Asia.

The beginnings of hymns, letters, and sermons in Sanskrit and as a category of *kāvya* lie in the dark. At present there is no indication that such works were composed before the beginning of the Common Era. To be sure, there are earlier Buddhist examples of the use of *kāvya* style, notably in some of the stanzas included in the *Theragāthā* (Songs of the Monks), and *Therīgāthā* (Songs of the Nuns; Lienhard, 1984, 75ff.), fully preserved only in Pali. However, here the features of *kāvya* are found only in single stanza poems (*muktaka*). Whether some fragments among the manuscripts in Gandhari are to be understood as *stotra*s or *stotra*-like works remains to be settled, although certain words may point in this direction (Salomon, 1999, 39). The first Buddhist author known to write *kāvya* works was Aśvaghoṣa, possibly in the 2nd century CE or slightly earlier. Although it is unlikely that he was without predecessors, nothing is preserved of their work. The genre of hymns as such is much older; the earliest literary document of ancient India, the *Ṛgveda*, consists mainly of hymns addressed to the various gods of the vedic pantheon (Pinault, 1994). It is difficult to say to what extent this vedic collection served as a model when the Buddhists began their own literary productions. Apparently hymns did not play a

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prominent part in early Buddhist literature, since there is no distinct category for them in the oldest arrangements of that literature. There are some hymn-like texts in the scriptures of early Buddhism, and they have inspired later authors, but they are not numerous enough to explain the rising fondness for hymns as a coherent development. Examples of such verses are found already in the older strata of the scriptures of early Buddhism, and they are always addressed to the Buddha. Often it is only a single verse; works consisting of several verses are rare. Well-known are the hymns of the monk Vaṅgīsa/Vāgīśa in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*/*Saṃyuktāgama* (Feer, vol. I, 1884, 185–196). Vaṅgīsa/Vāgīśa is paradigmatic for his eloquence and inspiration (*pratibhāna*) when it comes to composing verses: encouraged by the Buddha himself, they flash (*pratibhānti*) upon his thoughts. Another well-known example is the *Varṇaśata* (Hundred Praises), of the householder Upāli in the *Majjhimanikāya*/*Madhyamāgama*, a eulogy of the Buddha consisting of one hundred epithets in eleven stanzas; its title may have inspired Mātṛceṭa when he composed his *Varṇārhavarṇa* (Praise of the One Worthy of Praise; Hartmann, 1987, 54). Apparently younger are the hymns of the Brahman Nīlabhūti and of the ascetic Kaineya, since both are contained only in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Dutt, 1947, 9–14, 268–280); the latter hymn, however, displays certain similarities with the *Selasutta* (Discourse on [the Meeting with the Brahman] Sela) in the *Suttanipāta* (Andersen & Smith, 1913, 108–110) and thereby connects to an old tradition.

It is unknown who the first author was to compose hymns in the ornate style, and it is impossible to decide which hymn is the oldest among the preserved works. As usual in ancient Indian literature, most of the works are connected with the name of an author, but practically nothing is known about his time and place. In a number of cases (Hartmann, 1987, 34–35), the sources preserve different names for the same author, most notably for Mātṛceṭa, whom some sources identify with Āryaśūra and Aśvaghoṣa. Twice this Mātṛceṭa is simply quoted as the *stotrakāra* (Hartmann, 2009, 231), the composer of hymns, and this is apparently to be understood as "the *stotrakāra* par excellence"; he is credited with a fair number of additional hymns and sermons, some of which may stem from his pen while others by stylistic criteria are decidedly spurious, and the same holds true for many of the poetical compositions connected with the famous philosopher Nāgārjuna.

A number of hymns were considered important enough to become translated into other Buddhist languages, foremost into Chinese and Tibetan but also into some of the less well-known languages of the Buddhist cultures flourishing during the 1st millennium in Central Asia. Fragments have been found of translations, often in the form of bilinguals, into Tocharian, Uighur, and even Khotanese (Chen & Hartmann, forthcoming). The Tibetan translations were collected in a distinct volume of the Tanjur, one of the two parts of the Tibetan canon, and there are good reasons to assume that the redactors of the volume applied the supposed chronology of the authors as one of their ordering principles in arranging the hymns (Schneider, 2014, 16–17). Verification, however, is impossible, and in any case it provides only a relative chronology, since no absolute date is known for any of these authors. Considering such chronological problems and the conflicting ascriptions of authorship, it becomes evident that the authors remain rather shadowy figures despite the great fame attached to some of them.

Some of the hymns were held in high esteem throughout the Indian Buddhist world. For the late 7th century, there is even an eyewitness, the Chinese pilgrim Yijing, who traveled to India during that time; in his travelogue, he reports that all the monks in India, of the "Hīnayāna" and Mahāyāna alike, memorized the two famous hymns of Mātṛceṭa (Hartmann, 1987, 13). He further noted that they could be recited in the full- and new-moon nights when the monks congregated for the confession ceremony (*uposatha*), a truly atmospheric event as he adds (Hartmann, 1987, 12). This apparent popularity is borne out by the high number of quotations from these two *stotras* in the commentarial literature. There are no standard citations; on the contrary, a fairly large number of verses are quoted in different contexts and for various purposes (Hartmann, 2009, 230–233). Those quotations reveal another remarkable fact: some of the hymns became not only very popular but also authoritative to such a degree that they could be cited as reference in order to illustrate or confirm certain points of the teachings. Thus, it is not surprising that such hymns themselves were commented on; the volume in the Tibetan Tanjur contains 54 *stotras*, and for eight of them, it also preserves a commentary.

The manuscript finds outside the Indian subcontinent reveal how much of the Indian Buddhist literature was lost. At the same time, they indicate how Indian works continued to be preserved and used in foreign Buddhist cultures, notably along the ancient Silk Road during the 1st millennium. Indian works were transmitted in their original Sanskrit, they were translated into the local languages, sometimes in the form of bilingual texts in which sections of the original Sanskrit texts alternate with their translations, and they were imitated in indigenous productions, be it in Sanskrit or in local idioms. There are a number of Sanskrit hymns preserved only in Central Asian manuscripts, and in most cases, it is difficult to judge if they were transmitted from India or composed by local scholars and believers (Hartmann, 1997, 286). It is noteworthy that only hymns are attested in the Central Asian manuscripts that have come down to us; so far, not a single fragment of a sermon or a letter has been found. Most likely it was their merit-producing capacity and their function in personal and communal ritual practices that secured the hymns their importance and their omnipresence in the Buddhist world.

Taking the late Indian tradition into consideration, there are literally hundreds of *stotras* (Pandey, 1994), since the pantheon of tantric Buddhism extensively multiplied the praiseworthy objects and its rituals generated a constant need for devotional texts. Thus an exhaustive treatment proves impossible, and it must suffice to illustrate their wide variety with a few examples. Hymns are always composed in verses, and practically all meters known in *kāvya* are utilized. While *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* (a verse with four lines of eight syllables each) is the most widespread, there are hymns with verses in varying meters and others that employ only one. A formally extreme example is the *Daṇḍakavṛttastotra* (Hymn in the *Daṇḍaka* Meter; Hahn, 1987); this is a highly unusual meter, and the single stanza of this hymn consists of four lines of 318 syllables each. The purpose of glorifying the object invites the application of the formal embellishments (*alaṃkāra*) taught in poetics, and the well-balanced mixture of meaningful religious content and its beautiful expression surely contributed to the success of the most popular hymns. There is another feature of the earlier hymns addressed to the Buddha that procured them a wide audience, and this is their "nonsectarian" attitude, which made them acceptable for every Buddhist practitioner.

It is impossible to decide if a title goes back to the author or was added later. Sometimes it appears to be culled from a verse in the beginning or end of the work, as in *Varṇārhavarṇa* 1.1 (*yad avarṇārhavarṇā me*; "that I [previously uttered] praise on what deserved no praise") and *Prasādapratibhodbhava* 153 (*muniprasādapratibhodbhavasya me*; "[this work] of mine which is a product of inspiration due to confidence in the sage"; see below). Sometimes the title derives from the meter, as for the *Vasantatilakastava* (Hymn in the *Vasantatilaka* Meter; Schlingloff, 1952, 116), the *Sragdharāstotra* (Praise in the *Sragdharā* Meter; Vidyabhushana, 1908), and the *Daṇḍakavṛttastotra*, and sometimes it is apparently based on the first word of the *stotra*, as in the *Munayastava*, which opens with the line *munaye lokanāthāya* ("[homage] to the sage, the protector of the world"; Schlingloff, 1952, 85–88) or in the *Nirvikalpastotra* (Praise of the One Free from Imaginations, i.e. *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*, Praise of the Perfection of Understanding), which begins with *nirvikalpe namas tubhyaṃ* ("homage to you, free from imaginations"; Hahn, 1988, 58). Another case in point may be the *Guṇāparyantastotra* (Praise of the One with Unlimited Qualities); its first line is preserved only in Tibetan, but an unpublished brief commentary preserved among the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet starts with the words *guṇāparyanta iti* ("he who disposes of unlimited qualities"). In a few cases, a second title refers to the number of verses, as *Śatapañcāśatka* ([Hymn] in 150 [Verses]), for the *Prasādapratibhodbhava* (Hartmann, 1987, 23).

Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇa* (extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan) consists of 386 stanzas unevenly distributed over 12 chapters (Hartmann, 1987; 2009). As usual we know next to nothing about the *floruit* of this poet, but he must have lived well before the beginning of the 5th century, when he is quoted in a datable translation into Chinese. His main stylistic device is phonetic repetition, for instance alliteration, but he employs it with restraint. The verses are never artificial, but aesthetically pleasing, and often highly elaborate in their treatment of the subject matter. The Buddha transcends every imagination and can be praised only by describing single qualities (ch. 1). Here also the term *bhakti* occurs; within Buddhism, hymns offer the appropriate receptacle for this kind of devotional attitude. The second and longest chapter is a continuous homage, since most stanzas are built on the word *namas*. In the third and fourth chapters, the author praises the Buddha's omniscience (*sarvajñatā*), powers (*bala*), and confidences (*vaiśāradya*), and especially in the fourth, he reveals his mastery when he excerpts a passage from a canonical *sūtra* and adapts it to his verses. The Buddha's unique speech and teaching are the topics of chapters 5 and 6. In the next, Mātṛceṭa equates central terms of Brahmanism with

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Buddhist ones in order to demonstrate that those Brahmanical concepts in their true sense are found only in Buddhism. Chapters 8 and 9 are devoted to the many boons that the Buddha has rendered the world. Some of the specific physical marks of the Buddha are the subject of chapter 10, while in chapter 11, the author singles out the mark that he feels closest to, namely the Buddha's tongue (*jihvā*), since this transmits the words of the Buddha. In Sanskrit the word is feminine, and thus the tongue can be personified as a woman who stands like a queen at the head of all the other bodily marks. The final short chapter serves for instilling fear of the cycle of existence in the hearer or listener, since even the Buddha is subject to the law of impermanence.

The *Prasādapratibhodbhava* (Production of Inspiration due to Confidence [in the Buddha]; extant in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan) is considered the later and more mature work of Mātṛceṭa (Shackleton Bailey, 1951). In its 153 stanzas, the author emphasizes concise wording and applies formal embellishments only to the extent that they never distract from the religious message. A main topic is, as in the *Varṇārhavarṇa*, the indescribability of the Buddha, which inspires the author to multiple apposite images. The Buddha's unsurpassable skillful means in helping others are praised in manifold ways, and again there is a woman, this time compassion (*karuṇā*) as the compelling force, which is described as the wife cruel only to the Buddha himself since she prompts him to undertake the most difficult tasks for the benefit of others.

These two hymns of Mātṛceṭa's are here presented in more detail, since they contain most of the topics recurring in the other *buddhastotras*. Although the author once refers to the Mahāyāna (*Varṇārhavarṇa* 8.23), it is impossible to identify a distinct dogmatic position. The same holds true of many other authors, and even if Mahāyāna terms occur, the tenor of such a hymn often remains that of a rather unspecific veneration of the Buddha that does not prefer certain dogmatic attitudes nor reject others. This is somewhat different with Nāgārjuna's famous four hymns forming the *Catuḥstava* (Tucci, 1932; Lindtner, 1982, 121ff.), all four preserved in Sanskrit and Tibetan, namely the *Lokātītastava* (Hymn to Him Who Transcends the World), the *Niraupamyastava* (Hymn to Him Who Is Incomparable), the *Acintyastava* (Hymn to the Inconceivable), and the *Paramārthastava* (Hymn to the Ultimate Truth). Like Mātṛceṭa's *stotras*, they reveal a deep sentiment of veneration and devotion, but they are highly philosophical, they allude to Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and they are clearly composed from a Mahāyāna standpoint and with the Mahāyāna view of reality.

Nāgārjuna (possibly 2nd to 3rd cents. CE) is credited with a large number of *stotras*, but most of them were composed by others and decidedly later. Well-known are the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra* (Hymn to the Perfection of Wisdom) in 21 stanzas (extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan), actually written by Rāhulabhadra (Hahn, 1988, 57–80) and often used as introduction in Prajñāpāramitā *sūtra* manuscripts, the *Trikāyastava* or *Kāyatrayastotra* (Hymn to the Three Bodies [of a Buddha]; extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan) in four stanzas (Staël-Holstein, 1911), and the *Dharmadhātustava* (Hymn to the True Reality) in 101 stanzas (Seyfort Ruegg, 1971), so far available only in Chinese and Tibetan, but for which a Sanskrit manuscript has recently been found in Tibet and will soon be published (Liu, forthcoming). Apart from the description by Yijing, it is difficult to know if and when the *buddhastotras* were employed in ritual. A function in such a context is to be assumed for the *Sugatapañcatriṃśatstotra* (Hymn to the 35 Buddhas; extant in Tibetan) in 37 stanzas, wrongly ascribed to Mātṛceṭa (Python, 1973, 156–165); these buddhas are addressed in a confession ritual. A well-known example of a hymn used in tantric ritual and meditation is the *Tārā Ekaviṃśatistotra* (Hymn to the 21 [Forms of] Tārā; extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan; Wayman, 1959), which is ascribed to the Buddha himself.

Several hymns – and the earliest ones, if the arrangement of their Tibetan translations in the Tanjur represents a chronological sequence – take up the gods of the Brahmanical pantheon as their starting point in order to establish, by way of contrast, the superiority of the Buddha. They are apologetic in nature, they reflect debates, and they show a means of the Buddhists to deal with the contested claims of their major rivals. Such a text is Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin's *Viśeṣastava* (Hymn to the Excellence [of the Buddha]; extant in Tibetan; Schneider, 1993). In the first 70 of its 76 stanzas, the author juxtaposes a prominent figure or a phenomenon of Hinduism and a corresponding quality of the Buddha, thereby illustrating the preeminence of the latter (see also the inscription in Phanigiri, below). In another, shorter hymn consisting of only 20 stanzas, the *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra* (Hymn to the Omniscient as the Great Lord; extant in Tibetan; Schneider, 1995), the allegedly same author goes a step further: he confines himself to Maheśvara (i.e. Śiva) and reinterprets the characteristic epithets of this god in a Buddhist sense, which provides him with ample opportunities for severe criticism. The Buddha is shown as the true Śiva, and the hymn clearly aims at replacing this god in the central position that he holds among his followers. A third similar work is Śaṃkarasvāmin's *Devātiśayastotra* (Hymn to the Preeminence [of the Buddha] among the Gods; extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan), in 21 stanzas (Schneider, 2014). However, although classified as a *stotra*, the work deviates from the main formal characteristic: the author does not speak to the Buddha, but about him, and the addressees are the non-Buddhists.

A rather sophisticated variant of a hymn is presented by Jñānaśrīmitra (c. 980–1040) in his *Vṛttamālāstuti* (Praise [of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī] in a Garland of Meters; extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan; Hahn, 1971). In 150 stanzas, the author illustrates the same number of different meters, and he does so in the form of a hymn addressed to Mañjuśrī. Each stanza exemplifies one meter, and, no small feat, the name of the meter is always worked into the respective stanza. When M. Hahn edited the work on the basis of its Tibetan translation, he was unaware of the fact that the Sanskrit text is still extant and that the manuscript of a commentary, the *Vṛttamālā(stuti)vivṛti* possibly by Śākyarakṣita, had survived in Nepal. M. Hahn's new edition of the Sanskrit original together with the commentary is currently prepared for the press and will appear posthumously.

While hymns enjoyed a lasting popularity, the (*pari*)*kathā*s never reached a similar status. The term is not clearly defined and therefore admits of a formal variety, which brings out the difficulty of subsuming all the relevant works under the rubric of short poetry. The Buddhist *parikathā*s have no exact counterpart in the literature of the other Indian religious traditions. They display a considerable variety in style, length, and content (Westermann, 2002). Most of them are metrical, but prose is also found, as is a mixture of both. Most are short, but the length varies between six (e.g. the *Udānakathā*) and five hundred stanzas (the *Ratnāvalī*), and the longest work, the *Supathadeśanāparikathā* (Sermon on the Instruction in the Wholesome Ways), covers 30 folios in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka and is written mainly in prose (Hahn & Saito, 2013, 193). The contents are diverse, and a text can be addressed to a single topic or a variety of themes. Generally *parikathā*s are nonphilosophical (with the exception of the *Ratnāvalī*), but practice oriented, and they may best be understood as sermons, although sometimes they also address worldly wisdom in a manner similar to that of the gnomic verses (*subhāṣita*). Another feature that reminds us of the latter genre is, in some *parikathā*s, the rather loose connection among the single verses. Only a few texts are preserved; there are 16 *parikathā*s and 3 *nirdeśa*s, which have so much in common that they are treated together (Dietz, 1984, 93–101; Hahn & Saito, 2013, 194–195). Only two, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā*, are partly or fully preserved in their original Sanskrit, while all the others are known only from translations into Tibetan. The main reason for translating them may have been the fact that most of them are ascribed to well-known authors and poets. Only one of them, Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, became famous, and in Tibetan Buddhism, it continues to be learned, studied, quoted, and commented on until today.

For several reasons, the *Ratnāvalī* (Necklace of Jewels; also known as *Rājaparikathāratnāvalī* [The Necklace of Jewels That Is a Sermon to a King]) is a singular work. With its five hundred stanzas, equally distributed over five chapters, it is by far the longest metrical *parikathā* (Hahn, 1982a). It is the only text of this genre in which the authorship is accepted as genuine. Its outstanding importance is documented by the number of quotations, by translation into Chinese and into Tibetan, and also by the existence of an Indian commentary, a *ṭīkā* written by Ajitamitra and preserved in Tibetan translation (Okada, 1990). Nāgārjuna directs his work to an addressee, a feature normally found in *lekha*s. The first chapter introduces the way of liberation, namely the accumulation of merit and understanding, and then goes on explaining the Madhyamaka doctrine of equally transcending being and nonbeing and realizing that neither a person nor any other reality exists (*pudgaladharmanairātmya*). The second chapter continues this explanation and treats moral behavior with specific reference to the situation of a king. As a result of the right practice, the king will obtain the major and minor characteristics of a great person. Building from there, the third chapter summarizes the attainment of Buddhahood as the core doctrine of the Mahāyāna. This goal requires the two accumulations (*saṃbhāra*), namely of an extraordinary amount of merit (*puṇya*) and of knowledge (*jñāna*). The first will result in attaining the form body (*rūpakāya*) of a buddha, the second in attaining the truth body (*dharmakāya*). Then the king is instructed on how he should practice benefiting himself as well as others. The fourth chapter advises him on the correct behavior toward his

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subjects and his ministers and provides guidelines for policy. This again refers to the domain of merit; in order to develop knowledge, Nāgārjuna emphasizes the emptiness of feeling and bodily pleasures. The Mahāyāna is extolled as the most profound and most efficient teaching, disparaged by others only out of ignorance. In the fifth chapter, the author focuses on the duties of a monk and lists a specific set of 57 mistakes that have to be abandoned. As a bodhisattva, he will perform the six perfections (*pāramitā*) and gradually progress through the ten stages (*bhūmi*). Finally he will become a buddha with an immeasurable amount of merit. The work concludes with the exhortation to put the advice into practice and the wish that the king and all others will attain awakening (Dietz, 1984, 94–96; Lindtner, 1982, 163–169).

The **Vivekakathā* (On Seclusion; extant in Tibetan), allegedly by Gopadatta, describes in 47 stanzas the benefits of a life in the wilderness for a monk (Dietz, 1984, 98), while the **Saptaguṇaparivarṇanākathā* (Description of the Seven Virtues; extant in Tibetan), perhaps of Vasubandhu, emphasizes in 19 stanzas the worldly benefits of leading a moral life and abstaining from anger, envy, jealousy, pride, and similar unfavorable emotions (Dietz, 1984, 97). The **Saṃbhāraparikathā* (On the [Two] Accumulations; extant in Tibetan), consisting of 42 verses and ascribed to the same author, and the 32 stanzas of the **Svapnacintāmaṇiparikathā* (The Wish-fulfilling Gem in a Dream; extant in Tibetan), ascribed to Nāgārjuna, teach the path of the bodhisattva and address topics that concern the relevant practice like the six perfections and the generation of the thought of awakening (Dietz, 1984, 96–97). Another work said to be composed by Vasubandhu is the **Śīlaparikathā* (On Morality; 11 stanzas; extant in Tibetan), which stresses the indispensability of a strong moral behavior; this short composition is the only one besides the *Ratnāvalī* for which an Indian commentary is preserved in a Tibetan translation (Hahn & Saito, 2009). Two sermons are ascribed to Mātṛceṭa: the **Caturviparyāsajihāsākathā* (The Desire to Abandon the Four Errors; 32 stanzas; extant in Tibetan; Dietz, 2008, 17–43) teaches how to overcome the erroneous conception of the impermanent as permanent, of the painful as bliss, of the impure as pure, and of the selfless as self, while the **Kaliyugaparikathā* (On the Age of Quarrel; 13 stanzas; extant in Tibetan) deals with the decline and the suffering in the *kaliyuga* (Dietz, 2000). Listed again under the name of Nāgārjuna, the **Dānaparikathā* (On Giving; extant in Tibetan) emphasizes in 13 stanzas the wholesome result of liberality (Hahn & Saito, 2013); two of these stanzas, however, are taken from Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*. The *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā* (Basket Filled with Jewels of Good Sayings; extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan; Hahn, 1982b) is devoted to giving (*dāna*), the first perfection and an extremely important concept in Buddhism. It is ascribed to Āryaśūra, and in 191 stanzas, it deals mainly with the virtue of giving and describes the manifold meritorious results of this practice. The last five chapters address the remaining five perfections (*pāramitā*). On good grounds, the authorship of Āryaśūra is rejected by present-day scholars; quite clearly it is a compilation, since its compiler borrowed verses from many other poetical works, and probably it is a rather late one, since it quotes profusely from Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (c. 8th cent.).

The three instructions (*nirdeśa*) are, basically, admonitions to leading a moral life and refraining from nonvirtuous actions and the pleasures of the senses. Again they are connected with famous names. The **Daśakuśalakarmapathanirdeśa* (Instruction on the Ten Wholesome Courses of Action; extant in Tibetan), ascribed to Dhārmikasubhūtighoṣa, is a prose text with inserted verses (Dietz, 1984, 100). It describes the well-known set of ten wholesome actions and the corresponding set of the ten unwholesome ones, and it contains two quotations from Mahāyāna *sūtras*. This corresponding set is also treated in the **Daśākuśalakarmapathanirdeśa* (Instruction on the Ten Unwholesome Courses of Action; extant in Tibetan), ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa (Mochizuki & Kanno, 1996; Mochizuki, 2004, 64–67). Vasubandhu appears once more as the author of the **Pañcakāmaguṇādīnavanirdeśa* (Instruction on the Evil of the Five Sensual Pleasures; Tibetan), which exemplifies how indulging into each of the five senses may lead to a very unpleasant result (Dietz, 2009, 89–96). Five of its verses are taken from the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (The Elements of Polity by Kāmandaki; Mitra, 1982), a non-Buddhist collection of gnomic verses, and this reveals once more part of the mechanics of some of the works dealt with here: there is a certain kind of intertextuality, and stanzas are drawn like building blocks from other sources and reassembled in order to create a new or a similar text.

There are few formal distinctions between *parikathās* and *lekhas*, letters. Their basic character is didactic, they deal with the same topics, and they are in verse, but may also contain prose passages. This close relation led the redactors of the Tibetan canon to unite them in the same section.

A letter shows two distinctive features: the first is the introduction, in which the addressee is named, the reason and purpose of the letter are stated, and the attention and benevolence of the addressee are invoked; the second is the ending, which concludes with an exposition of the benefits of the instruction and a benediction (Dietz, 1984, 101–106). However, these criteria were rather flexible, as revealed by the *Ratnāvalī*, which is termed a *parikathā* but could equally well be classified as a *lekha*.

Apart from the genres addressed so far, there is a variety of texts and formats that by the criteria of length and poetical intention also fall into the category of short poetry but defy a clear-cut classification. There are many short compositions that in one way or another exemplify Buddhist doctrines and, at the same time, serve as expressions of personal devotion. An example would be the *Praṇidhānasaptati* (Septuagint of Lofty Aspirations), allegedly by Mātṛceṭa (Lindtner, 1984), a somewhat doubtful ascription, since the work reveals a genuine Mahāyāna background. Regrettably it is only preserved in a Tibetan translation, which makes it difficult to assess its poetical merits. Most likely it is a work of *kāvya*. Then there are the many stray stanzas of Buddhist authors, which came to be included in later anthologies of *subhāṣitas*, that is "well-spoken" verses composed in the tradition of Sanskrit court poetry. A typical example would be Dharmakīrti (c. 600–660 CE) and the verses ascribed to him in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (Kosambi & Gokhale, 1957, lxxxi). In most cases, however, it is impossible to confirm the ascriptions, since the original sources of the verses remain unknown, and therefore a classification appears difficult.

A section of Buddhist *kāvya* literature easily overlooked is poetry in the context of epigraphical sources. Its purpose is often panegyrical, and this connects, as in the case of the single *subhāṣita* verses, with the tradition of Sanskrit court poetry. Inscriptions are written on solid material, and often they are at least roughly datable by means of their paleography or by a date given in the text. An interesting example, and possibly the earliest one of a Buddhist poem in an inscription, is found at Phanigiri in Andhra Pradesh. This inscription commemorates the raising of a wheel of the law (*dharmacakra*); it may stem from the year 306 or 316 CE and extols the Buddha with four stanzas (Skilling & von Hinüber, 2011). As in the hymns of Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin, the Buddha is construed as superior to various Brahmanical gods. A dedicatory inscription incised on a copper scroll for the consecration of a stūpa contains seven stanzas of praise and good wishes (Melzer, 2006, 275–278). It was found in Afghanistan and probably is to be dated to the late 5th century. There are many more dedicatory inscriptions containing short Buddhist poems (e.g. Sircar, 1983, 56–58, 60–62), often in the form of eulogies (*praśasti*), but they still await comprehensive study.

There is yet another area not normally thought of in which short examples of Buddhist poetry are found. For Indian Buddhist writers, it was not unusual to introduce, and sometimes also to conclude, their works on doctrinal topics with one or more verses in order to pay homage or to state the purpose of their work. Such verses are written in the meters employed for poetry, and to varying degrees they are adorned with the characteristic embellishments of *kāvya*. Again there is no study of these short compositions, and it is unknown when and why an author felt the need to open his work with a piece of poetry.

Finally mention has to be made of a literary development characteristic of late Indian Buddhism (c. 1000 CE). Within tantric circles, songs (*gīti*) became a popular medium for expressing spiritual experience on the path to Buddhahood. They presuppose the tantric imagery and terminology, and they seek to communicate a mode of being perhaps best described with the word "mystic". They were intended to be sung, and their origin is not found in *kāvya* literature, but in folk song, adapted to religious purposes. Their language is neither Sanskrit nor Middle Indic, but a form of Old Bengali, and in this they mark the transition to the upcoming regional languages. Since the teachings that they convey are partly esoteric, they employ a specific kind of ambiguous language (*saṃdhyābhāṣā*) that allows them to express an everyday meaning and an esoteric one at the same time. One of the better-known examples is the *Caryāgīti* (Songs of the Mystic Path; Kværne, 1977), a collection of 50 songs ascribed to various authors, among them famous figures of tantric Buddhism like Saraha and Śāntipa. In India and Nepal, only few songs have survived of what originally must have been a considerable body of texts, but this tradition proved extremely influential in Tibetan Buddhism and became an important genre in the literature, best exemplified by Mi la ras pa, the paradigmatic figure of a saint and *yogin*, and his religious biography, entitled *Mgur 'bum* (Hundred Thousand Songs; Chang, 1962).

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JENS-UWE HARTMAN

Poetry

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JENS-UWE HARTMANN

Poetry: China (Until the Song Period)

That Buddhism had a major impact on the Chinese poetic tradition is beyond dispute. The phonological awareness prompted by the process of translation from Indo-European languages, for example, had a verifiable influence on prosody (Mair & Mei, 1991); many other influences in form and content are also detectable. Yet "poetry" (*shi* [詩]) was in premodern China defined not only in linguistic terms but also by reference to history. The language may be straightforward, in the style of a folk ballad, but an awareness of literary tradition generally obtrudes, not just an identification with a cultural heritage stretching back to Confucius – supposed editor of the *Shijing* (詩經; Classic of Poetry) – and beyond. To participate in this tradition was something that only the well educated could aspire to, and by the time that Buddhism was establishing itself in China at the end of the 2nd century CE, participation granted membership of what has been termed an "Empire of the Text" (Connery, 1998). Indian Buddhist poetry, however, was by definition not poetry in the Chinese sense and was seldom referred to using the Chinese term. Literary translation was thus impossible for cultural as well as linguistic reasons, and so only very occasional attempts at including intertextual cultural references may be found (Palumbo, 2013, 248–249). A Chinese Buddhist might versify faultlessly, but the need to observe both cultural and linguistic codes barred any Buddhist verse not written in accordance with the prevailing norms from acceptance as poetry, though there were some monks (Cao, 1994, 251–286) and more laypeople who rose to the challenge of writing within the tradition – which did moreover gradually broaden, especially by the late Tang.

One versified Chinese genre that had a slightly different history from poetry was the expository rhapsody, termed *fu* (賦). As a vehicle for Buddhist sentiments, it was used with conspicuous success by the lay follower Sun Chuo (孫綽; *fl.* 330–365), whose composition on the ascent of the Tiantai Mountains (*You Tiantai shan fu* [遊天台山賦]; Rhapsody on Roaming the Celestial Terrace Mountains; Knechtges, 1987, 243–253; Mather, 1961), drawing both on earlier narratives of spiritual travel and on an emerging interest in landscape (Kirkova, 2008), was one of the very few pieces of literature mentioning Buddhism to be included in the normative *Wenxuan* (文選; Selections of Refined Literature) literary anthology of the 6th century. More than half a dozen other Buddhist pieces in this genre were collected in 644 in Daoxuan's (道宣; 597–667 CE) *Guang Hongming ji* (廣弘明集; Extended Collection on the Propagation of Light; T. 2103 [LVII] 335b29–342c4), the earliest surviving compilation of literary verses on Buddhism, though despite the continued vitality of secular compositions, nothing Buddhist in this genre has been transmitted from after the 7th century before the revival of its use by Yanshou (or Yongming Yanshou [永明延壽]; 904–975 CE): one of his pieces, the *Zhu Xinfu* (註心賦; Annotated Prose Poem on the Mind), was eventually printed as a separate item in the Jiaxing (嘉興) edition of the Buddhist canon in 1637 (ZZ 1231).

From the earliest period of the formation of the Buddhist canon in China, much poetry had of course been present, but in a somewhat disguised form, translated more often than not without regard for rhyme, and labeled not as poetry but as *ji* (偈), a transcription of *gāthā* (Saitō, 2013). But though this might be no more than "blank verse," it still tended to follow the five- or seven-syllable line length that in the late Han had superseded, outside the most formal contexts, the four-word lines of the *Shi jing*. Despite the lack of high cultural prestige for this new genre in China, it has been seen as influencing the main poetic tradition, specifically in the development of seven-syllable poetry and of the Chinese quatrain or *jueju* (絕句; Chen, 2004; Li & Wu, 2004). But by the 6th century, when these developments are apparent, Chinese poetry had in fact been opened up to a certain amount of Buddhist content as well, while still constrained by the limits of tradition. This development was traced by later commentators from the 5th century onward to innovations made in the century before (Holzman, 1996, 126–138). The monk Zhi Dun (支遁; 314–366 CE), teacher of Sun Chuo, had availed himself of a vogue for verse drawing on the abstract language of Laozi (老子) and Zhuangzi (莊子) to produce poetry using largely the same vocabulary but introducing Bud-

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dhist meanings: the resulting Buddhist message can be misconstrued but was evidently recognized at the time (Lo, 1994). The same vogue even allowed the preservation of some lines attributed to the Kuchean translator Kumārajīva (350–409/413 CE) in the 76th fascicle of the 7th-century *Yiwen leiju* (藝文類聚; Collection of Literature Arranged by Categories; Ouyang, 1982, 1294).

This vogue was not sustained, however, as poetry turned to matters such as landscape description, another area in which Buddhist influence has been posited, especially in the poetry of Xie Lingyun (謝靈運; 385–433 CE). In fact, the material world in Indian Buddhism was no more than the product of collective past karma, even if in time, East Asian Buddhists came to imbue it with the potential for enlightenment (Barrett, 1991a). So arguably the introduction of Buddhism did not in itself stimulate the development of landscape poetry, which perhaps had deeper Chinese roots and a longer process of maturation. But even so, Xie Lingyun's writings of scenic description have been recognized since the second half of the 20th century as poetry tinged with strong Buddhist feeling (Chan, 2012, 127–158). In the century following Xie Lingyun's life, the influence of Buddhist conceptions of vision – that is, Buddhist ways of seeing things – have also been suspected in poetic contexts (Tian, 2007, 200–208, 233–252). One of the poets most conspicuous in this respect, the Liang-dynasty prince Xiao Gang (蕭綱; 505–551 CE), is represented in Daoxuan's anthology by a collective sequence of poems on the theme of the four excursions of the youthful prince Siddhārtha from his palace that eventually prompted his quest to become a buddha. Poetry on this theme had evidently already been collected in an earlier anthology by the start of the 6th century, to judge from its table of contents preserved in the *Chu Sanzang jiji* (出三藏記集; Collection of Notes on the Translated Tripiṭaka; T. 2145 [LV] 87a1). But Xiao Gang's pieces, for all their Buddhist topics, were produced as part of a literary-salon contest and observe all the sumptuous conventions of contemporary palace poetry, scarcely conforming to our own image of what East Asian Buddhist poetry might be (Martin, 2002; 2004).

Yet the very artificiality of the "palace style" (*gong ti* [宮體]; closely wrought poetry of the type found in the *Yutai xinyong* [玉台新詠; New Songs from the Jade Terrace] anthology: Tian, 2007, 162–262) and of its later Tang descendant "regulated verse" (*lüshi* [律詩], which follows set tonal and syllabic patterns, as explained in a number of translated anthologies; see e.g. Yip, 1976, 226–230) depends entirely on a conscious phonological awareness of tone as well as rhyme that was, as mentioned above, unambiguously the outcome of the linguistic encounter between Chinese and South Asian languages. The complexities of these styles recreate in the Chinese language the levels of entirely different phonological complexity seen in Sanskrit poetry, and arguably do so in such a way as to render poetry no longer something to be sung but to be chanted after the manner of Chinese Buddhist liturgy (Klein, 2013, 78). Chinese Buddhist liturgical singing itself was also because of the difference between Chinese and South Asian languages, unrelated in musical terms to South Asian liturgy, but again was a creation independent of earlier Chinese musical tradition, legitimated by stories of divine revelation and by false ascription. Buddhist liturgical compositions in China remained, however, textually quite distinct from "poetry" especially of the intricate, *lüshi* type, so this hypothesis requires careful examination – it may be, however, that creating a tonally aware poetry brought it closer to the chanting of Buddhist prose in the Indian fashion (Demiéville, 1929, 96; Whitaker, 1957, 587). In any case, the importance of Indian approaches to literature, communicated through Buddhism, in suggesting modes of analysis of the Chinese tradition is clear (Mair, 2001).

That these influences are not overt is not simply to be explained by the linguistic difference between China and South Asia, which in itself prevented the importation of Indian poetry, save in translated forms that disguised its very status as literature. The new literary knowledge concerning the potential of prosodic elements conveyed through Buddhism to the educated elite who during the 5th and 6th centuries rethought the Chinese literary tradition did not find expression in an overtly alien language, larded with Buddhist Chinese neologisms, precisely because Buddhist thought affirmed the value of the Chinese literary tradition at the mundane (*shijian* [世間]; Skt. *laukika*) level (Barrett, 2009): its language was worthy of respect, even if its religious value was only relative. The tradition was not thereby "Buddhicized," but it no longer unfolded on purely indigenous lines. Thus, even while the point may be made that innovations in thinking about poetry in Tang times – such as are to be found, for example, under the name of Wang Changling (王昌齡; c. 698–755 CE) – are not Buddhist, the relevant terminology used to express these innovations suggests at some points an awareness of Buddhist translation

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usage. The best example of this in the surviving excerpts from Wang Changling's work on the formal requirements of poetic writing concerns the word *jing* (境), meaning a "scene" envisaged mentally; in China the term referred originally to a bounded territory but in Buddhist translations had long been used to indicate more abstract realms or spheres of action (Yang, 2007, 172–174).

Wang Changling's friend, the much more celebrated poet Wang Wei (王维; 701–761 CE), provides a practical illustration of the nature of the poetry written by a devout Buddhist within a secular tradition. It is easy to find Buddhist references in Wang Wei's poetry, with poems dedicated to describing a Buddhist monastery, for example. The this-worldly phenomenon of the Buddhist monastery had been celebrated – in one influential prose piece (Forte, 1996, 473–481) – even in the generally strictly secular *Wenxuan*, and many poets less Buddhist than Wang Wei were happy to commemorate visits to such places. But Wang Wei does not write religious poetry, in the sense that he does not consistently use verse for the exposition of Buddhist ideas, even if some of his work moves in that direction (Lomová, 2006). The attitude of restraint and circumspection that he conveys in this regard has frequently been interpreted as displaying a form of Chan (禪) poetics, and it is certainly true that the excessive material display of patronage that Buddhism enjoyed during the late 7th and early 8th centuries had by Wang Wei's time been curtailed by government action, so a degree of what could be called inwardness is conspicuous in the Buddhist thought of Wang Wei's time, including the thought of those masters with whom Wang Wei had dealings (Barrett, 1991b, 258).

But explicit statements of any kind of Chan poetics are completely absent at this time (Yang, 2007). In fact, there is also no evidence even of a Chan tradition at this time, in the sense of an overall movement within which the various lineages tracing themselves back to the paradigmatic 6th-century patriarch Bodhidharma all situated themselves – that seems to be a development of the next century. To emphasize such historical niceties might seem to ignore the evidence of Wang Wei's writings themselves, but it is difficult to be sure that we are reading them without reference to our own anachronistic image of what Chan poetry might be. In historical terms it is just as possible that the aesthetic embodied in Wang Wei's poetry influenced the emerging Chan tradition as that something we can justifiably call Chan thought influenced his writing of poetry. For there is nothing to show that the word "*chan*" (a transcription of a Middle Indic form of the Sanskrit word *dhyāna*) meant at this stage anything other than meditation, as it always had done earlier in Chinese Buddhism. Explicit confirmation that this was no longer the case only comes much later.

The gradual realignment of the relationship between Buddhism and poetry is, however, one of the features of the Tang period following the An Lushan (安祿山) Rebellion of 755 CE, and it includes the bringing into conjunction of notions of meditation and poetic composition, among other changes. But the earliest and most obvious change was the appearance (or reappearance) of members of the Buddhist clergy in literary life. Gao Zhongwu (高仲武), for example, the editor of a collection of poetry put together in the 780s CE, includes some verses by the monk Lingyi (靈一; 727–762 CE), commenting that there were accomplished literary monks in the 5th–6th centuries, but Lingyi is considered better than the most famous of these (Gao, 1978, 295). Lingyi was not the only monk to make an impression in literary circles in the late 8th century, when the shaken self-confidence of the intellectual elite engendered in some a new seriousness of purpose that made the Buddhist engagement of educated laypersons much more a topic of discussion. The most successful of the monk-poets of the late 8th century was Jiaoran (皎然; 730–799 CE), not only because of his versatility but also because of his writings on poetry, which clearly introduce further elements of Buddhist derivation into the vocabulary of criticism. The key term "*zuoyong*" (作用), a collocation often found in Buddhist translations, he redeploys to signify the creation of literary effect (Williams, 2013, 5–8).

Though the term appears in the "recorded sayings" (*yulu* [語錄]) of meditation masters of a younger generation than Jiaoran (and also in Stein 2669, a manuscript from Dunhuang [敦煌] containing a miscellany of works from the emerging Chan tradition down to the late 8th cent.), there is nothing that ties it specifically to Chan at this date. But Jiaoran does seem to show an interest in bringing the practice of meditation and poetry together (Williams, 2013, 10). This may relate to an increased interest in the process of poetic composition that appears in the late 8th and early 9th centuries (Owen, 1997, 107–129). Discussion of the relationship between enlightenment and meditation, an issue for the contemporary Buddhist clergy, seems also to have spread to laypeople (Barrett, 1992, 84–5). In 814, Liu Yuxi (劉禹錫; 772–842 CE) introduced this relationship into an account of the poetry written by monks

(DeBlasi, 2002, 107); specifically he asserted that as a result of meditation, they were able to obtain "scenes" (*jing*). But in addressing his friend Bai Juyi (白居易; 772–846 CE), he speaks of Buddhism and poetry as two coordinate realms, rather than combining them, while Bai Juyi contrasts meditation with drinking alcohol as a means to achieve an altered state of consciousness (Sun, 1993, 198–199); monks were properly not allowed this latter option, and indeed one can construe the Buddhist promotion of tea as a way of overcoming this handicap by providing another social drink for literary gatherings.

It is furthermore clear from a dictum of Zhou Pu (周朴; d. 879 CE) that the realm of poetry and the realm of meditation could also be seen as on an equal footing (Sun, 2006, 148). But while it is true that Buddhist expert knowledge of mental states became a matter of interest to poets of the second half of the Tang (Fuller, 2013, 158), to speak of a Chan aesthetic in poetry at this point seems anachronistic. Indeed, Jiaoran is said to have felt some tension between his religious and his literary life, while Bai Juyi also speaks of his writings in a way that suggests that he too saw a tension between his devotion to literature and his identity as a Buddhist layman (Nielson, 1972, 57–58; Waley, 1949, 194–195). To Bai Juyi, a poet-monk's activities could be justified as an expedient measure; their ultimate purpose should lie elsewhere (Waley, 1949, 171; Cartelli, 2012, 204–205). If one looks at the religious lives of poet-monks, moreover, this notion of expediency should be qualified. Of the score or so of such figures from the late Tang and Five Dynasties, only one, Wenyi (or Fayan Wenyi [法眼文益]; 885–958 CE) remains known both for his poetry and for his religious life – and his standing in the latter was viewed by the Chan tradition as a negation of the former, so that his first Chan biographies do not quote his poetry at all (Diener, 1989, 106). Much more typical of this period is Guanxiu (貫休; 832–912 CE), the first poet in China to have his works printed – though for political rather than religious or even literary reasons (Barrett, 2013, 100–108).

The Chan tradition does celebrate the verse of one Tang figure famous throughout East Asia and beyond, namely Hanshan (寒山; 9th cent.). But the corpus under this name, portions of which would seem to date to different periods of the Tang, does not seem to have attracted the attention of Buddhists until the mid-9th century; before then, Hanshan seems to have been regarded as much as a Daoist as a Buddhist, while the verses themselves seem to have had no impact on the literary world until much later times (Hobson, 2003, 115–151). The picture of Buddhist verse and elite poetry as two separate though interacting literatures is, however, complicated by the manuscript evidence retrieved from Dunhuang. Here we find not only nonelite Buddhist verse from figures almost completely ignored by the main poetic tradition, such as Wang Fanzhi (王梵志; "Wang the Devotee"; Demiéville, 1982; Tafel-Kehren, 1982), but also mixed in with these verses, and elsewhere in vernacular texts, stanzas borrowed from the 6th-century poet monk Wangming (亡名 or 忘名), a figure already represented in Daoxuan's anthology (Xiang, 1991, 1–5).

It is also possible to retrieve poems by Tang poet-monks known to the literary tradition, such as lost poems by Guanxiu (see above) and others (Xu, 2000, 786, 337), interspersed with pieces by complete unknowns. The broader literary environment provided by so much rediscovered Buddhist verse further allows us to see that the mainstream tradition of poetry was affected not only by the blank verse of Buddhist translations – something that modern scholarship agrees influenced even those who professed opposition to Buddhism (Chen, 1988, 147–158) – but also by the vernacular style of Wang Fanshi, a factor not immediately apparent before (Kuangfu, 1990, 118–123). Buddhist versifying turns out to have been a vibrant and complex activity in which common themes could be treated in a wide variety of verse forms (Cartelli, 2012), not all associated with the emerging Chan movement, which certainly preserved and transmitted its own religious verse, besides providing a home for the Hanshan corpus. Chan masters of the 9th century are already depicted as drawing on verses handed down from earlier times, a practice that can be verified from the Dunhuang manuscripts (Murakami, 1996, 353–400; Tanaka, 1983, 293–312). Verse and response to verse have often indeed been seen as integral to Chan training (Wawyrtko, 1992; Wang, 2003, 183–186). Though the Dunhuang manuscripts show that such religious works were never entitled *shi* at this stage, secular poetry was no longer the only verse tradition.

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Poet

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Poetry: China (Song and After)

Chinese Buddhist poetry from the Song (宋; 960–1279) onward was marked by the dominance of Chan Buddhism and the participation of a newly emergent literary elite whose writings were increasingly published and preserved due to advances in printing technology. All of these factors, their individual development and occasional confluence, are the most salient traits of Chinese Buddhist literature from the Song until the literary May Fourth Movement (1919).

The special relationship between Buddhism and poetry has been a recurring subject of scholarship, mostly focused on Chan (Demiéville, 1970; Iriya, 1983; Ge, 1986; Watson, 1988), which has further yielded the study of Chan poetry and aesthetics (Pi, 1995; Zhang, 2006). The study of Buddhist poetry as literary history has focused on noteworthy Buddhist poet-monks and established poets who wrote Buddhist-themed poetry (Sun, 2006; Xiao, 2012). Buddhist poetry has also been studied for its role in generating critical discourse and influential sayings within the field of poetics, primarily articulated by literati within the "remarks on poetry" (*shihua* [詩話]) genre (Du, 1976; Kaji, 1979; Lynn, 1987; Zhou, 1992).

This article surveys the notable developments of Buddhist poetry since the Song, both as cultivated within monastic institutions and as circulated outside its formal confines, with a focus on the contributions of esteemed poet-monks. Chinese Buddhist discourse long distinguished between "inner learning" (*neixue* [内學]) and "outer learning" (*waixue* [外學]), and Southern Song compilers began employing "inner works" (*neiji* [内集]) and "outer works" (*waiji* [外集]) to organize the literature of monks. As a taxonomy for monkish authors, *neiji* are obviously Buddhistic and belong within the Buddhist canon. The category of *waiji* (including many *bieji* [別集]; "individual works") refers to collections placed outside the Buddhist canon that were often anthologized and enjoyed wide circulation. In the following, we outline the changes that both categories of verse underwent during the Song that greatly influenced subsequent literary history.

Chan Buddhist Poetry in the Song and Its Influence

The growth and institutionalization of Chan Buddhism as the foremost Buddhist tradition of the Song, along with the invention of new forms of Chan literature, had an enormous impact on the collection and conceptualization of poetry written by Buddhist monks. The two most prominent, and closely related, Chan literary innovations, "lamp records" (*denglu* [燈錄]) and "recorded sayings" (*yulu* [語錄]), both came to maturity during the Song. While *denglu* are extensive genealogical histories of Chan lineages that compile exemplary writings and anecdotes from hundreds of masters, *yulu* collect the sermons and writings of individual abbots. Both types of literature include the poetry of Chan monks in significant quantities, which tends to increase and diversify through the Song and later dynasties. Although the verses within *denglu* and *yulu* can be classified according to various genres and subgenres, they are all broadly conceptualized as *jisong* (偈頌), the Chinese rendering of Sanskrit *gāthā*, roughly meaning Buddhist religious verse.

Chan Doctrinal Verse

The term *jisong* originally refers to the verse sections of Indian Buddhist *sūtras*. In China, the term also included newly written verses on Buddhist doctrine, and this didactic function of *jisong* remained prevalent within Chan literature from the Tang to Song. At the forefront of most Chan *denglu* is a master-by-master account of the mind-to-mind transmission from Śākyamuni Buddha to the Chinese patriarchs, where the "wordless" dharma is embodied in a series of transmission verses. The didactic efficacy of poetry is further displayed in the collection of long inscriptions (*ming* [銘]) and songs (*ge* [歌]), mostly attributed to Chan masters from the Tang. The most influential *denglu*, Daoyuan's (道原; *fl.* 1004) *Jingde chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄; Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp; T. 2076), collects many lengthy versifications (*juan* 29–30), including *Xinxin ming* (信心銘; Faith in

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Mind) and *Zhengdao ge* (證道歌; Song of Enlightenment), that became fundamental expressions of Chan doctrine.

Elaborate doctrinal verses, such as Hongzhi Zhengjue's (宏智正覺; 1091–1157) *Mozhao ming* (默照銘; Inscription of Silent Illumination), continued to be composed by Song dynasty masters. In addition, masters frequently wrote verses on concepts drawn from the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition and composed poetic series on Chan doctrinal schemes, especially Dongshan Liangjie's (洞山良价; 807–869 CE) "five ranks" (*wuwei* [五位]). Besides composing verses on set topics, Chan masters employed verse in sermons to illustrate their points, often in reference to well-known Chan dialogues. Inscriptions, songs, and *jisong* by Tang and Song masters were anthologized in subsequent *denglu* and other compilations like the Song dynasty *Chanmen zhuzushi jisong* (禪門諸祖師偈頌; *Gāthā* of Chan Patriarchs and Masters; ZZ 1298; Shiina, 2003).

Expansion of the Form and Function of *Jisong*

As the writings of Chan masters were increasingly recorded in *yulu*, the conceptualization of *jisong* expanded through the Song to include a broader range of poetic activity representative of practices within Chan monasteries. In Song *yulu*, *jisong* is no longer limited to verses that are strictly devoted to doctrinal themes but includes a great deal of social and occasional verse and reclusive poetry, along with praise poetry and new genres particular to the Chan establishment (see below). Although the *yulu* attributed to Tang dynasty masters rarely contain more than a handful of poems, poetry consistently appears as part of the records of Song dynasty masters and is often collected within a distinct section of *jisong* (for Tang and Song *yulu*, see T. vols. 47–48; ZZ 62–73). *Jisong* sections can be brief, but most *yulu* include between 50 and 200 verses, while there are more than 1,000 verses in master Hongzhi Zhengjue's (宏智正覺) *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* (宏智禪師廣錄; Extensive Records of Chan Master Hongzhi; T. 2001). The recurrence of particular poetic forms and themes indicates that the composition of set types of verse constituted a key activity for Chan monks (see below).

The social and occasional poetry within *yulu* includes parting poems (*songbieshi* [送別詩] or *zengbieshi* [贈別詩]), poems written in the reclusive mode, epistolary verse, and verses written on specific occasions within the monastery. Although this poetry exhibits similarities with Buddhist-inspired poetry written by laypersons or collected in the "outer works" of poet-monks, overall the Buddhist character of these verses is heightened. They often contain explicit Buddhist terminology or are at least coded with recurrent metaphors and images that have religious significance within the corpus of Chan literature. Secular modes, such as the parting poem, are primarily exchanged between monks and are developed into metaphorical expositions of Chan philosophy. In general, only poetry with explicit, or strongly implicit, Buddhist significance is admitted into a master's *yulu*, whereas the literati-style poetry (*shi* [詩]) of poet-monks deals with a greater variety of nonreligious topics, including poems on history and books, on seasonal occasions, and on objects.

Due to the fact that doctrinal verses were also often exchanged among monks, there is no categorical distinction between doctrinal and social and occasional poetry within *yulu*. The following types of verse, however, may be collected separately from, or under subheadings within, a selection of *jisong*.

Praise poetry, particularly *zan* (讚/賛/贊; encomium or eulogy), formed an integral part of the ritual and social life of Chan monasteries. *Zan* are written in rhymed parallel couplets of irregular line length, usually as "portrait encomia" (*zhenzan* [真讚]) inscribed on images of illustrious masters and popular Buddhist figures. These portraits were used in funerary rites and for the worship of bodhisattvas. During the Song, masters also began writing encomia for portraits of themselves (*zizan* [自讚]), which were disseminated to lay and monastic followers to garner patronage and as a means of fundraising (Foulk & Sharf, 1993). The practice of composing self-encomia became prevalent among literati (Xie, 2012), who also wrote encomia for Chan masters and other popular figures, especially the bodhisattva Guanyin (Skt. Avalokiteśvara). *Zan* are similar in form and function to funerary verses written for deceased monks (*foshi* [佛事]) and are similar in tenor to pagoda inscriptions (*taming* [塔銘]) dedicated to the lives of illustrious masters.

One of the most distinctive and ubiquitous poetic genres within *yulu* is *songgu* (頌古). *Songgu* are versified responses to Chan *gong'an* (公案; Jpn. *kōan*), brief anecdotes and dialogues drawn from *denglu* as exemplars of Chan insight. While modern scholarship has focused on the language and use of the *gong'an* case, the master's poetic commentary was the literary focal point of Song dynasty collections. Some collections of *songgu* circulated independently, and *songgu* are at the core of the major *gong'an* collections. The best-known examples are

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Jpn. *Hekigan-roku*; T. 2003), fe
Keqin's (圓悟克勤; 1063–1135) pros
mentary on a collection of Xue
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Later Developments and Oth Traditions

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In later dynasties, monks c
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Despite the immense lite
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Wumenguan (無門關; Gateless Gate; T. 2005) composed by Wumen Huikai (無門慧開; 1183–1260) and the *Biyanlu* (碧巖錄; The Blue-Cliff Record; Jpn. *Hekigan-roku*; T. 2003), featuring Yuanwu Keqin's (圓悟克勤; 1063–1135) prose and verse commentary on a collection of Xuedou Chongxian's (雪竇重顯; 980–1052) *songgu* (Hsieh, 2010). *Songgu* were also anthologized in the *Chanzong songgu lianzhu ji* (禪宗頌古聯珠集; String of Pearls Collection of *Songgu* of the Chan School; ZZ 1295), published in 1175, which organizes thousands of verses under several hundred individual cases.

Later Developments and Other Buddhist Traditions

The standards in Chan poetic genres and collections established during the Song had an enduring impact on Buddhist poetic activity. Just as the *jisong* of Chan monks increasingly resembled the poetry of literati, Song laypersons in turn began to emulate the genres of Chan literature, a tradition that persisted through subsequent dynasties. Celebrated poets like Su Shi (蘇軾; 1037–1101; also known as Su Dongpo [蘇東坡]) and Huang Tingjian (黃庭堅; 1045–1105), for example, are best known for their Buddhist-themed *shi* poetry. However, they also composed *jisong*, *zan*, and *taming*, as did many others (Li, 2008).

In later dynasties, monks continued to collect *yulu*, produce Chan histories, and write *songgu*. As evident within Ming and Qing *yulu* (See J 24–40; Q 153–158), late imperial *jisong* collections continued to expand and include considerable amounts of social and occasional poetry. Furthermore, the poetic genres of Song China were taken up in Japan and Korea, as Zen and Sŏn masters crafted their own *yulu* (Jpn. *goroku*; Kor. *ŏrok*), produced religious verse, and absorbed the literary sensibilities of poet-monks (Pollack, 1985; Pihl, 1995; Heine, 2012; Whitfield, 2012). Poetry composition remains central to *kōan* practice within Japanese Rinzai monasteries today (Hori, 2003).

Despite the immense literary output of Chan monks, Buddhist poetry since the Song has not been limited to either Chan monks or Chan interests. During the Song, the Tiantai and Huayan schools produced their own verse collections. For instance, Ciyun Zunshi (慈雲遵式; 964–1032), whose doctrinal verses are found in part in *Tianzhu bieji* (天竺別集; Individual Collection of the Abbot of Tianzhu Temple; ZZ 951), compiled a liturgy for memorializing Tiantai worthies, in *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi zhaiji lizanwen* (天台智者大師齋忌禮讚文; Text of Veneration and Praise for Observing the Memorial of Master Tiantai Zhiyi; T. 1948), and Zhigong (智肱; 11th cent.) did the same for the Huayan patriarch Chengguan (澄觀; 738–839 CE) in *Huayan Qingliang guoshi lizanwen* (華嚴清涼國師禮讚文; Text of Veneration and Praise for National Instructor Huayan Qingliang; ZZ 1471). In addition, Buddhist monks across sectarian affiliations wrote verses praising Amitābha and his Pure Land, as anthologized in the Song dynasty collection *Lebang wenlei* (樂邦文類; Compendium of the Land of Bliss; T. 1969), for example. Pure Land poetry notably figures in the works of late imperial monks like Yunqi Zhuhong (雲棲祩宏; 1535–1615).

Buddhist Poetry in Chinese Literature since the Song

The literary history of Chinese Buddhist poetry is long, but changes during the Song dynasty had far-reaching impacts. The Tang-Song transition witnessed the ascendancy of a new and powerful class of literati who rose to positions of authority by passing through the civil-service-examination system. Together with new woodblock-printing technologies, the examination system encouraged the spread of literacy and shifted cultural trends toward literati concerns. As these demographic changes coincided with the rise of an empire-wide network of Chan temples, the saṅgha became more intertwined with the new literati elite. From the Song, monks' poetry deeply reflected the interests and tastes of literati.

Poet-monks (*shiseng* [詩僧]) occupy a curious place between the religious and literary traditions. At times, they have been criticized for being too Buddhist (not enough like literati) or not Buddhist enough (too much like literati), and the tension between commitments to serving religious office and to practicing poetic arts is a recurring theme in Buddhist poetry starting from the Tang (Watson, 1992). Although the term "poet-monk" was not an official title and did not belong to a single Buddhist tradition, by the Southern Song, poet-monks increasingly were associated with Chan lineages, and this did not change until the late Ming. Song critics alleged that the forerunners of this practice were the mid-Tang monk Jiaoran (皎然; 720–c. 795 CE) and late-Tang monks Guanxiu (貫休; 832–912 CE) and Qiji (齊己; 863–937 CE). Down to today, the term "poet-monk" itself has come into and out of fashion, and at times it was employed derogatively. Poet-monks never emerged as a formal organization, institution or lineage, but local literary traditions occasionally took root. Nonetheless, the works of poet-monks and other literary monks occupy a conspicuous place in Chinese Buddhist literature.

The rise of literati to powerful positions in Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) society led to sweeping new literary styles. The "ancient prose" (*guwen* [古文]) movement emphasized clarity and precision in prose and had unexpected impacts on poetry as well. *Shi* poetry of the Song dynasty is known for its narrative and descriptive manner, philosophical intellection, interest in the ordinary events of everyday life, and strong social concerns. Compared with the so-called Late Tang style, mid-Northern Song poetics after the *guwen* movement emphasized refined plainness (*pingdan* [平淡]; "even and bland"), an ideal first formulated by Mei Yaochen (梅堯臣; 1002–1060).

The poetry of Song dynasty monks reflected general literary trends. A group posthumously known as the "nine monks" (*jiuseng*; 九僧), for instance, lived and wrote before the Song *guwen* movement had come to the fore, and their poems were soon out of fashion. In contrast, most eminent monks of the Northern Song engaged the new poetic tradition. The poet-monk Daoqian (道潛; 1043–1112[?]) corresponded with leading literary figures, especially Su Shi, and his *Canliaozi shiji* (參寥子詩集; The Collected Poems of Master Canliao; SBCK 407–408) embodies the aesthetics of *pingdan* (Kong, 2011). The eloquent intellectual Mingjiao Qisong (明教契嵩; 1007–1072), though best known for his essays, was beloved by contemporaries for the fashionable poems collected within the *Tanjin wenji* (鐔津文集; Collected Works of [the Monk from] Tanjin; T. 2115; SBCK 400–406). The works of Juefan Huihong (覺範惠洪; 1071–1128) are a touchstone in the evolution of the relationship between Buddhist poetry and practice. His prose about poetry, both in his literary collection *Shimen Wenzi Chan* (石門文字禪; The Lettered Chan of Shimen; SBCK 1015–1022; see also Kakumon, 2012) and his *shihua* work *Lengzhai yehua* (冷齋夜話; Evening Remarks from Cold Studio; included in the *Xijianben Songren shihua sizhong* [稀見本宋人詩話四種; Four Rare Editions of Song-Era *Shihua*]), was, perhaps, more influential than his poetry itself (Kakumon, 2012). Unlike most monks, Juefan Huihong dabbled in the newly popular and flamboyant song-lyric (*ci* [詞]) mode, albeit in a subdued and often explicitly Buddhist fashion. Juefan Huihong is associated most closely with the term "lettered Chan" (*wenzi chan* [文字禪]), and there is lively debate concerning its definition and significance (Gimello, 1992; Zhou, 1998; Keyworth, 2001; Xiao, 2012).

From the Song onward, scholar-officials involved themselves in the religious traditions of Buddhism and Daoism even as they upheld Confucian norms and fealty to the imperial court. Many literati participated in religious rites in their official capacity for the benefit of local municipalities as well as learning to meditate, studying *gong'an*, and reading scriptures. Laypersons, like Su Shi, not only wrote poetry in Buddhist genres but also appropriated Buddhist themes for exploration in contemplative poetry (Egan, 1994; Grant, 1994a). Su Shi, together with Huang Tingjian, borrowed Buddhist concepts like "the samādhi of play" (*youxi sanmei* [遊戲三昧]) and reinterpreted them to describe the creative arts (Zhou, 1998; Egan, 2010). The Ming-era collection *Dongpo Chan xi ji* (東坡禪喜集; Su Dongpo's Felicities of Chan) placed Su Shi's Buddhist works back in popular circulation.

The Jurchen invasions and calamitous siege of the Northern Song capital at Kaifeng in 1127 led to the establishment of a new capital at Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou) and the beginning of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). The period is characterized by an "inward turn" toward local power and activity and away from the centralized authority of the imperial court. Though poetry of the Southern Song is often described in terms of the development of Daoxue (道學, "Neo-Confucianism"), this overlooks the central role of Buddhist poetry. Surviving sources suggest that monks engaged in literary arts more than ever, and the period witnessed a profusion of "literary monks" (*wenxue seng* [文學僧]; Huang, 2010; 2014). Anthologies of Buddhist poetry from the Southern Song also circulated widely, including the *Song gaoseng shixuan* (宋高僧詩選; Selected Poems of Eminent Monks of the Song; CMYSXB 1; XXSKQS 1621) and *Jianghu fengyue ji* (江湖風月集; A Collection of Wind and Moon from Rivers and Lakes; ZZ 11). Yanagida Seizan and Nishitani Keiji (1974) and Shiina Kōyū (1993) provide essential reference works for additional information on the editions and publication history of Song and Yuan sources.

The long, bloody fall of the Southern Song to Mongol forces and the establishment of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) cast a pallor over all society, and the poetry of Chinese elites responded to their sudden exclusion from governance under an alien dynasty. Many literati turned away from civil service and toward education, local networks, and religions

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including Buddhism and its literary proclivities. The Jin dynasty poet Yuan Haowen (元好問; 1190–1257) was influential for both his own borrowing of Chan terms and his serving as a conduit for updating Su Shi's legacy in the Yuan. Khitan statesman Yelü Chucai (耶律楚材; 1190–1244) distinguished himself in service to the early Mongol Empire. Though immortalized as a Confucian statesman, his collected poems in *Zhanran jushi wenji* (湛然居士文集; Collected Writings of the Layman Zhanran) include *zan* and *jisong* and touch on many Buddhist themes.

Though doctrinal schools of Buddhism flourished in northern China during the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties, there are relatively few extant literary works to speak of. It was Chan Buddhism that flourished in China's southerly regions that continued to develop Buddhist poetry. Perhaps no monk from the Yuan accomplished more than the eminent Zhongfeng Mingben (中峯明本; 1263–1323), who lived in southern China. Among his many cultural achievements is his poetry on themes ranging across Chan and Pure Land, including one hundred poems "imitating Cold Mountain" (*ni Hanshan* [擬寒山]) and a highly regarded poetic cycle on the plum blossom (Heller, 2014). One of the most beloved poet-monks of the Yuan is the Chan master Shiwu Qinggong (石屋清珙; 1272–1352), who wrote hundreds of "living-in-the-mountains" (*shanju* [山居]) poems (Red Pine, 1999).

The advent of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) marked the restoration of a Chinese-ruled empire. The poetry of the early Ming, characterized by unadorned simplicity, was in many ways an appropriation of Yuan period aesthetics, and it is the late Ming that is regarded as the seat of the dynasty's most significant and long-lasting intellectual and literary developments. Likewise, though monastic Buddhism was a ubiquitous presence throughout the entire Ming dynasty, the late Ming witnessed a profusion of Buddhist literature, especially during the Buddhist revival of the Wanli reign (1573–1620). The "four great monks" at the fore of this Buddhist revival – Yunqi Zhuhong, Hanshan Deqing (憨山德清; 1546–1623), Zibo Zhenke (紫柏真可; 1543–1603), and Ouyi Zhixu (蕅益智旭; 1599–1655) – were also significant literary figures, whose poetry has been canonized in their respective collected works. The poetry of earlier monks circulated anew with the reprinting of individual collections and the production of new anthologies like the comprehensive *Gujin Chanzao ji* (古今禪藻集; Collection of Chan Duckweed Past and Present; SKQS 1416). New Buddhist poetry in this period was voluminous, and many literary monks rose to prominence. Qian Qianyi (錢謙益; 1582–1664) included about one hundred eminent monks from the era in his period anthology *Liechao shiji* (列朝詩集; Poems from Successive Dynasties), and there are well over two hundred individual literary collections from monks from the late Ming and early Qing dynasties (Huang, 2011). Noteworthy among them is Xuelang Hong'en (雪浪洪恩; 1545–1608), best known as the patriarch of the late Ming revival of Huayan-Yogācāra, whose poetry is found in the *Xuelang ji* (雪浪集; Collection of Xuelang; SKQSCC 190) and the *Xuelang xuji* (雪浪續集; Further Collection of Xuelang; CMYSXB 2; Liao, 2008). Although many works of poetry can be found in the Jiaxing and Qianlong editions of the Buddhist canon, the works of other celebrated poet-monks, like Huishan Jiexian (晦山戒顯; 1610–1672), only survive in rare manuscripts. Some of these are now available in modern annotated editions, such as the poetry of Cangxue Duche (蒼雪讀徹; 1588–1656; Sun, 2004; Liao, 2014).

Buddhist poetry from the Ming-Qing transition is often interpreted in light of the Ming loyalists. Dissatisfactions with Manchu rule of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) were lodged in poetry and postures of eremitism as forms of protest. Hanyue Fazang (漢月法藏; 1573–1635) was a celebrated poet-monk whose lineage became a bastion of Ming loyalist sentiment and attracted many literati followers. Many Ming loyalists took up robes as refuge, a phenomenon known as "escaping into Chan" (*tao chan* [逃禪]; Wu, 2008). The erstwhile Ming official Jin Bao (金堡; dharma name Dangui Jinshi [澹歸今釋]; 1614–1680) was one of several officials who took the tonsure under the literary Caodong monk Tianran Hanshi (天然函是; 1608–1685). While in the monastery, Jin Bao wrote poetry so nostalgic for the lost Ming dynasty that one hundred years later it was banned by the Qing government. On the other hand, Muchen Daomin (木陳道忞; 1596–1674) shifted away from Ming loyalist sentiments after traveling north to meet the young Qing emperor Shunzhi (順治; r. 1644–1661). Poems from his meeting with the emperor and his time in the capital are recorded in the *Beiyouji* (北遊集; A Record of Travels to the North; J B180; Liao, 2008).

The Ming and Qing witnessed a remarkable rise in the writings and publications of gentry women, who were often attracted to the universalistic aspects of Buddhism in contrast to the restricted gender roles prescribed by the prevailing Neo-Confucian ideology. Along with writing verses on popular topics such as Pure Land devotion or the practice of embroidering images of buddhas and bodhisattvas, a number of laywomen produced entire poetry collections with strong Buddhist inclinations, which have been the subject of recent studies (Grant, 1994b; 1999; Fong, 2007; see also the Ming Qing Women's Writings website). Although Buddhist nuns since the Song had long composed poetry that was collected in *yulu* and anthologized in other Chan literary collections, the quantity of verses and other writings preserved is minimal before the flourishing print culture of the Ming and Qing. The best source for the poetry of Buddhist nuns since the Tang is *Xu biqiuni zhuan* (續比丘尼傳; Further Biographies of Nuns), whose poetic contents, along with poetry included in the handful of extant *yulu* of Ming-Qing Buddhist nuns, have been translated and studied by B. Grant (2001; 2003).

As the Qing imperium disintegrated, many public intellectuals turned to Buddhism for inspiration. The Buddhist renaissance of the late Qing and early Republic of China period was one of debate, disenchantment, and sweeping reforms. The celebrated ascetic monk and politically active institutional reformer Jing'an (敬安; 1851–1912; also known as Bazhi Toutuo [八指頭陀]) engaged deeply with the classical poetic tradition but in an iconoclastic style. Some of his poems directly respond to the violence and imperialism of the 19th century. Like many before him, he also used poetry to correspond with learned men and in more meditative moments addressed new philosophical and practical concerns (Huang, 2011).

The changes wrought upon literature by the end of imperial China and the rise of modern China are hard to overstate. In spite of assertions to the contrary, Buddhist ideas have remained a powerful force in modern creative arts and literature, especially novels and plays. Zhou Mengdie (周夢蝶; 1921–2014), born on the heels of the May Fourth Movement, may be the best-known modern Buddhist poet. Zhou Mengdie wrote idiosyncratic free verse full of allusions to traditional as well as world literatures (Zeng, 2005). Although the future of Chinese Buddhist poetry remains to be seen, interest in the Chinese Buddhist poetic tradition in both the Chinese- and English-speaking worlds remains strong as seen within numerous scholarly investigations, anthologies (Chen *et al.*, 1982; Zhu & Chen, 2012), and recent translations (Red Pine *et al.*, 1998; Egan, 2010).

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CHRISTOPHER H. BYRNE
JASON PROTASS

Korean Buddhist Literature in Korean

This is a survey of literature in Korean composed to propagate Buddhism and of other Korean vernacular literature that offers insights in the ways Buddhism functioned in Korean society over the ages, from the 7th to the 21st century.

When the three ancient Korean states of Koguryŏ (高句麗), Paekche (百濟), and Silla (新羅) adopted elements of Chinese culture, the Chinese writing system and sinified Buddhism were prominent among these. Traditionally the adoption of Buddhism is equated with acceptance by the state, which is supposed to have happened in 372 CE in Koguryŏ, in 384 in Paekche, and in 527 in Silla (for this and other general information on the development of Korean Buddhism, see Grayson, 1985, 2002; Buswell, 1983; Inoue Hideo, 1989; Best, 1995; Choi Joon-sik, 2007; Chung Byung-jo, 2007; Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn *et al.*, 2013; Buswell & Lopez, 2013). While it did not take long before translations were made of the sacred writings of Buddhism into Chinese when Buddhism was introduced from India, a consequence of China's strong and long-established literary tradition, the smaller countries on the borders of China did not have their own writing systems yet and could not boast of a similar tradition. Therefore they tended to adopt written Chinese as a literary language, for a variety of purposes. At the time, a retranslation of the scriptures into the languages that were spoken in ancient Korea was difficult not only because no phonetic writing systems had been developed yet but also because of the nature of the Chinese characters, as the logograms were not suited to render languages that are highly inflected. Thus the states on the peninsula, like other countries on the periphery of China, all adopted Chinese as a written language, which in their cultures assumed a role similar to that of Latin in Europe. The desire to read the Chinese Buddhist scriptures acted as a strong stimulus in this regard. Eventually the educated classes in Korea learned to handle the new language with its writing system as if it were their own. The Korean term for this written language, *hanmun* (漢文; lit. Chinese writing), will be used here to distinguish the Chinese written by Koreans from writings in Chinese by the Chinese themselves. While *hanmun* became an integral part of Korean culture, vernacular literature in oral form continued to flourish, both among the elite and among the common people, and consequently Korean culture became characterized by diglossia (Kim Hunggyu, 1997; Peter H. Lee, 2003). This state of affairs lasted until the early 20th century. From the 6th century onward, efforts were made also to write the vernacular by using Chinese characters both for their meaning and for their pronunciation (as phonetic signs approximating Korean sounds), and in 1444 vernacular writing was greatly facilitated by the invention of a simple Korean phonetic alphabet (Ledyard, 1998). Yet *hanmun* continued to be used thanks to its cultural prestige. Before the 20th century, the quantity of *hanmun* literature was always infinitely larger than that written in the vernacular, and this applies to Buddhist writings, too. For most purposes, and certainly for treatises on the meaning of *sūtras* and ritual handbooks, Korean Buddhist monks used *hanmun*. They also wrote copious amounts of poetry in Chinese. Consequently, studies of "Buddhist literature" tend to be studies of the literature produced in *hanmun* (Yi Chino, 1997). Buddhist writings in the vernacular, mainly poetry but also some prose, are significant, however, because they provide an insight into the actual meaning of Buddhism in the daily life of the people, who for the most part were incapable of understanding Chinese. The elite, too, occasionally produced important works of Buddhist literature in the vernacular.

Hyangga

No vernacular literature has been handed down from Koguryŏ or Paekche, but from Silla there are 25 songs called *hyangga* (鄕歌; also called *sanoe(ga)* [詞腦(歌] or *saenaennorae* [새냇노래]), of four, eight, or ten lines (Peter H. Lee, 1959; 2003). They were recorded with the help of *hyangch'al* (鄕札), a system of writing in which some Chinese characters are used for their meaning and others for their pronunciation. From Korea this system was introduced to Japan, where it became known as *manyōgana* (萬葉がな), as it was used to record the oldest Japanese poetry collection, the *Manyōshū* (萬葉集

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lection of Ten Thousand Leaves). Originally there was a much larger corpus of *hyangga*, in a collection entitled *Samdaemok* (三代目; Collection of the Three Ages), compiled by two Buddhist monks 888, but this has not been preserved. Of the extant *hyangga*, 14 are included in the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事; Memorabilia of the History of the Three Kingdoms), a history of the early states in Korea from a Buddhist point of view compiled in Chinese in 1285 by the monk Iryŏn (一然; 1206–1289). Eight of these are related to Buddhism. This high proportion may be because they were transmitted in a source with a Buddhist slant rather than because of the general nature of the *hyangga*. Dating from the 7th to the late 9th century, the *hyangga* in the *Samguk yusa* have in common the fact that they are part of a narrative that explains why and in what circumstances they were sung, which is useful for their interpretation and sometimes provides the only indication that the songs should be regarded as Buddhist. Several songs are directly or indirectly related to the cult of Maitreya (Mirŭk [彌勒]; Lancaster, 1989). In the narratives in which the songs are embedded, there are passages that suggest that this cult was grafted onto a native cult of dragons or snakes (*mirŭ* [미르]). The *Tosolga* (兜率歌; Song of Tuṣita) by the monk Wŏlmyŏng (月明) expresses devotion to Maitreya but is placed in a context that suggests that it had an apotropaic function, serving to chase away a second sun that had appeared in the sky. Another *hyangga*, *Mo-Chukchirangga* (慕竹旨郞歌; Ode to the *hwarang* Chukchi), is dedicated to Chukchi, a member of an association of young men called the *hwarang* (花郞; lit. flower boys), who not only assumed leadership roles in the battles of Silla with its competitors but also practiced a cult that was centered on Maitreya. The narrative that accompanies the song suggests that Chukchi was an *avatār* of Maitreya.

Another ode to a *hwarang* (Kip'arang [耆婆郞]) – the *Ch'an Kip'arangga* (讚耆婆郞歌; Song in Praise of [the *hwarang*] Kip'a), by an anonymous author – contains an allusion to Amitābha's Pure Land (Kor. Chŏngt'o [淨土]; Skt. Sukhāvatī), which is more explicitly mentioned in two other *hyangga*: *Wŏnwangsaengga* (願往生歌; Wishing to Be Reborn in the Pure Land) and *Chemangmaega* (祭亡妹歌; Song for a Dead Sister). Pure Land practices gathered force from the 7th century onward and continued to influence vernacular literature until modern times. *Wŏnwangsaengga*, written by the monk Kwangdŏk (廣德), expresses a straightforward wish to be reborn in the Pure Land, which the poem says will be reached by following the moon on its course to the west. In *Chemangmaega* the monk Wŏlmyŏng, who also composed *Tosolga*, mourns the death of his sister, wishing eventually to be reunited with her in the Pure Land.

Belief in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kor. Kwanŭm [觀音]) as a savior from all kinds of dangers and afflictions was also an important part of Silla Buddhism. Among the many shapes in which this bodhisattva may appear, there is one with a thousand arms and a thousand eyes (千手天眼; Skt. Sahasrabhujasahasranetra), an esoteric form of Avalokiteśvara (Orzech *et al.*, 2011, 215), and it is in this form that the merciful bodhisattva appears in a *hyangga*. Entitled *To-ch'ŏnsu-Kwanŭmga* (禱千手觀音歌; Prayer to Kwanŭm with the Thousand Arms), the song is a prayer to Avalokiteśvara to lend some of his eyes to restore the eyesight of a blind child.

Ujŏkka (遇賊歌; An Encounter with Robbers) is described in the *Samguk yusa* as composed by the monk Yŏngjae (永才) when he met a band of robbers. When they heard his name, they recognized him as a well-known *hyangga* poet and asked him to make a poem for them. The contents stress the illusory nature of all phenomena, including the menacing behavior of the bandits. The robbers were so impressed by the *hyangga* and the behavior of Yŏngjae, the *Samguk yusa* narrates, that they decided to become Yŏngjae's disciples. *Ujŏkka* may also be read as allegorical, with the robbers as personifications of everything that tries to keep one from attaining enlightenment.

According to the *Samguk yusa*, the *hyangga* entitled *Hyesŏngga* (彗星歌; Song of the Comet) was composed by the monk Yungch'ŏn (融天) in order to chase away a comet as well as Japanese invaders. It is not the only example of a *hyangga* with an apotropaic function and might be seen as evidence of the influence of the exorcistic tendencies of esoteric Buddhism in Silla. However, the apotropaic power of poetry can also be seen in other poems in the *Samguk yusa*, both in non-Buddhist *hyangga* and in poems or songs rendered in *hanmun*, and perhaps should rather be explained as due to pre-Buddhist traditions.

Apart from the *hyangga* in the *Samguk yusa*, 11 Buddhist *hyangga* by the priest Kyunyŏ (均如; 923–973) have been transmitted in *Tae-hwaŏm Sujwa Wŏnt'ong Yangjung Taesa Kyunyŏjŏn* (大華嚴首

座圓通兩重大師均如傳; Biography of Kyunyŏ), or *Kyunyŏjŏn* for short, written by Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (赫連挺; dates unknown; see Buzo & Prince, 1993). This lengthy text was written in *hanmun*, in 1075, a century after the death of Kyunyŏ. Inspired by the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (Kor. *Hwaŏmgyŏng* [華嚴經]; Cleary, 1987), these songs are devoted to the ten vows (Kor. *sibwŏn* [十願]) of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Kor. Pohyŏn [普賢]), with a final eleventh song as a conclusion. The *hanmun* text in which the songs are embedded provides valuable information about the ways in which the *hyangga* were seen. It says that although the *sanoe* (i.e. *hyangga*) were originally meant for entertainment, they could function as a means to introduce people to higher truths and salvation. Because they could be easily disseminated and understood even by the illiterate, they were very effective as such. The *Kyunyŏjŏn* asserts that when people accept the ten vows, read them, recite them, or copy them, they would be able to avoid the bad karma that would send them to the hell of unremitting pain (Kor. Muganjiok [無間地獄]; Skt. Avīci) and also be liberated from physical afflictions and mental torments in their present life. A concrete example is presented of how Kyunyŏ effected the healing of a persistent disease by letting the patient constantly recite the songs of the ten vows. The text also makes clear that although the songs were written down, they were widely circulated in oral form. The *Kyunyŏjŏn* also contains Chinese translations of the 11 *hyangga*, made by a 10th-century scholar-official, Ch'oe Haenggwi (崔行歸), because he felt that they deserved to be read also by people who could not understand the Korean text. This is but one instance of the two-way traffic that took place between Korean vernacular literature and *hanmun* writings, which constituted separate but not isolated realms.

A number of vernacular songs from the Koryŏ (高麗) period (918–1392) were recorded in writing in the early Chosŏn (朝鮮) period after the newly invented Korean alphabet was made public in 1444. These songs, usually referred to as *sogyo* (俗謠; popular songs), cannot be considered Buddhist literature, but there are references to Buddhist concepts and practices, such as the lantern festival celebrating the birthday of the Buddha on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, suggesting the extent to which Buddhism dominated daily life in this period. It is also assumed that Buddhist *kasa* (discursive songs; see below) were first produced in Koryŏ.

Early Chosŏn Poetry and Prose

The Chosŏn dynasty, established in 1392, attempted to make Neo-Confucianism the official ideology and took measures to reduce the influence of Buddhism by curtailing the number of sects and temples, appropriating possessions of the monasteries, and looking for Confucian alternatives to Buddhist rituals. This was a gradual process with the eventual effect that Buddhism was removed from public life, although privately even the royal court and members of the elite continued to favor Buddhism in some form. Literature constitutes important evidence in this respect. King Sejong (世宗; r. 1418–1450), who together with a team of collaborators designed the Korean alphabet, not only took measures to curtail the influence of Buddhism but also promoted the writing of vernacular Buddhist poetry and prose with the new script. He first commissioned the compilation of a life of the Buddha, titled *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* (釋譜祥節; Detailed Episodes from the Genealogy of Śākyamuni; 1447), and then himself composed a poetic version of it, the *Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok* (月印千江之曲; Song of the Moon Reflected on a Thousand Rivers; also 1447; see Sasse & Ahn, 2002; Olof, 2009). His son, who ascended the throne as King Sejo (世祖; r. 1455–1468) after he had forced his nephew to abdicate, having him killed two years later, combined in 1459 both works under the title *Wŏrin sŏkpo* (月印釋譜). Earlier, before he became king, Sejo himself had been part of the team that composed the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl*.

These sources also contain stories about previous lives of the historical Buddha (Kor. *ponsaengdam* [本生譚]; Skt. Jātaka). One example of this is the story of Prince Allakkuk (安樂國; "Prince Paradise"), *Allakkuk t'aejajŏn*, which relates how a king donates servants and ultimately himself to serve a holy man (Olof, 1983). At the end of the story, it is told how in a future existence, the holy man became Śākyamuni, the king Amitābha, while the queen became the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and their son Allakkuk the bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Taeseji [大勢至]). The story has also survived in other forms, for instance as a 19th-century novel or a shamanic song from different regions (Walraven, 1994). There is also a painted version from 1576 (now in the possession of the Seizan Bunko Library [青山文庫] in Japan) with copious amounts of texts to explain different scenes. It is possible that the painting was a visual aid for storytelling, most likely

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In the 15th century, the newly invented alphabet was also used to publish so-called *ŏnhae* (諺解; explanations in the vernacular) editions of Buddhist scriptures in *hanmun*. Ten titles were translated, among which not only the *Lotus Sūtra* (Kor. *Myobŏbyŏnhwagyŏng* [妙法蓮華經]; Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*) and *Diamond Sūtra* (Kor. *Kŭmgangbanyabaramilgyŏng* [金剛般若波羅蜜經]; Skt. *Vajracchedikā Prajnāparamitā*) but also collections of the teachings of Sŏn (禪; Chn. Chán; Jpn. Zen) masters and other texts from the meditation tradition (Ko Yŏngsŏp, 2012, 193).

Late Chosŏn Fiction

After 1600, there was a marked increase in the production of vernacular prose literature. There was considerable variation in the nature of the fiction of this period, but in part it was Buddhist in inspiration and origin. Several tales from the *Sŏkka yŏrae sipchi suhaenggi* collection were published as *sosŏl* (小說; novels or novellas; Skillend, 1986) in vernacular form in the years that followed its reprinting in 1660. One example is the *Kŭmu t'aejajŏn* (金牛太子傳; The Life of Prince Golden Calf), which also appeared under the title *Kŭmsongajijŏn* (금송아지 전; Story of the Golden Calf) and several other, similar appellations (Olof, 2008; Kim Chinyŏng, 2012, 174–210). *Sŏnu t'aejajŏn* (善友太子傳; Life of Prince Good Friend) was turned into a *sosŏl* called *Chŏk Sŏngŭi jŏn* (赤聖儀傳; Story of Chŏk Sŏngŭi). The same happened with *Allakkuk t'aejajŏn*. Edifying religious literature and works read for entertainment were part of a continuum and not strictly distinguished. The story of the life of the historical Buddha, found in *Sŏkka yŏrae sipchi suhaenggi* in the late Chosŏn period, was also read as a *sosŏl* under the title *P'alsangnok* (八相錄; Record of the Eight Phases [of the Life of Śākyamuni]). Following the emergence of popular literature, some *sosŏl* of Buddhist origin were adapted by shamans to provide the plot of ritual songs that explained the origin of shamanic deities (Walraven, 1994). In other instances, shamans incorporated Buddhist concepts and figures in their narrative songs, even though in content, the songs are at odds with Buddhist teaching. Thus, in *Ch'angsega* (創世歌), a song about the creation of the world and civilization and the origin of suffering, Maitreya acts as the demiurge who presides over a paradisiacal world, while the eagerness of Śākyamuni to rule over this world is used to explain the origin of death and disease (Walraven, 1989; 2007a). The logic behind this is that in Buddhism, too, Maitreya is associated with an ideal age, even if it is in the future (Lancaster, 1989), while Śākyamuni is the Buddha of our world, which obviously is a world of suffering.

In the case of shamanic songs that were adaptations of *sosŏl*, the shift of emphasis was from the secular to the religious. In a totally different way, this also happened when the 17th-century Confucian scholar Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637–1692) wrote a *sosŏl* entitled *Kuunmong* (九雲夢; The Cloud Dream of the Nine), allegedly to amuse his aged mother (Kim Manjung, 1922; Rutt & Kim 1974; Bantly, 1996; Chang Hyohyŏn, 2008). There has been academic debate whether this novel was first written in *hanmun* or in Korean, but D. Bouchez (1995) has presented strong arguments for the latter. Even if the original version was in Chinese, however, one should recognize that it is significant as vernacular literature because it was widely circulated in Korean. Its narrative was also frequently presented in visual form, on the panels of painted or embroidered folding screens. When carefully examined, *Kuunmong* betrays a deep interest in and sound knowledge of Buddhism. Its structure and main theme – emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*) – are based on the *Vajracchedikā Prajnāparamitā* (Bouchez, 1985, 445) from which a famous verse delivers the final message of the novel:

> All is dharma, illusion:
> A dream, a phantasm, bubble, shadow,
> Evanescent as dew, transient as lightning;
> And must be seen as such.
> (trans. Rutt & Kim, 1974, 176; Chang Hyohyŏn, 2008, 235)

The last line of the novel states that all nine protagonists became bodhisattvas and entered the Pure Land. In a sense, this is Jātaka as romance (or vice versa).

Although the bulk of *Kuunmong* describes the romantic adventures of a young monk and eight female servants of Sŏwangmo (西王母; Chn. Xiwangmu; "Queen Mother of the West") who are reborn in the secular world as punishment for a moment of dalliance, in the end, the protagonists realize that all this has been an illusion. The whole story may be considered the skillful means (*upāya; pangp'yŏn* [方便]) by which the reader is led to a conclusion that if introduced without preparation would not have been very attractive. With its circular structure, which reflects the teaching of the *Vajracchedikā Prajnāparamitā* that in essence we are already enlightened but need a detour to bring us to the point from which we actually departed, the novel provides clear evidence that the oppression that Buddhism endured in this period did not preclude continued serious engagement of some members of the literate elite with its doctrines (comp. Bouchez, 1985; Eunsu Cho, 2003; Yu Hosŏn, 2006; Younghee Lee, 2007b; Walraven, 2007b; Kim Daeyeol, 2012).

Ambiguities in the social status of Buddhism in the Chosŏn period are illustrated by a 19th-century anonymous novella called *Ong Kojipchŏn* (옹고집전; Story of Ong the Stubborn). This was an adaptation of a tale from the repertoire of *p'ansori* (판소리; narrative singing). The comic story describes the successful revenge of a monk against Ong Kojip, a well-to-do gentleman who had maltreated the monk when he presented himself begging at the gate of Ong's mansion. The monk uses magic to manufacture a *doppelgänger* of Ong to replace the real Ong, even in his bed. The latter is ignominiously kicked out of his own home, but at the end, the real Ong shows remorse and is allowed to reassume his place. Although the tale is told in a jocular fashion, it unambiguously sympathizes with the monk and depicts Ong as a stupid brute. As a *p'ansori* tale and *sosŏl*, the story addressed a wide swath of the population, including the elite.

Kasa and *Sijo*

The vernacular genres of poetry of the Chosŏn period, *kasa* (歌辭) and *sijo* (時調), were originally intended to be sung and therefore often are referred to as songs, both in Korean and in other languages. When the *kasa* grew so long that they were no longer suitable to be sung, they were mostly read or recited. *Sijo* are basically a three-line form (which may be extended somewhat) and mostly lyrical in nature, while *kasa* are more discursive, in all senses of the word, and may count many hundreds of lines. Buddhist *kasa* may be considered the most significant genre of traditional vernacular Buddhist literature. While the number of works in most genres of Buddhist vernacular literature is very small, a recent collection of Buddhist *kasa* contains 108 titles (Im Kijung, 2000), even though a number of titles that can be found in other collections have been excluded. Buddhist *kasa* were also an important medium for the transmission of the teachings of the clergy to laymen. Although manuscripts continued to be an important medium for their distribution as late as the first half of the 20th century, they were quite often circulated in printed form, unlike most non-Buddhist *kasa* of the Chosŏn period.

Some Buddhist *kasa* are assumed to date from the Koryŏ period, which would make them the oldest examples of the *kasa* form. *Sŏwangga* (西往歌; Going to the West) is ascribed to the famous Sŏn monk Naong (懶翁; 1320–1376), whose teachings, however, do not match the contents of the song very well (Chŏng Chaeho, 2003). It is unlikely that the extant Buddhist *kasa* are so old, although it is very plausible that in the Koryŏ period, too, there were vernacular Buddhist songs. An indication of the latter is the fact that there are some songs recorded in *hanmun* that do not follow any rules of Chinese prosody. Probably these are renderings of songs in the vernacular (Cho Tongil, vol. II, 2005, 195–201). What may be asserted with certainty is that, whatever the actual date of composition may be, the actual texts of the Buddhist *kasa* that we know all date from after 1600 (Younghee Lee, 2006). It should also be noted that, in spite of the fact that *kasa* may be considered a traditional genre, their production did not stop when Korea opened its borders to Western influences in the last quarter of the 19th century. A considerable number of Buddhist *kasa* were written in the first half of the 20th century.

Scholars have made different attempts to categorize the Buddhist *kasa*. A recent classification reduces them to four broad categories:

1. songs that urge conversion to Buddhism following the realization that all phenomena are evanescent and illusory, and encourage the practice of *yŏmbul* (念佛; the practice of mental concentration on the buddha Amitābha) to effect rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land,
2. songs that teach the workings of karma and point the way to a true practice of Buddhism by doing good and making donations,
3. songs that in order to stimulate unflagging practice encourage meditation and praise the joys

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4. songs that praise the Buddha (including descriptions of the life of the Buddha), which by describing the vows of buddhas and bodhisattvas to save all sentient beings convey the comforting message that with their help, the final goal of enlightenment is within reach of everyone (Cho P'yŏnghwan, 2011, 293).

Cho P'yŏnghwan assigns 36 songs to the first category, 15 to the second, 40 to the third, and 17 to the fourth. While giving an impression of the range of the *kasa*, classifications like this are problematic because many songs contain elements of more than one category. It is clear, however, that the songs generally have didactic purposes, and encourage both personal effort, for instance through meditation, and reliance on the salvific power of buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Another way to classify the songs is to look at the intended audience. There is a tendency to assume that the songs were all primarily addressed to the common people who would be unable to understand texts in *hanmun*. In fact, even the illiterate would be able to benefit from listening to the songs when they were sung by monks during their begging rounds or in accompaniment of rituals (Kim Chongjin, 2002). There is little doubt that the *kasa* actually functioned in this way. The fact that one of the most popular Buddhist *kasa* was adopted in the repertoire of the shamans (Kim Chongjin, 2002) and that elements from such *kasa* became part of pallbearers' songs (상여소리; *sangyŏ sori*), a kind of folk song, points in this direction. Yet, the monk Ch'imgoeng (枕肱; 1616–1684) directly addressed his fellow monks rather than laymen, criticizing all kinds of abuses, such as the excessive consumption of alcohol or just pretending to laymen to be fully enlightened (Younghee Lee, 2007b). He was scornful of the monks who studied under the guidance of "Master One-Eye," "Dozing under the Black Mountain/Drooling in the Cave of Ghosts" (terminology traditionally applied to monks who meditate without the proper focus of the *hwadu* [話頭], the topic of meditation; Younghee Lee, 2007b, 75). Ch'imgoeng counseled a combination of textual studies (incl. texts of non-Buddhist, Confucian thinkers), meditation, and peregrination to famous mountains around the country as the right path to enlightenment. Among the most lyrical of the Buddhist *kasa* literature, his songs in many respects are very similar to the *kasa* of the *yangban* elite of scholar-officials (from which he hailed himself). The 19th-century priest Namho Yŏnggi (南湖 永奇; 1820–1872) also addressed the two *kasa* by his hand to the educated and, one might add, to the wealthy, as he used the *kasa* as a means to solicit donations for printing the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, a project that was supported by members of the royal family and some of the most powerful persons in the land (Kim Chongjin, 2004a; 2004b; 2009; Younghee Lee, 2011). *Kwŏnwangga* (勸往歌; Encouragement to Go [to the Pure Land]) by the 19th-century monk Tonghwa (東花) is so long – more than 1,200 lines – that it must have been intended for reading and thus for a public that possessed at least basic literacy rather than for vocal delivery. Growing urban populations in the 18th and 19th centuries may have been the intended audience of such *kasa*.

Buddhist *kasa* often were explicitly also addressed to women, who constituted a major part of the believers. "Listen to these words of mine, whether you are noble or despised/male or female, young or old" is a typical beginning for a Buddhist *kasa*. In some ways, they also defend women's interests, for instance by pointing out the dire karmic consequences of rape. Yet, there is no evidence that Buddhist *kasa* were written by women (although for other subgenres of the *kasa*, some female authors may be found). Women were also represented as a form of existence that was inferior to that of men. Rebirth as a woman was a form of punishment:

> If during your life you commit sodomy with a monk, in a later life you will become the lowest of women/living as a prostitute for 500 existences, and then, even if you are reborn as a human being/ it will be with a shriveled penis. (trans. Younghee Lee, 2006)

Buddhist *kasa* were not exclusively composed by monks. Some laymen, too, composed Buddhist songs. One of them was the Confucian scholar Kim Ch'anghŭp (金昌翕; 1655–1722), who wrote a short *yŏmbulga* (念佛歌; *yŏmbul* song). A lay believer (*ch'ŏngsinsa* [清信士] or *kŏsa* [居士]) called Chihyŏng (智瑩), who was active in book publishing and quite likely a low-ranking military official (Walraven, 2007b), published two *kasa* in a woodblock edition in 1795. This suggests that some of the many anonymous *kasa*, too, were composed by laypeople, which would accord with the fact that in the late Chosŏn period, there was a rise in the interest in Buddhism among educated laypeople, including members of the elite.

Probably the best-known Buddhist *kasa* of all is *Hoesimgok* (回心曲/悔心曲; Conversion Song/

Song of Repentance), which was also used in shamanic rituals (Son Chint'ae, 1930; Kim Chongjin, 2002), became a popular item on the repertoire of folk singers, and even now is widely available on recordings. It has been attributed to the most famous priest of the Chosŏn period, Hyujŏng (休靜), commonly known as Master Sŏsan (西山大師; 1520–1604), author of *hanmun* treatises and supreme commander of the monks' armies that fought the Japanese during the invasions of 1592–1598, but this is as unlikely as the attribution of *Sŏwangga* to Naong (see above).

With the exception of one verse by Ch'imgoeng urging faith in Amitābha, there are no *sijo* that propagate Buddhism in the way many *kasa* do, but numerous *sijo* betray the familiarity with Buddhism of the people of Chosŏn. *Sijo* frequently refer to the concept of reincarnation, anathema to staunch Confucians, and to Buddha images and monks as symbols of a world that is less fleeting and full of suffering than our vale of tears (Cho P'yŏnghwan, 2011, 231–264).

Pure Land Literature

The second half of the Chosŏn period also saw the publication of Buddhist prose texts in Korean addressed to laymen. At the time, Buddhist writings were still mainly in Chinese, but *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* (念佛普勸文; Exhortation to Practice the Invocation of the Buddha [Amitābha]) is a rare exception. It is bilingual, with Chinese followed by Korean translations. The translations are not always very literal, and in some cases, fragments in the vernacular have no counterpart in the Chinese text. Pure Land practices had been known already in Silla but gained even greater popularity in Chosŏn, when laymen practiced *yŏmbul* both individually and in massive gatherings (Han Pogwang, 2000). *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* was a means to propagate such practices. It was compiled by a monk called Myŏngyŏn (明衍), of whom we only know that he belonged to the lineage of Hyujŏng. It was several times printed in woodblock editions during the 18th century – in 1704, 1741, 1764, 1765 (twice, in different temples), 1776, 1787, and partly in 1753 (Walraven, 2007c; Myŏngyŏn, 2012) – and may be assumed to have had considerable impact. It is a farrago of quite diverse elements held together by the actual practices and beliefs that the Amitābha faith took in the 18th century. As to be expected, the leading thought in *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* is the conviction that reliance on the buddha Amitābha by mindful concentration on the name of Amitābha (*yŏmbul*) is the ideal method to escape from the endless cycle of birth and rebirth by being reborn in the Pure Land. The practice was also deemed suitable to benefit third persons through the transfer of merit. Beginning in the Koryŏ period and especially in Chosŏn, Pure Land practices were often advocated by Sŏn priests, be it that in many instances, they judged these practices to be particularly suited to people of lower capacities or interpreted the Pure Land in a sophisticated manner: not as an actual paradise that exists outside the practitioner but as a state that can be realized in the practitioner's own mind, which is nothing but the Buddha nature that is present in each living being from the outset.

Myŏngyŏn's preface (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 32) betrays an awareness of the difficult situation of Buddhism under Confucian domination by his insistence that throughout history emperors, kings, prominent ministers, and famous poets have shown reverence for Amitābha and also by a reference to the Chinese compiler of a similar but much more extensive collection of texts related to Amitābha worship who, Myŏngyŏn states, was a prominent minister and "Confucian gentleman" (儒家名相君子). He also situates his own work explicitly in the context of the latter days (*malse* [末世], the period of the extinction of the Buddha law), when people are ignorant and full of material desires, and adds that he has appended explanations in Korean alphabet (*ŏnsŏ* [諺書]) to allow "good men and women" to make spiritual progress.

Women may proceed to paradise, but they first will have to undergo a fundamental change:

> If a woman practices *yŏmbul* she will change her womanhood and become a man, to proceed to Ultimate Bliss [Sukhāvatī] and immediately realize the fruition of Buddhahood. (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 38–39; trans. Walraven, 2007)

Following this, *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* also states that no vulgar people, women, evil-doers, and animals are found in the Pure Land, only buddhas, bodhisattvas, and good people. This may sound quite discriminatory to modern ears, but in the context of Chosŏn, the prospect of ultimate bliss, even after a transformation into men, offered women a great deal more solace than Confucianism did (Younghee Lee, 2006). It should also be noted that in the form of Buddhist propagation that was most accessible, namely, the *kasa*, the change in gender was not mentioned at all as a necessary requirement.

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In the *Modŭn syegye kŭngnangman kătchi mothăda hăsida* (The Pure Land Surpasses All Worlds) section of *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun*, which explains the nine tiers of rebirth (corresponding with the degree of merit of the reborn) in the Pure Land, the Korean translation is a little more elaborate than the Chinese original when it comes to the qualifications for the three middle tiers. In the Chinese text, filial care for the parents, some adherence to the precepts, not killing living beings, and a display of benevolence (仁), compassion (慈), and generosity (布施心) are the conditions. The Korean text is more specific. One should serve one's parents with filial piety, show moderation in drinking alcohol and eating meat, not kill, reduce one's desire for material possessions, make donations, and do good works. The description of the rewards of paradise, too, is more concrete. One obtains freedom not only of birth and death but also of illness. Both the Chinese and the Korean text diverge in an important respect from the *Guan wuliangshoufo jing* (觀無量壽佛經; *Sūtra* on Visualizing the Buddha of Immeasurable Life), the source of the ninefold classification. This *sūtra* offers to the three middle tiers nothing better on rebirth in the Pure Land than arhatship. The Chinese text of *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 42) promises the immediate attainment of the fruition of buddhahood and the *han'gŭl* version (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 43) instantaneously becoming a buddha. The Korean text, moreover, guarantees unlimited knowledge of past and future and boundless supernatural faculties. "How could one not want to go there?" it concludes. Instantaneous buddhahood, as soon as the Pure Land is reached, is even in store for the lowest three tiers after they have been reborn in paradise and thus are able to listen to Amitābha's sermons:

> You will immediately become a Buddha, avoid illness and death, and know everything of previous and future existences. Food and clothes will appear spontaneously. (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 49–50; trans. Walraven 2007)

This last addition seems to address an audience to whom a concern for these two necessities of life is more urgent than escaping from the shackles of saṃsāra.

Another section is interesting because it bears no direct relation to the practice of *yŏmbul* but rather addresses the plight of Buddhism in Chosŏn Korea. It is primarily an admonishment not to speak ill of Buddhism. Some people ridicule Buddhist believers, unaware that this will result in eternal suffering in hell. Even if one does not worship the Buddha, one should not speak ill of Buddhism. The warning is quite explicitly directed to the (Confucian) elite: "The Ten Kings [of the Underworld] do not stand in awe of the high and mighty; Hell is not a fiction" (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 53–54). Similar admonitions can be found in Buddhist *kasa*.

The final section of the first part of *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun*, which presents the general principles of *yŏmbul* through excerpts and summaries of canonical literature, lists all kinds of benefits of this practice, not only for peasants and traders but also for those who hold government office and for scholars (글하는 선비; *kŭl hănŭn sŏnbi*) – those, in short, whom we are wont to call "Confucians" (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 59–62). Of course, the main benefit for all is rebirth in paradise after death, but even for believers who are unable to stop eating meat and drinking alcohol completely, the practice has immediate benefits. Right in this world, it will ensure freedom from disasters and calamities and bring happiness and a long life.

Finally, *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* itself should play an important role in the life of the faithful. Whenever they have spare time, they should read it with reverence, after washing their hands and rinsing their mouths (the latter instruction is only found in the *han'gŭl* text). Afterward it should be stored away in a nice, clean place. The book itself becomes a repository of sanctity.

The first part of *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* is followed by biographies (all taken from Chinese Pure Land literature) of persons who reaped the rewards of Amitābha worship in the form of rebirth in the Pure Land (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 64–86). These include cases of manifest sinners, such as an apostate monk and a butcher, who were saved in spite of their sins, thanks to *yŏmbul*. There is no Chinese version of a postface to this part of the book, which is a convenient though rather rambling summary of *yŏmbul* practice. It encourages everyone to read *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* (or listen to it being read) instead of all kinds of "inferior novels" (*chapyeagich'aek* [잡예아기 책]), a remark prompted by the growing popularity of *sosŏl* at the time (Myŏngyŏn, 2012, 84).

The next part of the *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* consists of texts to be used in *yŏmbul* rituals: *dhāraṇī* in Sanskrit and chants (*ke* [偈]; Skt. *gāthā*) in *hanmun*, followed by the *Yŏrae siptae parwŏnmun* (如來十大發願文; Ten Great Vows Made to the Tathāgata), which are transcribed in *han'gŭl* but fundamentally remain a *hanmun* text. The liturgical texts also draw attention to the fact that *yŏmbul* practice in many cases was a collective affair. In fact, *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun* repeatedly urges the reader to "join *yŏmbul* [meetings]." Such meetings, which might last for an extended period, are attested in various historical sources (Han Pogwang, 2000).

It is quite likely that the *kasa* included in the next part of the book were also sung during more extended, collective *yŏmbul* rituals. These *kasa* are (1) *Sŏwangga* (see above), (2) the anonymous *In'gwamun* (Text on Cause and Effect), and (3) a variant of *Hoesimgok* (see above). To certain terms used in these *kasa*, glosses are added, which explain Buddhist concepts – sometimes in a rather simplified way. Thus "impermanence" (*musang* [無常]) is explained as meaning that man cannot live long. The *kasa* contain sentences that can be found word by word elsewhere in *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun*. Obviously, they are not arbitrary additions but effectively reinforce the message of the other parts of *Yŏmbul pogwŏnmun*, propagating the same mixture of elements: the efficacy of the invocation of Amitābha for people from all walks of life and of both sexes and an insistence on virtuous behavior (in many ways in conformity with Confucian standards), together with a dramatic opposition between heaven and hell, and the depiction of life in this world as ephemeral and of worldly possessions and mundane glory as intrinsically vain.

Twentieth-Century Poetry and Prose

As mentioned above, Buddhist *kasa* were produced well into the 20th century. The Sŏn master Hangmyŏng (鶴鳴; 1867–1929) wrote several *kasa*, among which is *Wŏnjŏkka* (圓寂歌; Song of Perfect Tranquility). He was a reformer who promoted the economic self-sufficiency of the saṅgha, but he is less known than Manhae Han Yongun (萬海 韓龍雲; 1879–1944), who gained fame both as a radical reformer of Buddhism and as a poet. In 1913 Han Yongun published *Chosŏn pulgyo yusillon* (朝鮮佛教維新論; Plea for a Renewal of Korean Buddhism), in which he proposed bringing the saṅgha back from the mountain temples to the cities and towns, attacked what he saw as superstition, and advocated the marrying of monks. As a poet, he is celebrated because of his 1926 collection *Nim ŭi ch'immuk* (님의 침묵; Silence of the Beloved), in which the "beloved" (a traditional metaphor for the monarch to whom the poet expresses his undying loyalty) is defined as the personification of everything for which mankind yearns. This could include all kinds of political aspirations, such as the unification of Italy for Mazzini or (not explicitly mentioned, but hinted at) liberation from Japanese colonialism. The poems contain many Buddhist terms and allusions, but Han Yongun's deliberate striving for poly-interpretability makes it difficult to distinguish where the Buddhist content begins or ends. An example is the poem *Naruppae wa haengin* (The Ferry and the Traveler). The ferry is the means by which the traveler crosses to the other bank of the river, which is a traditional Buddhist metaphor of enlightenment. At the same time, the traveler can be seen as the "beloved," allowing a romantic interpretation, or perhaps as the colonial oppressor, who steps on the ferry "with muddy feet."

Too many works with a Buddhist slant were published in the 20th century to allow a complete survey. For the first time, Buddhist literature became a commodity, published by commercial publishing houses. This is a significant difference with Japan, where commercialization of Buddhist literature already occurred in the Tokugawa period. Only a few more authors can be mentioned apart from Han Yongun. Among them is Yi Kwangsu (李光洙; 1892–1950), who is regarded as the first modern novelist and became more and more involved with Buddhism as he grew older. He wrote a number of historical novels about Buddhist figures that, it has been suggested (Jung-Shim Lee, 2013), indirectly comment on his own times and personal situation. Another one is Kim Iryŏp (金一葉; 1896–1971), who started out as a radical feminist advocating free love but in the late 1920s turned to Buddhism and eventually entered a Buddhist nunnery. She continued to write, however, both poetry and essays, now with pronounced Buddhist content (Bonnie Oh, 2004; Jung-Shim Lee, 2013; Jin. Y. Park, 2010).

Among the authors who made their debut after liberation in 1945 is the poet and novelist Ko Ŭn (高銀; 1933–). He was a monk for ten years, but after he returned to secular life Buddhism continued to inspire his work – for example, in a collection of Sŏn poetry entitled *Muŏnya?* (ET: *What?*; 2008). His novel, *Hwaŏmgyŏng* (華嚴經; Flower Ornament Scripture; trans. Anthony, 1995), retells the story of the pilgrimage of a young boy, Sudhana, who on his quest for enlightenment visits an assortment of 53 sages and bodhisattvas, the most famous part of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (Cleary, 1987). The monk Pŏpchŏng (法頂; 1932–2010) was much respected and loved by both the general public and

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intellectuals for his essays, in which he looked at daily life from a Sŏn perspective. His most famous collection is *Musoyu* (無所有; Nothingness).

Presently there are between 30 and 40 publishers that specialize in Buddhist literature, producing between 450 and 500 titles annually. Some of these titles are huge bestsellers and read by many non-Buddhists, including Christians, who often display negative attitudes toward other religious traditions, testifying to the continuing cultural influence of Korean Buddhism. A prime example is the above-mentioned *Musoyu*, which was published with an endorsement from Cardinal Kim Sou-hwan (1922–2009) and reprinted 86 times.

A major undertaking in Buddhist publishing has been the publication in 2001 of the 318 volumes of translations into Korean of the entire Koryŏ-period Buddhist canon from the 13th century, which was in Chinese and early in the 20th century had served as the basis for the authoritative Taishō canon (Lancaster, 1979). Partial translations into modern Korean had appeared from 1965.

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BOUDEWIJN WALRAVEN
YOUNGHEE LEE

Korean B

In Korea before the 20th century,
had a prestige that far surpassed th
ular. This was because only literary
as literature, because literary Chine
franca of East Asia, and because al
for Korean Buddhism were in Chi
were also imported from China.

Belles Lettres

Short Poetry

Virtually no short Korean Buddhist
survives from before the poems
(崔致遠; b. 857), which were n
pieces sent to monks or about th
dhist sites (Ch'oe Chun'ok, vol. I,
1982, 46–55, 61–62). These inspired
1392) monks and laymen to write
The first poetry initially composed
vive in numbers was the poetry w
(義天; 1055–1101). They were most
trinal, or lyrical poems. This tend
by his pupils, as well as by seve
Ch'ŏnt'ae (天台; Chn. Tiantai) sch
了世; 1163–1245) and Ch'ŏnin (天
2012, 9).

These poems appeared mainly
literary collections of verse and
Chan [禪] *ŏrok*/Chn. *yulu* [語錄],
of which just over a hundred ar
Taegak kuksa munjip of Ŭich'ŏn
chip of Kyŏnghŏ Sŏng'u (1849–191
Of these collections, 10 come from
4 from the early Chosŏn (朝鮮; 13
invasion of 1592), 13 from the in
its immediate aftermath, and 7
1592–1910.

This increasing production
includes much poetry and "teac
related to the growing dominanc
Of the ten *munjip* of the Koryŏ, t
and seven are Sŏn in origin, b
the later collections were by Sŏn
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BOUDEWIJN WALRAVEN
YOUNGHEE LEE

Korean Buddhist Literature in Chinese

In Korea before the 20th century, literary Chinese had a prestige that far surpassed the Korean vernacular. This was because only literary Chinese counted as literature, because literary Chinese was the *lingua franca* of East Asia, and because all the source texts for Korean Buddhism were in Chinese. Most genres were also imported from China.

Belles Lettres

Short Poetry

Virtually no short Korean Buddhist poetry in Chinese survives from before the poems of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (崔致遠; b. 857), which were mostly occasional pieces sent to monks or about the beauty of Buddhist sites (Ch'oe Chun'ok, vol. I, 1982, 636; vol. II, 1982, 46–55, 61–62). These inspired Koryŏ (高麗; 918–1392) monks and laymen to write Buddhist poetry. The first poetry initially composed in Chinese to survive in numbers was the poetry written by Ŭich'ŏn (義天; 1055–1101). They were mostly occasional, doctrinal, or lyrical poems. This tendency was followed by his pupils, as well as by several monks of the Ch'ŏnt'ae (天台; Chn. Tiantai) school, such as Yose (了世; 1163–1245) and Ch'ŏnin (天因; 1205–1248; Lee, 2012, 9).

These poems appeared mainly in *munjip* (文集), literary collections of verse and prose (incl. Sŏn/Chan [禪] *ŏrok*/Chn. *yulu* [語錄], collected sayings), of which just over a hundred are known from the *Taegak kuksa munjip* of Ŭich'ŏn until the *Kyŏnghŏ chip* of Kyŏnghŏ Sŏng'u (1849–1912; Lee, 2012, 23–51). Of these collections, 10 come from the Koryŏ period, 4 from the early Chosŏn (朝鮮; 1392 to the Japanese invasion of 1592), 13 from the invasion period and its immediate aftermath, and 74 from the period 1592–1910.

This increasing production of *munjip*, which includes much poetry and "teaching literature," is related to the growing dominance of Sŏn in Korea. Of the ten *munjip* of the Koryŏ, three are Ch'ŏnt'ae, and seven are Sŏn in origin, but virtually all of the later collections were by Sŏn monks. The inspiration for the writing of Sŏn poetry was the massive *Sŏnmun yŏmsong chip* (禪門拈頌) by Chin'gak Hyesim (眞覺慧諶; 1178–1234) and its commentary by his disciple Kagun (覺雲), the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong sŏrhwa* (禪門拈頌說話). Hyesim was a disciple of Pojo Chinul (普照知訥; 1158–1210), who introduced *kanhwa* (Chn. *kanhua* [看話]), the Sŏn meditation on the point or key word of a *kongan* (Chn. *gong'an* [公案]) from Song-dynasty China. The *kongan* or "public case" is a short, puzzling dialogue meant to halt conceptualization. The most famous *kongan* is the short form of the reply by Zhaozhou, "No (*mu* [無])," to the question, "Does a dog have the buddha nature?" These *kongan* and their evaluations often took poetic form (Kim, 2012).

Hyesim, the first Korean monk to leave an *ŏrok*, also left a collection of Sŏn poems. The characteristics of Sŏn poetry are the themes of enlightenment, of contemplating nature as one with oneself, and of nature as the *dharmakāya*. Typical symbols are the mountain for the *dharmakāya*, water for the purity of the mind, and the moon for the enlightened mind. Such poetry continues to be written till the present (In, 1983, 269–270; Lee, 2012, 14–18).

Long Verse

The most common form of long verse is made up of a series of linked quatrains on a topic or to a set rhyme, or in response to another poet, or praises of a *sūtra*. The praises began with Wŏnhyo (元曉; 617–686) and Ŭisang (義湘; 625–702) and were continued by Kyunyŏ (均如; 923–973), Ch'ŏnin, Hyesim, and Kihwa (己和; 1376–1433; Lee, 2012, 83–84).

Long Sŏn poems celebrate the life of the author in an isolated hermitage where he is not bound by monastic rules. The first was by Hyesim, and it was soon followed by similar poems by Ch'ungji (冲止; 1226–1292), Paegun Kyŏnghan (白雲景閑; 1299–1375), and his contemporaries. In the Chosŏn period, Chiŭn (智訔; *fl.* 1481), Kihwa, Hŏŭng Pou (虛應普雨; 1515–1565), and Sŏsan Hyujŏng (西山休靜; 1520–1604) also wrote such songs. T'aenŭng (太能; 1562–1649) wrote about the enlightenment process of a mountain monk. Hyŏnp'yŏn (懸辯; 1616–1684) wrote a number of long, sometimes irregular poems on topics such as rebuilding monastery halls. Ŭisun (意恂; 1786–1866) wrote on topics like planting bamboo as a teaching means. The last such long poem is the *Sun'gye Sŏnsa nonga ka*

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(淳溪禪師弄我歌; Songs of Sŏn Master Sun'gye Playing with the Self), written in 1927 (Whitfield & Park, 2012, 85–86, 117–118; *Han'guk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ* [*HPC*], vol. XII, 1979–2000, 830–850).

The third theme of long verse was devotion to a buddha or bodhisattva. The Yogācāra monk Hyeyong (惠永; 1228–1294) wrote the *Paegŭi hae* (白衣解; Interpretation of the White-Clothed), a mixture of prose, verse, and mantra in devotion to Avalokiteśvara (Kor. Kwanŭm [觀音]; *HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 411–417), which is also a repentance text. The longest and most important of this type of devotional poetry is the *Sŏkka yŏrae haengjŏk song* (釋迦如來行蹟頌; Hymns of the Deeds of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni) of 1328 by Unmuk (雲默) of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 484–539). It is made up of 776 verses on the life of the Buddha, plus 64 verses encouraging the practice of the precepts. The verses have an autocommentary. A summary of the autocommentary was published in 1529 (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 759–766).

The final use of the long poetic forms was for songs that advocated the *yŏmbul* (Chn. *nianfo* [念佛]), the recitation or mindfulness of the (name of a) buddha. Discussion of *yŏmbul* and rebirth of sentient beings began in the very last years of the Koryŏ, and later Pou (普雨; 1515–1565) wrote the *Kwŏnnyŏm yorok* (勸念要錄; Essential Records on the Encouragement of *Yŏmbul*; *HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 609–614). Around the same time, several texts on the *yŏmbul* ritual were published that contained *gāthā* verses. Haeil (海日; 1541–1609) wrote several poems about *yŏmbul* and monks who specialized in it. *Yŏmbul* became an important topic from the time of Sŏngch'ong (性聰; 1631–1700), who wrote a long verse praising the Pure Land (*HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 512–518). Thereafter a number of long poems on *yŏmbul* and rebirth of believers in the Pure Land were written. This popular belief in the Pure Land was not always shared by the more literate monks, who tended toward Sŏn, and so the Pure Land texts were not often written in literary Chinese.

Teaching Literature

The earliest teaching literature is Wŏnhyo's *Palsim suhaeng chang* (發心修行章; Awaken Your Mind and Practice), which advises monks to practice and avoid being caught up in worldly concerns (Haeju & Muller, 2012, 48–49). It was imitated by Chinul in his *Kye ch'osimhagin mun* (誡初心學人文; Admonitions to Neophytes) of 1205 (Buswell, 2012, 195–203). This was used in 1397, on the orders of the Chosŏn dynasty, as a set of basic rules for monasteries. Likewise, Wŏnhyo's text was included by Sŏlche Wŏldam (雪霽月潭; 1623–1704) in the curriculum for novice monks. Unmuk wrote *Kyŏngch'aek* (警策; Warning Whip), a warning against wasting donations. Yaun (野雲; also known as Kagu [覺牛]), a disciple of Naong (懶翁; 1320–1376), wrote *Cha'gyŏng mun* (自警文; Watch Yourself) about restraining desires and conduct. This was later combined with the texts of Wŏnhyo and Chinul as a textbook for postulants (Han, 1974; McBride, 2012, 399–422).

The *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* (華嚴一乘法界圖; Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma of the One Vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka*) by Ŭisang is a combination of diagram, verse, and autocommentary. This text attracted a number of commentaries from the Silla period (57 BCE–935 CE) through to the mid-Chosŏn period; it was chanted and used as a talisman. Ŭisang used it to teach his many disciples, and it inspired a number of dialogue texts related to its doctrines. There were also imitations (Haeju, 2012, 29; Jung, vol. V, 2012b, 7–13). A guide to Ch'ŏnt'ae/Tiantai doctrine, the *Ch'ŏnt'ae sa'gyoŭi* (天台四教儀; Outline of the Ch'ŏnt'ae Fourfold Teachings), written by Ch'egwan (諦觀; d. 970), was known throughout East Asia (Muller, 2012a, 299–394). Much later, Kim Taehyŏn (金大鉉; d. 1870) wrote an outline of the meditation practices and studies of the Tiantai founder, Zhiyi (538–597) – the *Sŏnhak immun* (禪學入門; *HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 894–927).

Teaching materials were more often written in the Koryŏ period. Some of the writings of Ŭich'ŏn (1055–1101), such as compositions on beginning lectures (*p'alsa* [發辭]) and instructions, gave background to the texts discussed and advice to readers (McBride, trans., 2012, 321–334). The tendency for a monk's works to be posthumously published in *Sŏn munjip* became a major form of publication. Sŏn prioritized teaching materials such as records of dialogues between students and masters, selected succinct portions of which became fixed as *kongan* and then the key points of which became objects of intense focus as *hwadu* (話頭), a practice introduced by Chinul. A *hwadu* or "point of the story" is a keyword or phrase from a *kongan*, such as Zhaozhou's *mu* (see above on *kongan*). A number of Chinul's works were primarily meant for teaching purposes, encouraging practice and justifying it doctrinally (Buswell, 2012, 19–20, 25, 27, 31, 90–107).

Chinul also pioneered various forms of sermon (Buswell, 2012, 30–32). Hyesim's *ŏrok* contains the

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first Korean example of this genre, such as formal and informal sermons, instructions to the assembly, dharma talks, letters, and even cremation orations. All these were types of sermon, only differentiated by the occasion, audience, and delivery. Many other minor forms came out of the *kongan* collections, forms like the "substitute words" (*taeŏ* [代語]), citations of cases, or "separate replies" (*pyŏl* [別]), and the "capping phrases" (*ch'agŏ* [着語]). Most of these sayings and sermons are free flowing and full of wit and repartee, or they use swear words and literary allusions. They often refer to enlightenment events of past masters or use gestures and props such as a staff to make their point. This type of literature continued to be written right through to the present and constitutes a large portion of all Korean Buddhist literature (Jorgensen, 2012b, 59, 100, 136, 419).

There are several other forms of Sŏn teaching literature, such as Hyesim's advice on eliminating faults from the practice of the *hwadu* and compilations of circular and other symbols by Chigyŏm (至謙; 1145–1229) and Iryŏn (一然; 1206–1289). Ch'ŏnch'aek (天頙; 1206–1293) is credited with the *Sŏnmun pojang nok* (禪門寶藏錄) of 1293, a collection of cases and stories to demonstrate the difference between Sŏn and the doctrinal schools, and the *Sŏnmun kang'yo chip* (禪門綱要集), which deals with the essentials of the teachings of two Sŏn lineages as encapsulated in a series of three set phrases. These three phrases are claimed to be the same as the three sets of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* (Kor. *chigwan* [止觀]; two kinds of meditation: calming and discernment) of Zhiyi. Ch'ŏnch'aek's works allegedly sparked a series of increasingly technical writings such as the *Sŏn'gyo ch'ongp'an mun* (禪教摠判文; Overall Distinction of Sŏn and Doctrine) published in 1607. It dealt with circle diagrams, categories of Buddhism, three types of Sŏn lineages, and the various phrases or sentences used by these lineages as teaching devices (Kim, 1994, 208–211, 234–236, 397–404). A similar text by Chasu (子秀; 1664–1737) looked at various ranks or stages of enlightenment and three types of enlightenment (*HPC*, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 442–458). Chian (志安; 1664–1729) wrote *Sŏnmun ojong kang'yo* (禪門五宗綱要; Essentials of the Five Lineages of Sŏn; Kim, 1994, 380–382). In the late Chosŏn period, this categorization of types of Sŏn and their correlation with stages of enlightenment developed into an intense debate, beginning with the *Sŏnmun sugyŏng* (禪門水鏡; Hand-Mirror of Sŏn Literature) by Paekp'a (白坡; 1767–1852), which elaborates on such verses, images, and items of Sŏn legend. He tried to create a hierarchy of types of Sŏn. This led to a series of refutations and essays, the last written in 1930.

Another kind of Sŏn literature is the compilation of abstracts of dialogues that have led to enlightenment. An example is Kyŏnghan's *Pulcho chikchi simch'ae ch'oryo* (佛祖直指心體要節; The Essential Passages Directly Pointing at the Essence of the Mind; Jorgensen & Cho, 2005). Abstracts from the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong chip sŏrhwa* (禪門拈頌集說話) were made by Iryŏn and by Kwiam (龜庵) around 1249 (Tongguk, 1976, 134, 140; *HPC*, vol. XI, 1979–2000, 368c). The *Yŏmsong sŏrhwa chŏllok* (拈頌説話節録) by Chi'ŏm (智嚴; 1464–1534) adds to the commentary on selected *kongan* (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 388–528). Ŭisun also wrote *Sŏnmun yŏmsong sŏnyo sŏ* (禪門拈頌選要疏; Commentary on Selected Essentials from the Hymns of the Sŏn School), drawing on 40 cases from the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong chip sŏrhwa* (Lee, 2002, 98–105). Another abstract was the *T'ongnok ch'waryo* (通錄撮要), with a postface by Pyŏksong Chiŏm (碧松智嚴; 1464–1534) of 1529. It is a summary of the *Zuyuan tongyao* (祖源通要; Essentials of the Patriarchal Sources), a compilation by the 12th-century Chan monk, Gongchen (拱辰). This provided the biographies of the Chan patriarchs and teachers, including enlightening dialogues. At the end, the *T'ongnok ch'waryo* has the hagiographies of 34 Silla Sŏn masters (most are only listed by name), plus that of Naong (Ko, 1987, 207–231).

Two other genres that appear regularly in the *munjip* are letters and "encouragement of good." The first extant letters are those written by Ŭich'ŏn (1055–1101) to Chinese masters and rulers. These letters were kept because they were historically important or contained doctrine, or they were examples of style (*HPC*, vol. IV, 1979–2000, 542–547, 569–583). Hyesim wrote letters to powerful lay believers or other monks, often outlining his views on doctrine and practice in advice. Some of these letters may have been modeled on the *Dahui shu* (大慧書; Letters of Dahui), letters written to laypeople by Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲; 1089–1163), for the *Dahui shu* inspired Hyesim's master Chinul to introduce *kanhwa* practice (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 40–47; Jorgensen, 2012b, 175–196). Ch'ŏnch'aek and Naong wrote a number of long letters discussing Buddhist history and doctrine or the coexistence of Confucianism and Buddhism, as well as letters of instruction (Jorgensen, 2012b, 474–481, 496–497). Such letters dry up until Sŏsan Hyujŏng wrote letters to other monks and students encouraging them to practice (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 719–732; Jorgensen, 2012a, 322–337, 343–364). Sŏsan's students and lineage heirs wrote many letters, and they became a feature of most collections (*munjip*) thereafter (e.g. *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 30–31, 66–67, 124–126).

The *kwŏnsŏn mun* (勸善文), or *kwŏn'yŏn mun* (勸緣文), appear in most collections from the time of Pou (1515–1565). These are literally "texts encouraging good" or "texts encouraging links (with Buddhism or good karma)." They were written to encourage people to donate money to rebuild a monastery because works like bridges and monasteries brought benefit to the country and blessings to the donor (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 581–582). Sŏsan wrote several *mo'yŏn mun* (募緣文), encouraging donations (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 714–715). Sŏsan's pupils continued this practice, and thereafter these texts appear in the majority of *munjip* up to the last century (see e.g. *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 123, 174–182).

Occasionally, *munjip* collections, beginning with that of Ŭich'ŏn (1055–1101) also include memorials (*p'yo* [表]) or reports (*sŏ* [疏]) to the throne or superiors and prefaces and postfaces to books and other texts. Scholarly apparatuses include catalogues, the first by Ŭich'ŏn (*HPC*, vol. IV, 1979–2000, 679–697) and the last by Pojŏng (寶鼎; 1861–1930) (*HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000, 435–510), and genealogies, mostly of Sŏn lineages, beginning with the tables by Muhak Chach'o (無學自超; 1327–1405; *HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000, 435–510) and ending with Hyŏngjun (炯竣) and his *Haedong Pulcho wŏllyu* (海東佛祖源流) in 1978.

Biography and Hagiography

A deceased monk's disciples compiled an account of conduct (*haengjang* [行狀]) or record of deeds (*haengjŏk* [行蹟]), which was often chronological and detailed, and then they prevailed on an eminent layman to compose the stele or stūpa inscription (*pimun* [碑文]) in elaborate prose, often replete with allusions, followed by the "inscription" (*myŏng* [銘]) in verse. The initial part in prose was called the "preface" (*sŏ* [序]) and usually gave a summary of the type of Buddhism that the subject taught and then a narrative of the biography.

There are approximately 340 individual hagiographies in epigraphic form of clerics who died before 1910 (Jikwan, 2012, 8). Moreover, *haengjang* and *haengjŏk* are found in various *munjip*, approximately 80 in total, nearly all from the Chosŏn period. *Haengjang* were less prestigious than the stele inscriptions. In the very Confucian Chosŏn period, there are more *haengjang* than inscriptions, because not all monks could attract the agreement of a lay literatus to compose the inscription, or the funds needed.

Sometimes the accounts of conduct were summarized and placed in a collection of hagiographies, the *yŏlchŏn* (列傳) or "connected biographies," which adopted chronological order or classifications of saintly exemplars. There are six collections of hagiographies in the *yŏlchŏn* genre. One is not extant, and one, the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事) by Iryŏn, is a collection of mirabilia and "history" in which some hagiographies are found (Finch, 2012, 179–576).

A third type of hagiography was the *chŏn* (傳), which were often meant to be incorporated into a collection of biographies. In the Silla period, a considerable number of these individual biographies were composed. These have not survived (Kim, 1992, 49–52). The *chŏn* focused on the activities of the monk, though still as an exemplar.

The first partially extant collection is the *Haedong kosŭng chŏn* (海東高僧傳; Lives of Eminent Korean Monks) by Kakhun (覺訓), compiled on royal command in 1215 (Lee, 1969). The *Tongguk sŭngni rok* (東國僧尼錄; Records of the Monks and Nuns of Korea) is an anonymous collection of 67 entries on monks and one entry on a Silla nun. It is a post mid-Chosŏn text using unusual categories of monks and nuns, such as "rebellious monks" and "evil monks," which shows that this book was colonized by anti-Buddhist Neo-Confucian ideas. The *Samguk yusa* by Iryŏn recorded local legends and interviews and also included monastic records. Many miracle tales are included, while the biographies range from the more sober *chŏn* to the miraculous (Jung, vol. X, 2012a, 42). The *Tongsa yŏlchŏn* (東師列傳; Linked Biographies of Eastern Masters), written by Kagan (覺岸) in 1884, contains biographies from that of Ado, traditionally thought to have first introduced Buddhism into Korea, through to that of Hoegwang (晦光; 1840–1933), a controversial monk who collaborated with the Japanese colonialists; it includes 198 biographies. Lastly, the *Chogye kosŭng chŏn* (曹溪高僧傳) by Pojŏng is a compilation of 97 biographies of members of the Chogye lineages beginning with Chinul. The text dates from 1930 (Kim, 1994, 410–412; Jorgensen, 1997, 219–260).

There are a few exceptional hagiographies, such as that of Kyunyŏ by Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (赫連挺) of 1075, which is arranged thematically rather than

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chronologically as is usually the c
38; McBride & Vermeersch, 2012,
the *Chinmuk Sŏnsa yujŏkko* (震默
Ŭisun, which is based on interviews
tual sources and adds scriptural citat
116–121). Autobiographies are rare
and Korean traditions. Four were
Korean monks Wŏlp'a Taeyul (月
HPC, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 675–676),
隱有璣; 1707–1785; *HPC*, vol. IX, 1
and Yŏndam Yuil (蓮潭有一; 1720–1
1979–2000, 283–286), and a letter w
to No Susin (盧守愼; 1515–1590), det
try, childhood, and early career (J
322–334). There are also a number
raphies. Hyesim wrote two parodie
raphies (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 89
Ŭngyun (鏡巖應允; 1743–1804) wr
too veiled criticism of Neo-Conf
clearly aware of the problems of b
described these in his essay on the
Chacho (*HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 447

Narratives/Dramatic Work

The first novella (*sosŏl* [小說]) wa
the *Pusŏl chŏn* (浮雪傳; Tale of
found in the *Yŏnghŏ chip* (暎虛集
1541–1609). Pusŏl was a monk who
so lived the life of a layman but still
he died, his former comrades cre
they obtained *śarīra* (relics) from t
sign of sanctity), and so built a stū
transgression of the precepts an
son by Pusŏl resemble the tale of V
eral others found in the *Samguk*
58–59, 64).

Another avenue for the creat
novellas was the imitation of
Sŏlcham (雪岑; the monastic nan
[金時習]; 1435–1493) wrote suc
his *Kŭm'o sinhwa* (金鰲神話; New T
Kŭmo) and *Sassi Namjŏng-gi* (謝氏
Journey to the South). Although a
affairs, these novellas are thread
ideas of causation, the transienc
hells, the afterlife and spirits, and
Evon, forthcoming). These theme
Kuunmong (九雲夢; Nine-Cloud
Manjung (金萬重; 1637–1692), a lo
literary Chinese. It tells of a monk's
bureaucratic success and a family.

total, nearly all from the Chosŏn
jang were less prestigious than the
ons. In the very Confucian Chosŏn
re more *haengjang* than inscriptions,
l monks could attract the agreement
ıs to compose the inscription, or the

he accounts of conduct were summa-
d in a collection of hagiographies, the
or "connected biographies," which
ological order or classifications of
ars. There are six collections of hagi-
e *yŏlchŏn* genre. One is not extant,
mguk yusa (三國遺事) by Iryŏn, is a
irabilia and "history" in which some
re found (Finch, 2012, 179–576).
of hagiography was the *chŏn* (傳),
en meant to be incorporated into a
graphies. In the Silla period, a con-
er of these individual biographies
l. These have not survived (Kim,
e *chŏn* focused on the activities of
h still as an exemplar.
ally extant collection is the *Haedong*
東高僧傳; Lives of Eminent Korean
un (覺訓), compiled on royal com-
ee, 1969). The *Tongguk sŭngni rok*
cords of the Monks and Nuns of
nymous collection of 67 entries on
ntry on a Silla nun. It is a post mid-
g unusual categories of monks and
bellious monks" and "evil monks,"
t this book was colonized by anti-
nfucian ideas. The *Samguk yusa*
l local legends and interviews and
nastic records. Many miracle tales
le the biographies range from the
to the miraculous (Jung, vol. X,
ongsa yŏlchŏn (東師列傳; Linked
stern Masters), written by Kagan
ontains biographies from that of
thought to have first introduced
rea, through to that of Hoegwang
a controversial monk who col-
Japanese colonialists; it includes
Lastly, the *Chogye kosŭng chŏn*
ojŏng is a compilation of 97 biog-
rs of the Chogye lineages begin-
The text dates from 1930 (Kim,
ensen, 1997, 219–260).
exceptional hagiographies, such
by Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (赫連挺)
ranged thematically rather than

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chronologically as is usually the case (Kim, 1992, 38; McBride & Vermeersch, 2012, 406–438), and the *Chinmuk Sŏnsa yujŏkko* (震默禪師遺蹟考) by Ŭisun, which is based on interviews rather than textual sources and adds scriptural citations (Lee, 2002, 116–121). Autobiographies are rare in the Chinese and Korean traditions. Four were written by the Korean monks Wŏlp'a Taeyul (月波兌律; 1695–?; *HPC*, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 675–676), Hoŭn Yugi (好隱有璣; 1707–1785; *HPC*, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 727), and Yŏndam Yuil (蓮潭有一; 1720–1799; *HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 283–286), and a letter was sent by Sŏsan to No Susin (盧守慎; 1515–1590), detailing his ancestry, childhood, and early career (Jorgensen, 2012a, 322–334). There are also a number of pseudo biographies. Hyesim wrote two parodies of monk biographies (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 891), and Kyŏngam Ŭngyun (鏡巖應允; 1743–1804) wrote one, a none too veiled criticism of Neo-Confucians. He was clearly aware of the problems of biography, as he described these in his essay on the deeds of Muhak Chacho (*HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 447–450).

Narratives/Dramatic Works

The first novella (*sosŏl* [小說]) was a "biography," the *Pusŏl chŏn* (浮雪傳; Tale of Layman Pusŏl), found in the *Yŏnghŏ chip* (暎虛集) of Haeil (海日; 1541–1609). Pusŏl was a monk who fell in love and so lived the life of a layman but still practiced. After he died, his former comrades cremated him, and they obtained *śarīra* (relics) from the ashes (a clear sign of sanctity), and so built a stūpa for him. The transgression of the precepts and fathering of a son by Pusŏl resemble the tale of Wŏnhyo and several others found in the *Samguk yusa* (Kim, 1992, 58–59, 64).

Another avenue for the creation of Buddhist novellas was the imitation of Chinese models. Sŏlcham (雪岑; the monastic name of Kim Sisŭp [金時習]; 1435–1493) wrote such imitations in his *Kŭm'o sinhwa* (金鰲神話; New Tales from Mount Kŭmo) and *Sassi Namjŏng-gi* (謝氏南征記; Lady Sa's Journey to the South). Although about tragic love affairs, these novellas are threaded through with ideas of causation, the transience of life, rebirth, hells, the afterlife and spirits, and dream (Yi, 1972; Evon, forthcoming). These themes reappear in the *Kuunmong* (九雲夢; Nine-Cloud Dream) by Kim Manjung (金萬重; 1637–1692), a long text written in literary Chinese. It tells of a monk's dream of having bureaucratic success and a family. When he wakes, he becomes a fervent practitioner of Buddhism. Influenced by Tang-dynasty Chinese novellas of a life within a dream, the underlying philosophy is of the futility of the pursuit of fame, career, wealth, and women, and it emphasizes transience, rebirth, and emptiness (Chong, 1974; Evon, forthcoming).

Mirabilia connected with faith in a *sūtra* used to encourage practice by lay believers are found in the *Haedong chŏnhong nok* (海東傳弘錄; Records of Transmissions in Korea) compiled by Ch'ŏnch'aek. Later, Yowŏn (了圓; c. 1330s–1340s) used Ch'ŏnch'aek's work in his *Pŏphwa yŏnghŏm chŏn* (法華靈驗傳; Korean Traditions of the Miracles of the *Lotus Sūtra*) for 8 out of 117 tales connected to faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* (Kim, 1994, 247–248). The *Kwŏnnyŏm yorok* attributed to Pou contains 11 tales of the miraculous benefits of *yŏmbul* (here it means chanting the name of Amitābha; *HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 609–614). Sŏngch'ong (性聰; 1631–1700) compiled the *Sagyŏng chihŏmgi* (四經持驗紀; Records of the Miracles Associated with Keeping the Four *Sūtras*) in 1686 (*HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 518–552).

Local Literature

Records (*ki* [記]) or "histories" (*yŏn'gi* [緣起]) of monasteries or objects such as statues and stūpas date back to early Korean history. The early examples of monastic gazetteers (*saji* [寺誌] or *sajŏk* [史蹟]) have been destroyed. However, stele inscriptions celebrating the foundation or reconstruction of monasteries or even the erection of statues have survived, and 564 such inscriptions, records, and gazetteers are known (Tongguk, 1976, 303–353; Hŏ, 1986, 793–794).

Gazetteers describe the history or legends of a monastery, its buildings and statues, and the persons associated with the monasteries. They may include copies of inscriptions and lists of landholdings and donations, even poems about the site (Hŏ, 1986, 790).

The earliest surviving gazetteers were written by Haean (海眼; 1567–?). Haean filled out the record of the monastery with general histories of Buddhism and biographies. A series of gazetteers appeared from Haean's time until early 19th century, when the monastic gazetteer proper began with Chŏng Yagyong (丁若鏞; 1762–1836). Many of these monastic gazetteers set the local inside the Buddhist cosmos or history. Chŏng Yagyong eschewed the the cosmological and general historical approach for the immediately local. Most monastic gazetteers following his example were written in the late Chosŏn or under Japanese colonial rule (Hŏ, 1986, 795–797, 804–807, 825; Jorgensen, 2008, 88–92; Han'guk munhŏn yŏng'guso, 1977–1989).

Hyesim wrote several *ki* (records) or rhymed inscriptions (*myŏng*) for donated items and bells, with a few lines of factual introduction (preface or *sŏ*) and several lines of verse (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 65–67). There were very few "records" of buildings and the like written by Koryŏ monks. This was largely the domain of lay literati. No more by monks appear until the mid-Chosŏn, when Pou (1515–1565) and Sŏsan wrote a number (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 578–581, 705–708, 715–718). Most *munjip* from the early 17th century till now contain a number of such local records.

Some monks wrote on their travels to certain monasteries and mountain districts. These were written by Ch'ŏnin (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 884–885), Ch'ŏnch'aek (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 206–208; Whitfield, 2012, 242n212), Haeil, and Myŏngch'al (明察; 1640–1708). Myŏngch'al wrote of his travels in verse (*HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 42–44), possibly in imitation of Sŏlcham (Kim Sisŭp)'s *Maewŏl-dang si sayu rok* (梅月堂詩四遊錄; Record of Maewŏl-dang's Poetic Tour of Four Regions). The last in this vein was *Yu Kŭmgang nok* (遊金剛録; Records of Travels in the Kŭmgang Mountains) by Pŏpchong (法宗; 1670–1733; *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 518–527).

There are two short books surveying the monasteries of Korea: the *Karam ko* (伽藍考; Studies of Monasteries) by the Confucian geographer Sin Kyŏngjun (申景濬; 1712–1781) and the *Pŏmu ko* (梵宇攷; Studies of Buddhist Buildings) commissioned by King Chŏngjo (正祖) in 1799 (Tongguk, 1976, 303; Sin Kyongjun, 1989).

There are only three records of trips to foreign countries. Hyech'o's (慧超) travels to India (往五天竺國傳; *Wang och'ŏnch'ukguk chŏn*; Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to Five Indian Kingdoms) between 723 and 728 were not known in Korea until modern times (Jung, vol. X, 2012a, 7–29; Wegehaupt, 2012, 71–174). Yujŏng (惟政; 1544–1610) was sent to Japan as a chief treaty negotiator. An account of his activities and negotiations, the *Song'un Taesa bunch'ung sŏnam nok* (松雲大師奮中舒難録; Record of Unfolding Difficulties in the Midst of the Determination of Great Master Song'un; *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 79–113) was compiled by Sin Yuhan (申維翰; 1681–?). Hyŏnjŏng (賢正)'s *Ilbon p'yohae nok* (日本漂海錄; Record of Being Blown across the Sea to Japan) tells the story of his travels to Japan in 1817 when the boat on which he was transporting Buddha images was blown off course (*HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 710–718).

Philosophical Literature

Wŏnhyo wrote two essays on logic: one dealing with its use in reconciling different opinions and one on faults in syllogisms. He also wrote the *Ijang ŭi* (二障義; Doctrine of the Two Hindrances), which deals with the two obstructions to enlightenment (Muller & Jung, 2012, 14–15, 19; Kim, 1994, 49–51). All later Silla works on logic after the time of Wŏnhyo, such as those by Kyŏnghŭng (憬興; *fl.* 681), Dojŭng (道證; *fl.* 692), and Taehyŏn (太賢; *fl.* 750s; Kim, 1994, 145–147), have been lost, for by the early Koryŏ, attention had shifted to Hwaŏm (華嚴) and Sŏn, which do not rely on logic but rather on paradox, faith, and intuition. Strictly logical and philosophical texts were no longer written after the time of Taehyŏn.

Hwaŏm and Sŏn concentrated on becoming enlightened. In Silla, Kyŏndŭng (見燈; n.d.) wrote his *Hwaŏm Ilsŭng sŏngbul myoŭi* (華嚴一乘成佛妙義; The Marvelous Meaning of Becoming Buddha of the One Vehicle of Hwaŏm) about whether everyone can become Buddha in terms of the stages of the bodhisattva career, practice, and theory (Kim, 1994, 145–147).

When Kihwa defended Buddhism against Confucian attacks, we again find "philosophical" treatises or apologies. He argued in *Hyŏnjŏng ron* (顯正論; Exposition of the Correct) that the mind in essence is pure and only deluded in function. He discussed the relation of the nature (*song* [性]) of the mind with sentience or feelings (*chŏng* [情]), which are deluded. He applied the laws of causation and attempted to show that Buddhism is deeper than Confucianism metaphysically and morally (Muller, 2012b, 446–506). The *YuSŏk chirŭi non* (儒釋質疑論; Questions about Confucianism and Buddhism), possibly by Kihwa, defended Buddhist positions against Confucian misunderstandings. There is discussion here of metaphysics, causation, change, and the relation of mind and nature (Kim, 1994, 293–295).

Brief essays on Confucian topics such as nature and fate, humaneness and righteousness, the nature of awareness in relation to the supreme ultimate and the five-elements (*ohaeng* [五行]) theories, as well as Buddhist topics such as the *tathāgatagarbha* (*yoraejang* [如來藏], the "womb of the Thus Come One" – the idea of an underlying pure potential for

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Ritual Texts

Orations

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205–206; vol. XII, 1979–2000, 36–3
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to the 20th century (see e.g. *HPC*,
582–594; vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 19–

Funerary Texts

The first extant eulogy (*chemu*
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when the boat on which he was
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Literature

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enlightenment or becoming Buddha) and the relation of *samādhi* and *prajñā*, were written from the 1680s to the 1730s (Kim, 1994, 372–379). Sometimes philosophical concerns appear in letters, such as that sent by Yŏndam Yuil to a governor who had doubts about Buddhist causation and karma (*HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 280–283). Hyejang (惠藏; 1772–1811) wrote a dialogue about the Confucian classics and on the constituents of existence and morality (*HPC*, vol. X, 1979–2000, 702–707). A series of such essays were written in the late Chosŏn period until Kim Taehyŏn (金大鉉; d. 1870) wrote the *Sulmong swaeŏn* (述夢鎖言), which dealt with dreams (Jorgensen, 1999, 515–552).

Ritual Texts

Orations

Orations (*so* [疏]; this character has three meanings – oration, report, and commentary) are encomia and liturgies in highly learned, ornate language appropriate for address to royalty, high officials, and eminent monks. They were written for specific occasions such as the birthdays of the king, anniversaries of the Buddha, and so on. The first orations recorded were by Ŭich'ŏn (McBride, 2012, 408–430). Orations by Ch'ŏnin and Ch'ŏnch'aek were also for ceremonies such as the "feast of water and land" (*suryukchae*; 水陸齋) or for assemblies of monastics and laity (*pŏpsŏk*; [法席]; *HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 205–206; vol. XII, 1979–2000, 36–39). Ch'ungji (冲止; 1226–1290) wrote a number of orations for the installation of abbots and their anniversaries (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 404–408). Several were written in the late Koryŏ period. There is a gap between these late 14th-century orations and the 16th-century ones, when Pou (1515–1565) wrote a number of similar orations, including for parents (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 582–594). However, as Buddhism became increasingly estranged from the court and bureaucracy, more were written for specific monasteries or for teachers and laypeople. Orations are found in nearly all collections of a monk's writings through to the 20th century (see e.g. *HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 582–594; vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 19–22, 166–167).

Funerary Texts

The first extant eulogy (*chemun* [祭文]) for the deceased was by Ŭich'ŏn, which was likely read when he made offerings to his late master (McBride, 2012, 431–436). Ch'ungji also wrote eulogies for his late teachers and for eminent officials (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 395–397), and Ch'ŏnin wrote a eulogy for when a stūpa was erected, and the bones of the deceased master were installed (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 886–887). Late Koryŏ Sŏn monks used funerals of monks as opportunities to teach Sŏn (see e.g. Jorgensen, 2012b, 441–445, 489–493). Kihwa wrote a series of eulogies, in the style of *kongan* [公案], for use at funerals with Confucian overtones of welcoming and farewelling the soul, and for royal family members. Sŏsan wrote a eulogy for his parents. He sent his older brother to offer the libation and read this text (Jorgensen, 2012a, 338–342). After this time, eulogies for parents and the crushing of the bones of the cremated masters became dominant topics of eulogies.

Pou (1515–1565) devised a Buddhist ritual based on the Confucian notion of welcoming the soul (*yŏnghon*; 靈驗) for members of the royal family and officials (*HPC*, vol. VII, 1979–2000, 599–609). These *yŏnghon* texts probably developed into the *Taech'al samyŏngil yŏnghon sisik ŭimun* (大刹四明日迎魂施食儀文; Text of the Ritual of Welcoming Back the Spirits with Food in Great Monasteries on the Four Bright Days). This was a rite held at requests by the laity to benefit the souls of ancestors who returned to family graves at *ch'usŏk* (秋夕), a Confucian ancestral-worship festival. Related to this, and appearing around the same time, were the rituals invoking the buddhas and the kings of the hells to help the soul of the deceased obtain a better rebirth (Sørensen, 1991, 196–197).

Confucian influence on Buddhist funerary rituals occurred in the generations following Sŏsan. The first example was the *Sŏngmun karye ch'o* (釋門家禮抄; Excerpts of the Family Rites of Buddhism) by Chinil (眞一), published in 1659 (Sørensen, 1991, 187–188). The Confucian influence can be seen in the text titles, the generational organization of the ancestral tablets, the offerings, and the mourning garments (*obok* [五服]). A related text written by Kaksŏng (覺性; 1575–1660) contains procedures for funerals with Confucian elements (Sørensen, 1991, 187; *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 237–242).

Texts on cremation (*tabimun* [茶毘文]) were first published in 1542. They outline the procedures and show no Confucian input (Sørensen, 1991, 193). Paekp'a wrote an explanation of the procedures (*Tabi sŏl* [茶毘說]), explaining what the actions symbolize (*HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000, 253–258).

Repentance/Confession Texts

The earliest repentance text, the *Taesŭng yukchŏng ch'amhoe* (大乘六情懺悔; The Mahāyāna Repentance for Indulgence in the Six Faculties) gives instruction on understanding that all sensory phenomena are illusory (Haeju & Muller, 2012, 49; Muller, 2012c, 269–280). Ch'ungji wrote a repentance text invoking the Indian, Chinese, and Korean Sŏn patriarchs. The penitent makes offerings, vows to remove sins, and vows to spread Buddhist teachings even into the hells (*HPC*, vol. VI, 1979–2000, 397). This may have developed into the *Sŏnmun chosa yech'am mun hwajang sŏ* (禪門祖師禮懺文華藏序; Text of the Flower Store Book Ritual of Repentance of Patriarchs and Teachers of Sŏn), published before 1660. A version is included in the *Ch'ŏnji myŏngyang suyukchaeŭi pŏm'ŭm sanbochip* (天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音刪補集) by Chihwan (智還), dated 1721, which gives ritual instructions on incense burning and so on and a chant for each patriarch (Sørensen, 1991, 189–190; *HPC*, vol. XI, 1979–2000, 491–493).

Cho'gu (祖丘; *fl.* 1394) wrote the *Chabi toryang ch'ambŏp chiphae* (慈悲道場懺法集解; Collected Interpretations of the Method of Repentance of the Bodhimaṇḍa of Compassion) on the grounds that abuse of the dharma is a sin, and chanting texts without understanding them is an abuse of the dharma (*HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000, 45–155). Myŏng'an (明眼) compiled the *Hyŏnhaeng pŏphoe yech'am ŭisik* (現行法會禮懺儀式; The Regulation for the Conduct and Practice of the Dharma Assembly When Holding the Ritual of Repentance) of 1709. It includes taking the eight precepts, bowing to the Buddha in repentance, the burning of marks onto the arms, and vows (Sørensen, 1991, 176–177).

Vow and Prayer Ritual Texts

The first of these texts is the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏn mun* (白花道場發願文; Text of Making Vows at the White Lotus Bodhimaṇḍa) by Ŭisang. It asks for protection and assistance from Avalokiteśvara (Sørensen, 1991, 183; McBride, 2012, 503–504). A brief commentary to this was written by Ch'ewŏn (體元; c. 1280–d. after 1338; McBride, 2012, 497–569). Belief in Avalokiteśvara continues to the present, with a "revival" society starting in 1872 on Mount Samgak near Seoul composing its own texts. There were also vows invoking Amitābha (*HPC*, vol. XI, 1979–2000, 776–825). Ch'ŏnch'aek wrote a *Kwŏnsong Mida'gyŏng wŏnmun* (勸誦彌陀經願文; Encouragement to Chant the Vow Text of Amitābha's *Sūtra*) in order for its chanters to be reborn in the Pure Land (*HPC*, vol. I, 1979–2000, 209–210).

Prayer texts are not as common. In the eulogy (*chemun* [祭文]) genre, Myŏngch'al wrote a brief prayer for rain (*HPC*, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 156), as did Sasŏng (師誠; c. 1836–1910) (*HPC*, vol. XI, 1979–2000, 584). Ilsŏn (一禪; 1533–1608) wrote a prayer to Avalokiteśvara (*Kwan'ŭm kido mun*; 觀音祈禱文; *HPC*, vol. VIII, 1979–2000, 31–32), and King Chŏngjo (r. 1777–1800) wrote a *gāthā* making offerings to the Buddha and praying for blessings in 1796 (*HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000, 231–233).

Dhāraṇī and Mantra

In the late Koryŏ period, chanted texts such as *dhāraṇī* and mantra became more popular as interest rose in esoteric Buddhism. However, separate collections of these Koryŏ *dhāraṇī*s and mantras have not survived, with one exception: the 1218 *Pŏmsŏ ch'ŏngji chip* (梵書摠持集; Collection of *Dhāraṇī* in Sanskrit Script; Sørensen, 1991, 169–171, 184). This became the model for the *Chin'ŏn chip* (眞言集; Mantra Collection) of 1569, which was used in Sŏn. This latter was summarized in 1795 as the *Chin'ŏn yoch'o* (眞言要抄). Another collection of *dhāraṇī*s and mantras was printed in 1483, and others soon followed, including *dhāraṇī* texts with Avalokiteśvara as the object (Sørensen, 1991, 170–171, 181–182). Other texts on this bodhisattva, such as songs, appeared in the late Chosŏn period and early 20th century (Sørensen, 1991, 175–176, 178, 198).

Manuals for Ritual Procedures

An instruction on a single ritual procedure, the brief *T'usarye* (投師禮; Rite of Submitting to a Master), was written in verse by Ŭisang (*HPC*, vol. XI, 1979–2000, 43–44). Very little of the Koryŏ literature on ritual procedures has survived. The *Ch'ŏnji myŏngyang suryuk chammun* (天地冥陽水陸雜文; Miscellaneous Texts on the Ritual of Heaven and Earth, Day and Night, Water and Land Feasts), based on a text of 1342, was first published in 1492. Performance of this ritual magically feeds and releases spirits that wander in limbo (Sørensen, 1991, 174–175). This was followed by summaries and other versions. Later, these rituals were mixed with the ritual of the veneration of the Sŏn patriarchs (Sørensen, 1991, 165–166, 186).

The first manual of multiple ritual procedures, the *Chakpŏp chŏlch'a* (作法節次), belongs to the 15th or 16th century (Sørensen, 1991, 166–167). Pou (1515–1565) then wrote instructions on the rationale

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for ritual practices, on how ritual sh
panied by contemplation and not j
cal (Sørensen, 1991, 192). Sŏsan
several texts on the Sŏn ritual used
(Sørensen, 1991, 189, 195; *HPC*, vol.
737–749). Almost immediately the
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1991, 168–169, 171–172, 176). Manuals
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180–181; *HPC*, vol. XII, 1979–2000
Chakpŏp kwigam (作法龜鑑) by F
commentaries on many rituals a
comprehensive collection (Sørense
vol. X, 1979–2000, 552–609).

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ters to be reborn in the Pure Land
-2000, 209–210).
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PC, vol. IX, 1979–2000, 156), as did
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Dramatic Works

Dramatic Works: South Asia

The dramatic works of Indian Buddhism belong to the general tradition of Indian drama, which forms a part of Indian *kāvya* literature in a broader sense – that is, literature as a form of fine art created for a learned audience (for an introduction to *kāvya* literature, see Lienhard, 1984; Warder, 1989). In contrast to religious scriptures (*āgama*); epic histories (*itihāsa*; not: poetry on historiographical topics); or technical writings (*śāstra*) on philosophy, science, and so on, this special kind of belles lettres conforms primarily to aesthetic and stylistic principles that were laid down in treatises on poetics. According to the earliest Indian work on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Compendium of Dramaturgy; Kane, 1971, 10–63; Srinivasan, 1980; Rocher, 1981; Bansat-Boudon, 1992; trans. Ghosh, 1967; 1961), which consists of various parts of different ages (finalized as a compilation in the 8th cent. CE at the latest), a drama is characterized by certain formal elements such as the setting and the theatrical technique (prologue, division into acts, interludes, entries and exits, stage directions, etc.), the alternate use of prose and verse, a fixed repertory of characters (hero, jester, etc.), and rules for the construction of plays and the development of the plot. Of special poetological importance is an established set of specific aesthetic experiences (*rasa*) that comprise the tasting of eight or nine basic human emotions. Another distinctive feature of Indian drama is the use of different languages (Sanskrit and various literary Middle Indic languages [Prakrits]) by different characters (for an introduction to Sanskrit drama, see Lévi, 1890; Konow, 1920; Renou, 1963; Marasinghe, 1989; Raghavan, 1993).

As far as we can judge from the few, in part fragmentarily transmitted, examples, literary Buddhist dramas seem to follow these poetic standards quite strictly, and thus do not differ from non-Buddhist Indian plays in this respect. The specific feature of Buddhist drama – and of Buddhist *kāvya* literature in general – is the pursuit of particular aims, namely the poetic display and revelation of Buddhist truths in a format that should be appealing to the taste of educated Buddhist and non-Buddhist contemporaries. A frequently quoted paradigmatic formulation of this goal is found in the two concluding stanzas of Aśvaghoṣa's epic poem *Saundarananda* (18.63–64; see Salomon, 2009, 189–192; Steiner, 2010, 93–95). Further significant self-explanations of literary aims are expressed, for example, in the same author's *Buddhacarita* (28.74), in the third introductory stanza of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (probably 4th cent. CE), and in the penultimate stanza of Candragomin's play *Lokānanda*, which runs as follows:

> May all living beings rejoice in hearing the holy Dharma – may it provide for them the joy and delight of a festival never ending! May the desires of the Lord of Death, which have long waxed ever stronger, be without fruit and of no avail! May the radiance of the moon, (as well as that of Candragomin, the author of the play; *candra* = "moon"), which is cool and rich in blessings through its display of words and tales of holy sages, showering down the nectar of tranquility, bring success! (*LokĀn.* 5.48 = *ŚiṣLe.* 116; trans. Hahn, 1999, 131)

We do not know anything with certainty about the origin of Indian literary drama. The earliest specimens that have come down to us (from the 1st or 2nd cent. CE?) are already fully fledged dramatic pieces of the later standard types, which seem to point to a longer prehistory of dramatic literature. At least it is clear that the ancient Buddhist community was aware of popular showpieces (in D I.6,11–12, we find listed dancing, singing, instrumental music, and shows; *naccaṃ gītaṃ vāditaṃ pekkhaṃ*), which were condemned by the early Buddhist tradition. In the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (around 400 CE?), we come across a story in which an actor performed the life of the Buddha; this provoked a rival play staged by Buddhist monks and nuns, which later was prohibited by the Buddha (see Lévi, 1890, 319–320; Lüders, 1911a, 18–19; Panglung, 1981, 142–143). Whether the factual existence of relatively early Buddhist plays is the result of a reappraisal of drama in certain circles on certain grounds (connoisseurship, Buddhist education, or attraction for non-Buddhists), or rather is related to the refined literary character of the pieces in contrast to more spectacular or coarse types of performances, or both, is difficult to say. Be that as it may, the

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earliest preserved literary dramas of India are Buddhist, although we cannot rule out the possibility that this might be due to random circumstances of transmission. Basically, we do not know which part Buddhists played in the general production and development of literary dramas, although it is clear that they at least participated in this literary field both very early and at a high level. It is to be remarked as well that no Chinese translation, and only two Tibetan translations (*Lokānanda* and *Nāgānanda*), of Indian Buddhist dramas are available.

The sparse remnants of what seems to be three Buddhist plays (Lüders, 1911a; 1911b; for a literary analysis, see Warder, 1974, 142–152) are contained in a few fragments of two palm-leaf manuscripts from eastern Turkestan, one of which dates from the year 264, 270, or 340 CE, according to a recent radiocarbon dating (see Hartmann, 2006, 246n5; 2007, 252n9). Among these dramas is the originally nine-act play *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (The Śāriputra Drama) by Aśvaghoṣa, the famous author of the two epic poems *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*. Aśvaghoṣa was a Brahman convert to Buddhism and lived perhaps in the 1st or 2nd century CE. In the fragmentarily preserved final scene of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, the admission of two leading disciples of the Buddha, namely Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, to the Buddhist order is depicted. As is standard later practice, the piece is composed in a mixture of prose and verse and makes use of different literary Prakrits for certain characters. The hero Śāriputra is accompanied by a jester (*vidūṣaka*). As a "high" (*uttama*) character, the Buddha speaks Sanskrit, which is in accordance with Indian dramaturgical theory.

It is not certain, but it is at least probable, that the two other dramas contained in these fragments, the titles of which are unknown, also are from the pen of Aśvaghoṣa. The Sanskrit-speaking characters of the second play are mostly allegorical: Buddhi ("Intelligence"), Dhṛti ("Firmness"), and Kīrti ("Fame") talk to one another, among other things about their mutual relationship. In later Indian drama, we come across allegorical figures in one of the "Trivandrum plays" (so called after the place of publication of the first editions; see Steiner 1997a, 265–281), namely in the second act of the *Bālacarita* (The Adventures of the Boy [Kṛṣṇa]; perhaps 7th cent. CE or much later; in a dream of King Kaṃsa), but the first completely allegorical play is the 11th-century CE *Prabodhacandrodaya* (Rise of the Moon of Awakening) of Kṛṣṇamiśra (possibly a revision of a Buddhist allegorical play that deals with the victory of King "Discrimination" over his adversary "Delusion"; Warder, 1992, 544–558; ed. & trans. Kapstein, 2009). Owing to its fragmented transmission, the story of the third play remains unclear. Its two protagonists are a Buddhist monk and a courtesan (*gaṇikā*), and among the other characters are a jester (*vidūṣaka*), a rogue (*duṣṭa*), again Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, and a variegated abundance of persons of middle and low rank. The author seems to have pursued the objective of propagating Buddhist convictions without abstaining from humorous scenes in the play.

We know of another drama by Aśvaghoṣa thanks to a remark in the dialectical work *Vādanyāya*, in which its author, the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti (c. 7th cent. CE), mentions an otherwise unknown and now lost *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka* (The Drama *Rāṣṭrapāla*) by the "venerable Aśvaghoṣa" (*bhadantāśvaghoṣa*; Much, 1991, 19). Judging from the title, it might have been a dramatized version of the well-known story of Rāṣṭrapāla (e.g. see M II.54–74, sūtra no. 82: *Raṭṭhapālasutta* "Discourse with Raṭṭhapāla"; trans. Horner, 1957, 250–267), who wished to be admitted to the Buddhist order (for further details, see Warder, 1974, 150–152; partly criticized by Steiner, 1997b, 616–621). It is conspicuous that the Buddhist convert Aśvaghoṣa seems to have been especially fond of conversion stories.

The archaic Prakrits found in these fragments are of special linguistic interest, since they represent pre-stages of the standardized forms of the later plays. The basic Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas appears to be an earlier form of Shauraseni (ancient language of Mathura), spoken by the jester and the courtesan, among others, whereas the rogue uses a kind of old Magadhi (ancient language of eastern India). Furthermore, an early form of Ardhamagadhi (language of the Jaina canon) is also found in the plays, which, in comparison to Magadhi, apparently indicates the higher status of a character. Elsewhere in Indian drama, one encounters this kind of Prakrit probably only in the "Trivandrum play" *Karṇabhāra* (Karṇa's Task; perhaps 7th cent. CE or much later), where it is spoken by the god Indra (see Esposito, 2004, 37–38). Maharashtri (ancient language of Maharashtra), the lyrical Prakrit par excellence, is lacking entirely.

The few Prakrit passages of a single palm-leaf fragment of a play from Afghanistan, which was discovered only recently (edited and translated by Hartmann, 2006; 2007; reedited and retranslated by Franco & Schlingloff, 2011–2012), seem to point to a

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similar date of origin, when compare
as the one of the fragments from east
The text shows characteristics of a
proper, namely the alternation of p
the use of Sanskrit and Prakrit, the
a jester, and the application of stag
contrast to the Central Asian fragm
the stage directions relating to P
persons are given in Prakrit, the sta
the Afghanistan fragment seem to ha
lated exclusively in Sanskrit, which i
with the uniform practice of later
the content of the piece cannot be
in detail, it can be roughly surmise
Schlingloff, 2011–2012, 20–23). Appar
decided to renounce the world and t
dhist monk. In the fragmentarily p
there is a discussion about his suc
the king, the attendant persons are
king's son, the jester, two men, and
is designated as *pratī*. *Pratī* here is
an abbreviation of *pratīhārī*, fem
(*Empfangsdame*, receptionist, acco
& Schlingloff, 2011–2012), but rath
male doorkeeper, since the charac
skrit (comp. the Sanskrit-speaking
beginning of act 4 of Harṣadeva's *Nā*

The first Buddhist drama that ha
entirety is Candragomin's *Lokāna*
World), albeit only in a rather poor
hardly understandable Tibetan tr
early 14th century CE (critically e
lated into German by Hahn, 1974; a
lation followed in Hahn, 1987; a lit
found in Warder, 1977, 66–74), w
incorporated into the Tanjur, for it
in Bu ston's catalogue (finalized i
1974, 31). Except for 11 Sanskrit st
1977), the Sanskrit and Prakrit orig
lost. The author's identity and da
death have been the topic of consi
and controversy, but most argume
to the following conclusion (see
45–49; Steiner, 1997a, 32–41; for a d
Oberlies, 1989, 17–20; 1996, 266n2).

The playwright informs us i
of the *Lokānanda* of his having
skrit grammar that is "easy, clea
(*LokĀn.* 1.c), which are exactly
ascribed to the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*
introductory auspicious stanza; w
tify the playwright and grammaria
lived in the mid-5th century CE.

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over his adversary "Delusion";
-558; ed. & trans. Kapstein, 2009).
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trans. Horner, 1957, 250–267), who
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Varder, 1974, 150–152; partly criti-
997b, 616–621). It is conspicuous
convert Aśvaghoṣa seems to have
nd of conversion stories.
akrits found in these fragments
uistic interest, since they repre-
f the standardized forms of the
sic Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas
arlier form of Shauraseni (ancient
ra), spoken by the jester and the
others, whereas the rogue uses a
dhi (ancient language of eastern
re, an early form of Ardhamaga-
e Jaina canon) is also found in the
mparison to Magadhi, apparently
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ne encounters this kind of Prakrit
e "Trivandrum play" *Karṇabhāra*
haps 7th cent. CE or much later),
by the god Indra (see Esposito,
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t passages of a single palm-leaf
y from Afghanistan, which was
cently (edited and translated by
007; reedited and retranslated by
off, 2011–2012), seem to point to a

similar date of origin, when compared linguistically, as the one of the fragments from eastern Turkestan. The text shows characteristics of a literary drama proper, namely the alternation of prose and verse, the use of Sanskrit and Prakrit, the appearance of a jester, and the application of stage directions. In contrast to the Central Asian fragments, in which the stage directions relating to Prakrit-speaking persons are given in Prakrit, the stage directions in the Afghanistan fragment seem to have been formulated exclusively in Sanskrit, which is in accordance with the uniform practice of later plays. Though the content of the piece cannot be reconstructed in detail, it can be roughly surmised (see Franco & Schlingloff, 2011–2012, 20–23). Apparently a king has decided to renounce the world and to become a Buddhist monk. In the fragmentarily preserved scene, there is a discussion about his succession; besides the king, the attendant persons are a minister, the king's son, the jester, two men, and a character who is designated as *pratī*. *Pratī* here is presumably not an abbreviation of *pratīhārī*, female doorkeeper (*Empfangsdame*, receptionist, according to Franco & Schlingloff, 2011–2012), but rather of *pratīhāra*, male doorkeeper, since the character speaks Sanskrit (comp. the Sanskrit-speaking *pratīhāra* at the beginning of act 4 of Harṣadeva's *Nāgānanda*).

The first Buddhist drama that has survived in its entirety is Candragomin's *Lokānanda* (Joy for the World), albeit only in a rather poor and sometimes hardly understandable Tibetan translation of the early 14th century CE (critically edited and translated into German by Hahn, 1974; an English translation followed in Hahn, 1987; a literary analysis is found in Warder, 1977, 66–74), which was swiftly incorporated into the Tanjur, for it is already listed in Bu ston's catalogue (finalized in 1322 CE; Hahn, 1974, 31). Except for 11 Sanskrit stanzas (see Hahn, 1977), the Sanskrit and Prakrit original seems to be lost. The author's identity and dates of birth and death have been the topic of considerable research and controversy, but most arguments seems to lead to the following conclusion (see Hahn, 1992; 1993, 45–49; Steiner, 1997a, 32–41; for a different view, see Oberlies, 1989, 17–20; 1996, 266n2).

The playwright informs us in the prologue of the *Lokānanda* of his having authored a Sanskrit grammar that is "easy, clear, and complete" (*LokĀn.* 1.c), which are exactly the attributes ascribed to the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* grammar in its introductory auspicious stanza; we may thus identify the playwright and grammarian as Candra who lived in the mid-5th century CE.

Candragomin (or Candradāsa) is also the author of the *Śiṣyalekha* (Letter to a Disciple), which shares nine stanzas with the *Lokānanda* and is still available in its original Sanskrit (edited and translated by Hahn, 1999), and also probably of other works, like the *Deśanāstava* (Hymn in the Form of a Confession; see Hahn, 1993, 45–49).

The *Lokānanda* is a dramatization of the legend of Prince Maṇicūḍa that exists in different versions in Sanskrit and a language used in Nepal, Newari (for details, see Hahn, 1974, 13–24; Hanisch, 2008, 200–208). One of the versions, the *Maṇicūḍajātaka* by Sarvarakṣita (who belonged to the Sāṃmitīya school; see Hanisch, 2008, 200–208), is composed in an exceptional mixture of pure Sanskrit and a special kind of Middle Indic (the text has been diplomatically transcribed by Hanisch, 2008, 212–250). It is not clear, however, on which literary source the *Lokānanda* is based. M. Hahn (1974, 21–22) tends to trace it back to Guṇāḍhya's lost *Bṛhatkathā* (The Great Story), a famous collection of narratives written in the Middle Indic language Paishaci (von Hinüber, 2001, §§ 51, 101; Aklujkar, 2001; Tsuchida, 2002; 2003; 2007), which seems to be possible in principle, but is unprovable, if not improbable, for the legend is not available in the later adaptations of the *Bṛhatkathā* (comp. Steiner, 1997a, 25–28). At least we may surmise that Candragomin's play goes back to a Middle Indic version of the legend (see Steiner, 2002, 208). It seems the playwright has made original inventions and alterations in a skillful manner by using dramaturgical and literary *kāvya* techniques (see Hahn, 1974, 16–20; Warder, 1977, 68–71). According to the late-7th-century-CE report of the Chinese pilgrim Yìjìng (635–713 CE), "people all sing and dance to it [i.e. the *Lokānanda*] throughout the five countries of India" (trans. Takakusu, 1896, 164).

The first three acts of the *Lokānanda* tell, in the form of a love story, how Prince Maṇicūḍa becomes acquainted with his wife-to-be Padmāvatī and how he finally marries her in spite of his resolve to turn away from worldly life. In the remaining two acts, his excessive generosity is depicted, which at first seems to destroy his kingdom, his family, and his own life, but of course, everything comes out well in the end. Candragomin seems to have used the secular form of a literary drama in order to transmit Buddhist messages, especially the idea of the "perfection of generosity" (*dānapāramitā*), which is the objective of the play. The protagonist has to marry and become a king first, just so that he can give everything away at a later time, including his wife, his children, and his own life, and thus perform the greatest sacrifice possible.

The hero, a true bodhisattva (4.37; 5.49), is determined "to care about the welfare of others" (2.22; this and the following translations are by Hahn, 1987). To him, the "pleasures of the senses are like poison" (2.19); in fact they are even worse than poison, for the "poison's bane is perilous but in a single round of existence, while sensual pleasures poison a being in the incarnation to come as well" (2.20). The phenomenal world is transitory, and all beings in it "are subject to impermanence and change" (2.8). Existence is nothing but instantaneous cessation: "The stream of palpable things is likewise ruptured and cut through in each and every moment, and all human beings step into this stream as peacocks into a fountain" (2.10). A "person supported by the teachings of non-duality has rendered harmless the weapons of the God of Love"; he is just like "the cool waters of a lake" growing "clear when all motion within it has subsided" (5.12). "The happiness of meditation cools and refreshes the spirit", whereas "the pleasures of senses render the spirit feeble and faint" (5.13). Although Maṇicūḍa considers matrimony nothing but "an incurable disease," the cause of "distraction of mind and an end of equanimity," "a dangerous enemy of mental concentration," and "the source of suffering" (2.12), he finally agrees to his marriage because he is ready to offer his own body for the benefit of others, in this case for the good of the lovesick Padmāvatī: "I am filled with compassion, I will sacrifice my very self for her sake" (3.20). Therefore, his being married does not contradict his constant mental tranquility, which is accompanied by compassion as well as by complete freedom from worldly interests. It seems hardly incidental that in the second prefatory stanza (1.2), right at the beginning of the text, Māra's daughters try to provoke the Buddha by addressing him ironically: "you were once so blissfully embraced by your wife Yaśodharā – in your great compassion should you not also show toward us a similar equanimity?" In the very same stanza, the four "immeasurable factors" (*apramāṇa*) – "loving kindness" (*maitrī*), "sympathetic joy" (*muditā*), "compassion" (*karuṇā*), and "equanimity" (*upekṣā*) – are mentioned en passant (Seyfort Ruegg, 1977, 553); by using these words both in their common sense and in their technical meaning in line with meditation practice, the author turns these lines into a highly programmatic statement.

The following stanza may serve as a representative depiction of the selfless attitude of the hero:

> The sun, drawn by tireless steeds, crosses the heavens, giving light to man, and the "Bearer of Treasures," this earth, constantly bears its burden of human beings, without counting their numbers. In all of this there is no scintilla of selfishness: It is precisely the nature of great men that their sole and distinguishing trait of character is this desire for the benefit and happiness of other human beings. (*LokĀn.* 2.23 = *ŚiṣLe.* 102; trans. Hahn, 1999, 121)

The other drama that has been translated into Tibetan and is included in the Tanjur is the *Nāgānanda* (Joy of the Serpents), whose author Harṣa (Harṣavardhana or Harṣadeva) reigned as king in northern India from 606 to 647 CE (for the life and work of Harṣa, see Ettinghausen, 1906; Jackson & Ogden, 1923; Devahuti, 1998). He also composed two other plays (*Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī*, both named after their heroines), several hymns (*stotra*; see Hahn, 1996; Steiner, 1997a, 44–49, 209–211), and a work on grammatical gender (*liṅgānuśāsana*; see Steiner, 1997a, 41–44). His ancestors and his father were worshippers of Śiva and Sūrya (the Sun), whereas his elder brother and his sister adhered to Buddhism. Harṣa himself paid obeisance to all three alike but apparently tended toward Buddhism in his later life (comp. Jackson & Ogden, 1923, xxxi–xxxiii).

The Sanskrit and Prakrit text of the *Nāgānanda* is available in various versions (for details, see Steiner, 1997a, 19–22). Among them, the recension of a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript (see Hahn, 1981), dated 1155/1156 CE, as well as the Sanskrit and Prakrit version underlying the precise Tibetan rendering of probably the late 13th century CE, seems to be the closest to the putative original. Both versions divide the piece into six instead of five acts; which probably reflects the original arrangement (see Steiner, 1991). The title *Nāgānanda* is clearly reminiscent of the *Lokānanda*, whose three prefatory stanzas were imitated by Harṣadeva. The original first stanza of the *Nāgānanda*, however, is only available in the Tibetan translation (see Hahn, 1970; Steiner, 1997a, 49–76; for a literary analysis of the whole play, see Warder, 1983, 52–64).

The subject of the drama is the story of Jīmūtavāhana, a *vidyādhara* prince (semidivine being living in the sky), which is also found in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (Cluster of Blossoms of the *Great Story*; 11th cent.) and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Ocean Whose Rivers Are Stories; 11th cent. CE). Though there are differing views on the details, it is generally

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After invoking the Buddha in the prefatory stanzas, it is told in the first three acts how Jīmūtavāhana falls deeply in love with the princess Malayavatī and, after some intricacies, finally marries her. Unusually for the genre, act 3 contains a burlesque and humorous scene in which a drunkard plays a prominent role. In the second half of the drama, the hero sacrifices himself to Garuḍa, the vehicle (*vāhana*) of Viṣṇu and the archenemy of the snakes, in order to prevent the death of a serpent deity (*nāga*) who has been chosen as Garuḍa's victim of the day. As he is dying, he succeeds in convincing Garuḍa of the wickedness of his cruel conduct (the slaying of snakes), which possibly implies a criticism of Viṣṇu-related traditions. The goddess Gaurī, sent for by Malayavatī, revives Jīmūtavāhana, and even the *nāgas* that were previously killed by Garuḍa are resuscitated.

Like the hero of the *Lokānanda*, Jīmūtavāhana is designated as a bodhisattva in the play as well as in some narrative versions of the story (see Steiner, 1997a, 128n4–5); he bears the characteristics of a *mahāpuruṣa*, a great person (1.15; translation and numbering of the verses according to Skilton, 2009; a concordance of the different versions is found in Steiner, 1997a, 314–315). Like Maṇicūḍa, "he is ready to renounce his life altogether out of pity for another creature" (2.10; comp. also 3.17). His aim is as follows: "By the merit I have accrued today by protecting a snake through the gift of my own body, in every birth may I in this very way acquire a body in order to help others" (4.25). His final teaching to Garuḍa is the following:

> Always refrain from taking life, and feel remorse for what you have done in the past. Promoting fearlessness among all beings, build up with effort a constant flow of merit, whereby this misfortune obtained from harming a measured number of beings is drowned and does not fruit, like a grain of salt thrown into a lake whose waters are boundless and unfathomable. (*Nāgānanda* 5.25)

Jīmūtavāhana is against "the savagery of killing living beings on account of the kingdom" (3.17): "I don't feel that anything is my enemy other than mental defilements," he says (prose after 3.17).

In contrast to the *Lokānanda*, mental tranquility or inner equanimity do not seem to play a major role in the *Nāgānanda*, if any. Jīmūtavahana's marriage is not a sacrifice at all, since he is ardently in love. He finds that "there's no fault in looking at young ladies" (prose after 1.15), and we hear him "sighing longingly" (stage direction before 1.19). His inner firmness is lost: "With my heart on a woman, I cannot bear the flower darts shot by limbless Cupid, so how can I claim to you today that I am firm?" (2.4). It is remarkable that even his self-sacrifice has a quasi-erotic component, for the sensual pleasure that he has experienced together with his beloved wife is even boosted by the abandoning of his body: "I don't think Malayavatī when she is wet with the juice of sandal from Malaya, has given me such pleasure as the touch of this slaughter stone that wins me what I crave" (4.22). Symbolically, this is in line with Jīmūtavāhana's use of his own red wedding garment in order to outwit Garuḍa, who mistakes it for the victim's likewise red sign. Śaṅkhacūḍa, the *nāga* who is designated to be the victim, is another heroic and noble character of the play. Apparently, he is not a Buddhist but an adherent of Śiva (see Pellegrini, 1995–1996). For him, too, the world of existence is transient: "impermanence is always the first to cuddle the new-born," so "what then is the reason for grief?" (4.8).

The Chinese pilgrim Yìjìng reports on the *Nāgānanda* that Harṣadeva "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana" and "had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting, and thus popularised it in his time" (trans. Takakusu, 1896, 163–164). This play also belongs to the repertoire of the still living tradition of the classical Sanskrit dance theatre of the South Indian Kerala stage called *kūṭiyaṭṭam* (see Unni, 1989, 31–62; Moser, 2008).

Only recently, a fragment of a dramatized version of the popular Buddhist legend of Prince Sudhana and the *kinnarī* Manoharā (see Straube, 2006; 2007) has been edited and translated by C. Dezső (2014). It consists of four damaged folios of an incomplete

Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript and contains most of an interlude in Sanskrit and a small part of the following act. According to C. Dezső, the play "was probably written at the end of the eleventh century in Bengal by a Buddhist scholar called Śāntākaragupta" (Dezső, 2014, 73).

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ROLAND STEINER

Dramatic Works: Central Asia

The Buddhists have from early on understood the power of performing arts for religious edification and conversion, in spite of clear statements in canonical Vinaya texts that forbid song, music, dance, declamation, and other "profane" amusements (Lévi, 1890). Several legends report the existence of dramas already in Buddha's time. The *Lalitavistara* (3rd cent. CE) counts in chapter 12 the knowledge of the dramatic arts among the skills of the Bodhisattva. The *Avadānaśataka*, a collection of Buddhist legends (translated into Chinese in the 3rd cent. CE, and earlier by two centuries), reports the performance of a *bauddhaṃ nāṭakam* ("a Buddhist drama") at the time of Krakucchanda, a former buddha (Lévi, 1890, 319–322). As a matter of fact, the earliest Indian plays known to us, albeit by fragments, are Buddhist dramas found in Greater Gandhara and Central Asia. It is then certain that the expansion of Buddhism from India toward northern countries went together with the composition and practice of dramatic art, among other literary genres of the Indian tradition.

The first and the best-known author of Buddhist drama is Aśvaghoṣa (2nd cent. CE), a versatile poet who enjoyed high reputation as a scholar in doctrinal and philosophical matters as well. Besides his two Buddhist epics in *kāvya* style, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, he composed plays that document his mastery of Indian poetics, stemming from his education as a learned Brahman (Lienhard, 1984, 164–169). The fragments of a composite manuscript on palm leaves in Kushana script, found in Kizil (near Kucha, an oasis on the northern range of the Taklamakan Desert, in present-day Xinjiang, China), contain the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* by Aśvaghoṣa as well as parts of two other plays by the same author or by contemporary poets of his school: an allegorical drama featuring the figures of Buddhi ("Wisdom"), Kṛti ("Fame"), and Dhṛti ("Firmness") and a drama featuring a Buddhist monk and a harlot as the main characters. The first play, which has nine acts (*aṅka*), deals with the events and debates that led up to the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha. These fragments (Lüders, 1911) show all the characteristics and conventions of the later classical drama: alternation of prose and verse (in various meters), typical and numerous supporting roles, the use of different Prakrits as specialized for different minor characters, in contrast with Sanskrit for the main characters (Konow, 1920, 50–51; Keith, 1924, 80–90). The recourse to allegory anticipates much later plays. In addition, it is recorded by Chinese and Sanskrit sources (Lévi, 1928, 199–204; Johnston, 1938) that Aśvaghoṣa composed one more play, entitled *Rāṣṭrapālanāṭaka*, an adaptation of the famous tale (known in Pali as the *Raṭṭhapālasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*) of a young prince who became a monk against the wish of his parents.

The second major author is Candragomin (active mid-5th cent. CE), perhaps identical with the better-known grammarian, who wrote a Buddhist play, the *Lokānandanāṭaka*, which is completely preserved, albeit in a very late and inaccurate Tibetan translation (Konow, 1920,73; Hahn, 1974; 1987). This drama is based on the story (which is known also as an *avadāna* (exploit, or noble deed) of King Maṇicūḍa, who accomplishes in various encounters the perfections of generosity and universal compassion. The style of the text shows a clear influence of the famous poet Kālidāsa (early 5th cent. CE), who was inspired by the Brahmanic tradition and the repertoire of the Sanskrit epics.

This evidence has recently been confirmed by the identification of a play among the fragments of Buddhist manuscripts found in Afghanistan and now in the Schøyen collection. This play is documented so far by a fragment consisting of the right part of a single palm leaf that corresponds approximately to one-third of the original (first edition by Hartmann, 2007). It is written in a late variety of the Gupta script, perhaps to be dated to the 5th or 6th century CE. The play itself is unknown, as is its author. It shows a mixture of prose and verse as well as of languages - Sanskrit and Prakrits. The fragment contains a typical scene that takes place in a royal palace, featuring a king who converses with his devoted minister and friend, while other characters, among them a jester (*vidūṣaka*) and the female usher (*pratīhārī*), make speeches and entrances. The main character has been identified with Puṣkara(sārin), a king known from Buddhist literature who decides to abandon his royal power and to become a wandering monk after having met the Buddha (for a revised edition,

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All these materials, however scant, testify to the intimate acquaintance of educated Buddhists with the techniques and poetics of Indian drama as early as the first centuries of the Common Era. Besides other literary genres, Buddhists cultivated this aspect of Indian culture for the public of the cities along the roads that led from Greater Gandhara to the Tarim Basin. However, one may wonder why the earliest manuscripts of dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrits are all on palm leaves. As for the fragments of dramas by Aśvaghoṣa (or by his school) found in Kizil, it is clear that they have been imported, presumably from Gandhara. By contrast, the numerous Sanskrit manuscripts found in the oases of the Tarim Basin, and written in the north Turkestan Brahmi script, are normally written on paper. In fact, the identified texts of this indigenous corpus of Central Asian materials do not contain any instance of dramatic literature. Consequently, one may draw the conclusion that the plays that survived only as fragments were enjoyed by Buddhists of the Tarim Basin as a literary genre of Indian origin designed for mere reading, and that they were never put on stage (Hartmann, 2007, 249).

Some light can be shed on this question by Tocharian materials. In the different collections of manuscripts written in the two Tocharian languages (Tocharian A and B), which have been found in Buddhist sites nearby Sanskrit manuscripts, a substantial number of pieces has been identified as belonging to the dramatic genre. This is all the more significant since Tocharian manuscripts have been elaborated on and copied in parallel with Sanskrit manuscripts by monks who had received similar education, and even in the same monasteries. The Tocharian canonical literature belongs mostly to the Sarvāstivāda school, as do the Sanskrit texts of the same period (4th–8th cents. CE). The background of Tocharian literary texts composed on the northern branch of the Silk Road was clearly rooted in Indian culture.

What follows is a review of the Tocharian evidence for Buddhist dramas. Since most colophons of texts, or of parts of texts, have been lost, one has to resort to internal criteria. The most decisive indications of the dramatic character of a fragment, or of a series of fragments, are the following:

1. the mention in the title of Tocharian A/B *nāṭak*, borrowed from Sanskrit *nāṭaka* (play);
2. the indication of specific divisions of the text;
3. the mention of typical figures of Indian drama, as in the Sanskrit/Prakrit fragments mentioned above; and
4. the presence of stage directions.

The first indication is rather rare. Besides **Nandacaritanāṭak* (A 127[= THT 760]a2; in a partly preserved colophon), which points probably to a dramatic version of the story of Nanda (otherwise known through the *Saundarananda*, the epic poem of Aśvaghoṣa), *nāṭak* is found only in the colophons of chapters of the *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* (see below). The title of this work has been borrowed as Tocharian A **Maitreyasamitināṭak*, which occurs in the locative case, *Maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ*, in the colophons of the text.

As for the divisions of the text, the Tocharian A term *nipāt* (Skt. *nipāta*, act; Pal. *nipāta*, section [of a literary work]) is used, as well as Tocharian A/B *praveśak* (interlude; Skt. *praveśaka*). The ends of these sections are marked by the sentence "the interlude has come to an end" (Toch. B *āra*/ Toch. A *ār*; matching Skt. *samāptaḥ*) or by the note "all [persons] went out [from the stage]," (Toch. B *lateṃ poñc*/Toch. A *lcär poñś*; matching Skt. *niṣkrāntāḥ sarve*). At the beginning of a scene, and typically at the beginning of an act, the place of the action is duly mentioned by the phrase "now this speech ought to be understood [as taking place] in the city of…"

Typical Indian theatrical characters (see Konow, 1920, 13–16) do appear: *vidūṣaka* (jester; Toch. B *vidūṣake*), *pratīhārī* (female doorkeeper or usher; Toch. B *plaktukäñña*, an indigenous word), *amātya* (minister; Toch. B *amāc*/Toch. A *āmāś*), *kañcukīya* (chamberlain, attendant in a harem; Toch. B *kañcuki*/Toch. A *kāñcuki*), and so forth. Since usually several scenes take place in a royal court, one meets also the typical figures of king, queen, chaplain, and female servants. Quite significant is the usage of the Sanskrit term *nāyaka* (hero; Toch. B *nāyake*) to refer to the Bodhisattva as the main character of a play. Some scenes, such as the interludes mentioned above, take place in heaven, where several gods chat with one another and comment from above on the actions of humans.

The stage directions are mostly related to the entrance of some character, whom the person present on stage sees "from afar"; sometimes, it is said that the characters on stage point to someone who is supposed to be at some distance, while not yet taking part in the dialogue. In several instances, some character is said to "speak to oneself," thus introducing a monologue. One does find the Tocharian A/B term *abhinai* (acting, expressive pantomime; Skt. *abhinaya*), denoting a sentiment (Konow, 1920, 6), but there is no further description of the type of gestures that may have accompanied the entrance or the speech of a character. There is also mention of music played by several instruments (drums, gong, lute, flute, etc.), but it remains uncertain if this refers to the music that was effectively played during the performance, as an arrangement connected with the singing of verses, or rather to the literary convention of the celestial orchestra that is supposed to accompany all wonderful events, manifesting the joy and delight of divine beings in the heavenly abodes.

The combination of all these criteria makes it possible to identify several fragments or series of fragments as containing dramatic texts. In addition to the *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* in Tocharian A, there are dramatic adaptations of several legends: the *Araṇemijātaka* (Toch. A/B; restitution and translation by Schmidt, 2001), the *Subhāṣitagaveṣinjātaka* (Toch. B), and fragments of other dramas featuring characters of various stories (THT 514–520).

Two significant texts are known from several leaves (or fragments of leaves), for which one can tentatively restore titles (Pinault, 1984; 2007, 205): the *Bauddhanāṭaka (Toch. B), which contains the great departure (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*) of the Bodhisattva, and the **Supriyanāṭaka* (Toch. B). The latter, written in standard Tocharian B, tells the edifying story of Supriya, who receives the talismans of a *cakravartin* but who gradually abandons the privileges of his royal status. Although the name of the hero is identical to that of the main character of the story told in chapter 8 of *Divyāvadāna*, the merchant's son Supriya, and of other stories, no parallel has been identified so far for the episodes that can be restored. The former, written in the archaic variant of Tocharian B, is about the great departure of the Bodhisattva from the city of Kapilavastu. One can identify therein the classical scenes from the life of the young Śākyamuni, who goes through the familiar episodes described in many other texts – the discussion between the sage Asita and Śākyamuni's father, his last night in the harem of the palace, his decision to leave his princely life, his departure with the charioteer Chandaka, their passing by night through the gates of the city, his farewell to Chandaka and to his horse, the horse running back to the city, the grief of his wife, and so forth. The Bodhisattva, however, does not bear a personal name; he is referred to by the title of hero (Toch. B *nāyake*), and the jester, being his companion, appears in several scenes in addition to the well-known characters of the legend.

Despite this strong impact of the Indian tradition, which led to the adaptation of the traditional Buddhist story to the dramatic conventions, the parallel Buddhist texts are purely narrative, not dramatic. In principle, one cannot rule out the previous existence of a dramatized biography of Śākyamuni in Sanskrit or even in Prakrit, which would have been the model for this text. While the writing and copying of Tocharian Buddhist dramas in accordance with Indian classical techniques is ascertained, it is impossible to provide a definitive list of Tocharian dramatic texts, partly because of the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts. As an additional formal marker indicating that a text might be a drama, W. Winter (1955, 28–34) has made a case for the shift from past to present tense within a text. According to this theory, every action that could be easily enacted on stage was described by verbs in the present tense, whereas the other main events of the story were told by verbs in the preterit by a narrator accompanying the performance. This hypothesis has been however falsified, because the shift to present tense can be attributed at least in part to the vivid description of an action, singled out and highlighted amid the whole narrative context (Thomas, 1973). In addition, the great majority of the verbs that occur in the present tense in narratives are verbs of speaking or of uttering a thought, and introduce a direct speech that is often – but not always – reported in verse. One may conclude that this conventional introduction of direct speech by a single verb (Toch. B *weṣṣäṃ*/Toch. A *träṅkäṣ*, "he/she says"; Toch. B *weskeṃ*/Toch. A *träṅkiñc*, "they say") is imitative of a late Buddhist storytelling style (von Simson, 1985, 80), which is characterized by the simplicity of dialogue. Verbs in the present tense are then due to the calque of Sanskrit *kathayati* or *kathayanti* ("he/she says"; "they say"). One can give a similar account of the introduction of private thought, when a character speaks to oneself. The conventions of narrative texts have been taken over by those of dramatic texts in the instances of dialogue or monologue.

These dramatic texts show the typical alternation of prose and verse, which is also an imitation of Indian techniques, although the variation of languages (Sanskrit for the main characters and diverse Prakrits for other characters) has not been retained, since the entirety of each text is in standard literary Tocharian. The verse parts are often, but not systematically, reserved for speeches; they may also be intended for describing some scenes

or actions with more details, or for
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the entirety of each text is in stan-
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atically, reserved for speeches; they
tended for describing some scenes

or actions with more details, or for commenting on some events. Several different meters are used for a single episode of a given work, especially for the successive speeches of the various characters. There is internal evidence that these verses were composed to be sung: they are sometimes accompanied by the mention of "song" (Toch. B *kene*/Toch. A *kaṃ*). Unfortunately, the music itself has not been preserved, but there is indirect evidence for Tocharian music, especially from Kucha, which was reportedly favored in the Chinese court from the 4th century CE onward (Liu, 1969, 99–108, 201–209). The different meters have names partly borrowed from Sanskrit, but these do not refer precisely to meters known by Sanskrit or Prakrit traditions. The patterns of Tocharian metrics are still debated, but the governing principles are different from those of Indian metrics, except that the stanzas are divided normally into four *pādas* (lines) The rhythm does not seem to be based on the alternation of syllable length. The caesuras between sequences of words that make definite numbers of syllables play apparently a structuring role. Since verses with the same number of syllables and the same caesuras can bear different names, one may infer that those names refer actually to different tunes, but they are not related to any known kind of Indian music.

Be this as it may, the alternation of prose and verse cannot be taken as an indication of the dramatic character of a text (against Winter, 1955, 28, 34), because it is commonly found in the Tocharian adaptations of Buddhist narratives as well. According to Indian poetics, several genres are termed *miśra* (mixed; alternatively translated as "prosimetric"), because they use prose and verse in alternation. To these genres belong the drama proper and the narrative called *campū* (Lienhard, 1984, 47, 265–273). In Buddhist literature, plays as well as prosimetric narratives are based on the immense repertoire of Buddhist legends, *avadānas*, and *jātakas*. Famous collections of legends in Sanskrit have been composed with much skill in the *campū* style, for instance, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭapaṅktiḥ* by Kumāralāta (mid-2nd cent. CE) and the works bearing the title *Jātakamālā* (Garland of Birth Stories) or *Bodhisattvāvadānamālā* (Garland of Noble Deeds of the Bodhisattva) by several authors, to wit, Āryaśūra, Saṅghasena, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta (3rd–6th cents. CE; for a survey and further references, see Hahn, 2010, 465–468). It is clear that such collections of legends in various versions, as designed for different audiences, circulated widely in the whole of Central Asia, as testified by their translation into Chinese and/or Tibetan. The stock of these legends is found in the literature of both Tocharian languages, because the storytelling was able to instruct laypeople and to urge their support of the Buddhist faith. The transposition of the techniques of Sanskrit literature into Tocharian was bound to the borrowing of narrative matter. Since most Tocharian manuscripts are fragmentary, it is nearly impossible to decide if an isolated fragment containing a Buddhist legend belongs to a purely *campū* text or to a dramatized narrative, if none of the four criteria mentioned above is present.

The success of the dramatic transposition of Buddhist narratives was likely due to its being such an efficient means of religious propaganda. But the reciting of such texts could have also been an efficient vehicle of teaching, along with the recitation of purely didactic texts. It is striking that these narrative texts themselves contain much doctrine, which is often pronounced by one of the characters of the story, the Buddha or a bodhisattva. The shift from narration with dialogue to homily is common. These narratives thus have a strong educational component and can therefore be conceived of as narratives to be recited aloud and taught to lay Buddhists. We should not, however, straightaway conclude that we have to do with theatrical performances, which implies the production of a text on the stage, featuring several actors playing the different characters. Rather, most Tocharian narrative texts contain markers that are typical for the art of storytelling, and that in part imitate Indian practice with the use of interrogative adverbs and phrases such as "what then?," "how then?," "why?," and "in which manner?" Such markers are found in Tocharian prosimetric texts introducing verse portions (Pinault, 1989, 204–212). Furthermore, they recall almost identical expressions typical of the Chinese *bianwen* (transformation text, according to the literal translation) genre, documented in texts from Dunhuang dated between the 8th and the 10th century CE. These prosimetric texts represent the first vernacular narratives in Chinese, which are based on popular storytelling with painted pictures, originally of Buddhist content. The rhetorical questions used as verse-introductory markers are devised to attract the attention of the audience on a painted image on which the storyteller comments in sung verse (see Mair, 1988). The source of this genre is certainly to be found in Central Asia, as surmised already by S. Lévi (1925) about the Chinese text *Xianyu jing* (*Sūtra* of the Wise and the Fool), which is based on a collection of Buddhist tales said to have been recorded in the mid-5th century CE by Chinese monks in Khotan. This art of public storytelling ought to be kept typologically distinct from theater, although it was practiced as public performance (Mair, 2013). A likely scenario is that the Indian *campū* genre developed in the Tarim Basin as public storytelling in order to disseminate the Buddhist faith and that it eventually gave rise to the Chinese *bianwen*. The missing link of this process would then be preserved by the corpus of Tocharian narrative texts in mixed form. Rather than as "dramatic narrative" (Mair, 2013, 106), it would be more exact to designate this genre as "prosimetric narrative in performance." The success of the performing arts in the oases north of the Taklamakan Desert, and especially in the Kucha region, during the second half of the 1st millennium CE is attested by the accounts of Chinese pilgrims and officials, who recorded the importance of music, dance, and theater among the indigenous people. They also mention masked dances during festivals (Liu, 1969, 10, 67, 92, 170–171, 245). Unfortunately, these reports are not so precise as to allow us to ascertain the regular performance of Buddhist dramas on stage, which can be considered likely on more general grounds.

The *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* (Drama about the Meeting with Maitreya) in Tocharian A is a special case – first because of its huge size, and second because of its popularity, since it is recorded in at least five different manuscripts (see Pinault, 1999). Furthermore, the text has been translated into Old Turkic (Uighur) under the title *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (Text of the Law [= *Sūtra*] about *Maitrisimit* [i.e. *maitreyasamiti* ("meeting with Maitreya")]; see Geng Shimin & Klimkeit, vol. I, 1988, 1–9; Elverskog, 1997, 139–145; for an updated bibliography, see Geng Shimin, Laut & Pinault, 2004, 347–349, 366–369). The Tocharian A text is divided into 27 acts, preceded by a short preface, corresponding to the 27 Old Turkic chapters (*ülüš*), which are preceded by a lengthy prologue (*yükünč*); the colophons of some chapters of the Old Turkic text mention Uighur donors. Each act/chapter has a title that corresponds to a major event in the narrative. In the Tocharian A text, these titles are borrowed from Sanskrit, whereas in the Old Turkic text they have been systematically translated.

The Old Turkic text is known in two versions, which are nearly identical. The first (c. 9th or 10th cent. CE) is known from leaves, complete or fragmentary, found in the Turfan region, mostly in Sengim, besides a minority found in Murtuk. The second (11th cent. CE) is known from materials found in the Hami area. These two versions are traced back to an 8th century CE archetype, translated from the Tocharian A text in the region of Yanqi (ancient Agni; also known as Karashahr). The Old Turkic text is definitely based on the Tocharian A text, without any intermediary, and the Tocharian A text itself was composed in the same region but as a compilation of several older Sanskrit texts. The final stage of the preparation of the Tocharian A text is probably not too far removed in time from that of the Old Turkic text.

One may surmise that the popularity of this text among the local lay-followers of Buddhism led members of the Uighur nobility – who were supporters of Buddhism – to sponsor the copying and translation of this very long text. This was also part of their strong commitment to celebrating the cult of Maitreya, the future buddha (Röhrborn, 2004).

The plot of this text can be roughly divided into three parts:

1. the career of Maitreya as a Brahman student at the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, his entry into the Buddhist order, and the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) of future Buddhahood bestowed on him, as a Buddhist monk, by Śākyamuni;
2. the rebirth of Maitreya as son of a Brahman in a future golden age, in the wonderful city of Ketumatī, where he accomplishes all the standard steps of the career of a bodhisattva, renounces the worldly life, and leaves the city of his parents; and
3. his venturing, having reached enlightenment (*bodhi*), the typical career of a buddha, converting his father, the king, the queen, and all the people that he meets.

With his crowd of disciples, he discovers the disciple Kāśyapa, who has remained sitting in deep meditation inside a mountain since the time of Śākyamuni and who transmits to Maitreya a message from the first Buddha, Śākyamuni. Several chapters are devoted to Maitreya's commenting on the horrifying display of punishments that various categories of sinners suffer in different hells, with the aim to convert more people. Before his *parinirvāṇa*, he delivers a prophecy of future buddhahood to King Siṃha, who has himself become a monk, and also converts his own mother, who has died shortly after his birth.

In addition to the narrative itself, the text conveys many teachings about the main points of the Buddhist doctrine, and is obviously inspired by didactic trends, so that the whole work amounts to a popular encyclopedia of the Sarvāstivādin school. The Old Turkic text follows the Tocharian A text strictly with regard to the structure of the episodes, the

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succession of narrative parts and speeches, and so forth. There are of course stylistic features proper to the Old Turkic version, but there are two main differences between the texts. First, the Old Turkic text is wholly in prose, while the Tocharian A text shows the usual interchange of prose and verse. Second, the Old Turkic text has left out most of the stage directions. In addition, the Indian background is much more prevalent in the Tocharian A text; all elements of Sanskrit origin that were understandable only by learned Buddhists have been translated, either literally or freely, in the Old Turkic text. Although the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* cannot be seen as a drama, one can surmise that the text was performed in public during a Buddhist festival, much in the way of a *bianwen*. In fact, the Old Turkic text itself contains the notion of a "performance" or "show" (*körünč*) related to a feast celebrating Maitreya (Geng Shimin & Klimkeit, vol. I, 1988, 7). But this term should not be understood as referring to a stage production (Röhrborn, 1994). Such a "show" can consist precisely in the display of pictures of wonderful events, for instance the scenes that take place in hells or in heavenly spheres. This might also apply to the model of "drama" with regard to the Tocharian A text. Except for the presence of the word drama (*nāṭaka*) in the title of the work, the dramatic dimension is rather superficial and limited to the mention of entrance and departure of characters, to the presence of interludes, and to the mention of the place of the action. Therefore, one may wonder if, in order to enhance its literary prestige, these unquestionable features of Indian dramatic technique have been added to an original text which was not fundamentally different from any *campū* text designed for public recitation. In other words, one may imagine two successive versions of the text: the first a mere narrative in prose and verse and the second, more elaborated, recast as a heroic drama. The archetype of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* was more akin to the former version.

This leads us back to the issue of the very existence of Buddhist dramatic literature in Central Asia, that is, literary compositions that were designed for performance on stage. On the one hand, one cannot deny that Tocharian writers knew all basic components of Indian dramaturgy. Accordingly, some works are effectively composed after Indian patterns, although they do not seem to be translated from dramas composed previously in Sanskrit. Even though no such work is extant, one cannot exclude the possibility that some dramas by Aśvaghoṣa or by poets of his school had been translated in Tocharian B, at least in part, and that these translations served as a model for the indigenous composition of dramas. On the other hand, one may consider the plots offered by the very rich literature of *jātaka*s and *avadāna*s, which were widely read and translated, to have been used in alternative ways by Tocharian writers, either as *campū* designed to be read in small circles or as *campū* adapted as to be recited and taught in public, which ultimately evolved into the *bianwen* genre. There is not such a large gap between this genre of performance designed for lay Buddhists and the refurbishing of the same narrative and prosimetric material into a drama, that is, a theater piece in the Indian proper way. Moreover, one can point out the manifold representation of legends and of the episodes of the Buddha's life in paintings found in Buddhist shrines, especially in the caves of Kizil (see Yaldiz, 1987, 28–87). These paintings display a repertoire of edifying tales, *jātaka*s and *avadāna*s, which, in a parallel fashion, were written in Tocharian manuscripts of the same epoch. Since these caves were certainly used in part as centers of teaching for monks and pilgrims, one can speculate that the Tocharian *campū* texts were composed in this milieu to be recited aloud in front of these paintings. This hypothesis would establish a link between storytelling and pictures in the vibrant period of Tocharian Buddhism.

In the guise of a provisory conclusion, it would be too rash to conclude that Buddhist dramas in Central Asia were conceived only for an erudite elite of monks and scholars as texts to be enjoyed through mere reading. On the contrary, the role played by dramatic art in the spread of Buddhist faith would be in accordance with the pervasive Indian influence on all aspects of Buddhist culture, especially in the Kucha region in the western part of the Tocharian area.

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GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT

Philosophical Literature

Philosophical Literature: South Asia

Kamalaśīla (740–795 CE?), one of the most outstanding figures in the history of Indian Buddhism, composed and glossed works on logic, epistemology, and Madhyamaka; commented on important Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Śālistamba*; and, besides being versed in Tantra, authored treatises in defense of the view that salvation results from a gradual cultivation process extending over innumerable lifetimes. Mutatis mutandis, the same can be said of the most revered Indian Buddhist authorities, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga, who were first and foremost committed to the "transdisciplinary" scholastic project of harmonizing reasoning (*yukti*) with faith and scripture (*āgama*) in order to build a coherent Buddhist view of the world, human understanding, and salvation.

In the absence of any emic category corresponding to the philosophical (in contrast to the narrative, the ritual, the disciplinary, etc.), isolating a distinctly philosophical segment or moment in these authors' scholastic output is methodologically problematic and may look purely arbitrary. Fortunately, (late) Indian Buddhist intellectuals themselves developed doxographical labels suggesting that they regarded Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, Sautrāntika, and Vaibhāṣika literature as reflecting a fairly homogenous intellectual enterprise, the outcome of which they sometimes call *mata* (religio-philosophical doctrine), providing the expression "philosophical literature" with a convenient if not entirely satisfactory content. Although the present article does not address Ābhidharmika literature, it partly conforms to this doxographical scheme when focusing on the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra text traditions, but it diverges from it when presenting Buddhist epistemology as a distinct school. Indeed the so-called *pramāṇa* tradition, at least as far as issues of practice and doctrine are concerned, has never been considered an independent school in its Indic environment. However, dealing with it as a distinct school is not entirely without historical foundation, since the Indian Buddhist monastic curricula, which reflect normative and maybe institutional divisions in terms of genres and disciplines, isolate the *hetuvidyā* (science of justifications, i.e. logic and dialectics, including epistemology) as an autonomous branch of knowledge.

Mādhyamika literature has been surveyed in D. Seyfort Ruegg's monograph (1981), while for the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda literature, J. May's article (1971) still provides an excellent overview. J. Powers (1991), J.A. Silk (2001), F. Deleanu (2006), and M. Delhey (2013) provide indispensable bibliographical information, especially on the research carried out by L. Schmithausen and his followers. For the chronology and the literature of the epistemological school, we have the systematic survey by E. Steinkellner and M.T. Much (1995). E. Frauwallner's *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus* (1956; see also Franco & Preisendanz, 2010) remains one of the best introduction to Indian Buddhist philosophy ever written in a Western language. A very useful survey covering some of the same ground as the present one is found in the Japanese-language volume by K. Tsukamoto, Y. Matsunaga, and H. Isoda (1990). Much Indian Buddhist literature survives, if at all, only in classical translations into Tibetan and Chinese. Therefore, while recent discoveries are making more and more Sanskrit materials available, and there is good reason to expect this trend to continue, at present any survey of Indian Buddhist philosophical literature must also refer extensively to sources preserved in Tibetan and Chinese. Note that the present article does not deal with the origin(s) of Indian Buddhist philosophy (for this topic, see Watanabe, 1983; Bronkhorst, 1999).

Early Mādhyamika Literature

The rise of the Madhyamaka school is intimately connected to the name of Nāgārjuna (c. 200 CE?; see Walleser, 1923; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 4–5n11; Mabbett, 1998; Walser, 2005, 59–88) and can be located at the confluence of universal emptiness (*śūnyatā*) as taught in the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* and a reaction to traditional Buddhist dogmatics' tendency to realism and hypostatization. As its name indicates (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 1–3; maybe not in use before the 5th cent. CE), the Madhyamaka has gradually tended to understand itself as a middle way (*madhyamā pratipad*) between the extremes of existence and nonexistence. This middle way is nothing but causality or dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*),

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radically reinterpreted in the sense that everything is empty of intrinsic, autonomous existence – not to be mistaken for unqualified nonexistence, hence nihilism, which the Mādhyamikas were frequently accused of, and which, according to another overall interpretation of the Madhyamaka, they indeed endorsed (see Vetter, 1982; Oetke, 1988; 1989; 1996). The scholastic works ascribed to Nāgārjuna testify to a dialectical method consisting in the *reductio ad absurdum* (*prasaṅga*) of every possible theoretical posit. Here as elsewhere, the critique is meant as a therapeutic method for defilements and suffering rather than as a self-contained philosophical inquiry.

In stanza 10 of his *Madhyamakaśāstrastuti* (de Jong, 1962, 51), Nāgārjuna's commentator Candrakīrti (6th–7th cents. CE?) mentions the following eight (categories of) works by Nāgārjuna, though the authenticity of some is disputed (see below):

1. the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (T. 1653; D 3934/P 5330; see Pāsādika, 1989, 2003; Lindtner, 1982a, 172–178);
2. the *Ratnāvalī* (T. 1656; D 4158/P 5658; see Hahn, 1982; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 23–26; Walser, 2005, 271–278);
3. the *Saṃstutis* (see Lindtner, 1982a, 121–161; Tola & Dragonetti, 1995a, 101–153);
4. the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (T. 1564; D 3824/P 5224; see Saigusa, 1985; Ye, 2011; de Jong, 1977; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 9–18; Siderits & Katsura, 2013);
5. the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (T. 1575; D 3825/P 5225; see Lindtner, 1982a; Scherrer-Schaub, 1991; Tola & Dragonetti, 1995b; Ye, 2013; Li, Kano & Ye, 2014; Li & Ye, forthcoming; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 19–20);
6. the *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* (D 3826, 3830/P 5226, 5230; see Kajiyama, 1965a; Tola & Dragonetti, 1995a);
7. the *Śūnyatāsaptati* (D 3827/P 5227; see Lindtner, 1982a; Tola & Dragonetti, 1995b; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 20–21); and
8. the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (T. 1631; see Tucci, 1929; D 3828, 3832/P 5228, 5232; see Lindtner, 1982a; Bhattacharya, Johnston & Kunst, 1998; Yonezawa, 2008; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 21–23).

The fountainhead of all Mādhyamika traditions is the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. This treatise is composed of 447 (or 449) stanzas distributed into 27 chapters (whose titles vary according to the commentaries), in which Nāgārjuna's dialectics successively apply to the following (list according to Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*):

1. causal conditions (*pratyaya*);
2. motion (*gatāgata*);
3. sensory bases (*indriya*);
4. constituents (*skandha*);
5. elements (*dhātu*);
6. defilements (*rāgarakta*);
7. conditioned being (*saṃskṛta*);
8. action and agent (*karmakāraka*);
9. past (*pūrva*);
10. fire and fuel (*agnīndhana*);
11. successive lemmas (*pūrvāparakoṭi*);
12. suffering (*duḥkha*);
13. conditioned things (*saṃskāra*);
14. connection (*saṃsarga*);
15. own being/intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*);
16. bondage and liberation (*bandhanamokṣa*);
17. action and retribution (*karmaphala*);
18. self (*ātman*);
19. time (*kāla*);
20. causal complexes (*sāmagrī*);
21. existence and nonexistence (*sambhavavibhava*);
22. the Tathāgata;
23. misconceptions (*viparyāsa*);
24. nobles' truths (*āryasatya*);
25. nirvāṇa;
26. 12 links in the chain of causation (*dvādaśāṅga*);
27. false views (*dṛṣṭi*).

Major breaks in the historical development of Indian Madhyamaka coincide to a large extent with the doctrinal innovations initiated by Mādhyamika philosophers while commenting on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. The importance of the work can also be measured by the fact that it has been commented on by non-Mādhyamika intellectuals such as Asaṅga (T. 1565; 順中論義入大般若波羅蜜經), Guṇamati (lost), and Sthiramati (T. 1567; 大乘中觀釋論).

Besides the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, four more scholastic works have been commonly ascribed to Nāgārjuna by both traditional and modern scholarship: the *Śūnyatāsaptati*, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, the **Vyavahārasiddhi*, and the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*. In Candrakīrti's opinion, the first two are mere appendices to the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (see Scherrer-Schaub, 1991, xxxvi).

The *Śūnyatāsaptati* consists of 73 verses and a(n auto)commentary (D 3831/P 5231). It deals with the conventionality and the emptiness of all dharmas; with defilements, action, wrong notions, and nescience; and with the access to the ulti-

he following (list according to
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gata);
(*indriya*);
skandha);
ātu);
rāgarakta);
eing (*saṃskṛta*);
ent (*karmakāraka*);

agnīndhana);
nmas (*pūrvāparakoṭi*);
kha);
hings (*saṃskāra*);
aṃsarga);
trinsic nature (*svabhāva*);
liberation (*bandhanamokṣa*);
ribution (*karmaphala*);

exes (*sāmagrī*);
nonexistence (*sambhavavibhava*);
;
ns (*viparyāsa*);
(*āryasatya*);

chain of causation (*dvādaśāṅga*);
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mate. The treatise has been commented on by Candrakīrti in the *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti* (D 3867/P 5268; see Erb, 1997) and by Parahitabhadra in the *Śūnyatāsaptativivṛti* (D 3868/P 5269).

The *Vigrahavyāvartanī* was written in mixed verses and prose. This important treatise contains "a searching critique of the opponents' own logical and epistemological assumptions, and a demonstration of the validity of the Mādhyamika's theory and method" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 21–22; against Nāgārjuna's authorship, see Tola & Dragonetti, 1998).

The lost **Vyavahārasiddhi* (Tib. *Tha snyad grub pa*) is known to us through six stanzas quoted in Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* and explicitly identified by Kamalaśīla (Ichigo, 1985, 213, l. 10). According to Bu ston (1290–1364), the **Vyavahārasiddhi* was meant "to show that although there is no own being in the ultimate sense, still worldly transactional convention is justified at the superficial level" (see Lindtner, 1982a, 94, 94n127).

The *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* is yet another of Nāgārjuna's treatises dealing with dependent origination. According to C. Lindtner (1982a, 100–101), its argument is that "reality is beyond all ontological and epistemological dualities while the empirical world of origination, destruction, and so on, is illusory and merely due to ignorance." Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* has been commented on by Candrakīrti in the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* (D 3864/P 5265; see Scherrer-Schaub, 1991).

As suggested by Tibetan classifications, Nāgārjuna's(?) *Ratnāvalī* belongs to the genre of the epistles dedicated to spiritual edification. This important treatise in five chapters and about 500 verses is especially well known for its chapter 4, which provides ethical and political advice to a (Satavahana?) king. The 9th-century scholar Ajitamitra has provided the *Ratnāvalī* with a commentary, the *Ratnāvalīṭīkā* (D 4159/P 5659; see Okada, 1990). Ethical advice to a prince is also the subject matter of Nāgārjuna's famous *Suhṛllekha* (T. 1672–1674; D 4182, 4496/P 5409, 5682; see Tenzin, 2002; Dietz, 1984, 18–30; 2012), which has been commented on by Mahāmati in his *Suhṛllekhaṭīkā* (D–/P 5690). In addition to the *Suhṛllekha*, three works devoted to ethics and royal conduct have been ascribed to Nāgārjuna (Hahn, 1985): the *Prajñāśataka* (D 4328, 4501/P 5820, 5414; see Hahn, 1990), the *Nītiśāstraprajñādaṇḍa* (D 4329/P 5821; see Campbell, 1919), and the *Nītiśāstrajantupoṣaṇabindu* (D 4330/P 5822).

Four works traditionally ascribed to Nāgārjuna but of disputed authenticity deserve to be mentioned here (for yet other works, see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 28–30; Lindtner, 1982a, 180–248; Buescher, 2008, 26–40).

1. The *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* is a treatise consisting of 73 *sūtra*s and a prose commentary dealing with dialectics. As its initial stanza testifies, the *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* targets non-Buddhist dialecticians advocating the self and "grinds to little pieces" their 16 categories (comp. *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.1). As O.H. Pind (2001) has pointed out, the treatise's indebtedness to Sautrāntika-like ideas makes Nāgārjuna's authorship very unlikely.

2. The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* (D 3836, 4553/P 5236, 5467; see Lindtner, 1982a; 1982b) seems to have originally consisted of five stanzas and a commentary of uncertain authorship, the *Vyākhyāna* (T. 1654; D 3837, 4554/P 5237, 5468). According to C. Lindtner (1982a, 171), the treatise "marks an exegetical attempt to reconcile the traditional twelve-membered formula of dependent origination with the doctrine of emptiness."

3. The **Dvādaśamukhaśāstra* (T. 1568; see Aiyaswami Sastri, 1954; Goshima, 2004; 2007; Hermann-Pfandt, 2008, 334) bears on 12 typically Mādhyamika topics (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 27–28) in 26 stanzas. The fame of this treatise is due to its being the second of the three authoritative treatises of the East Asian Sanlun (三論) school. This treatise might be a compilation by the (Central Asian?) commentator Qingmu (青目)/*Piṅgal(ākṣ)a or a later compilation by Kumārajīva (334–413?), himself or a member of his circle (see Goshima, 2002; 2007; 2012).

4. The massive *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (T. 1509; 大智度論; see Lamotte, 1949; 1970), if it is an Indian text, apparently achieved more renown in East Asia (and the West) than in India, where it is never alluded to. This commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* – ascribed to Nāgārjuna by Kumārajīva, who translated it into Chinese in 402–404 CE – refers to Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and Rāhulabhadra. It seems more likely, however, that this "Mahāyānistic replica of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma" (Lamotte, 1970, xli) was the work of a monk of Sarvāstivāda background and Mahāyānistic persuasion in early 4th-century Gandhara or Kashmir, or of "Serindian scholars and Chinese redactors" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1982, 508).

Next in importance only to Nāgārjuna is his likely disciple Āryadeva (mid-3rd cent. CE?; see Lang, 1986, 7–15). More than Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva endeavored to defend the Madhyamaka against the non-Buddhists. This makes his works important sources concerning early Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika, two of these non-Buddhist opponents. Āryadeva's magnum opus is the *Catuḥśataka* (D 3846/P 5246; see Lang, 1986). The treatise's 400 stanzas are distributed into 16 chapters, of which 1–8 and 9–16 form two homogenous units – Dharmapāla commented on chapters 9–16 alone (T. 1571; 大乘廣百論釋論), the likely reason why Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664) limited his Chinese translation to these same chapters (T. 1570; 廣百論本). Chapters 1–8 are close in intent to Nāgārjuna's two epistles and deal, as an ethical "preparation of those who practise the path" (Lang, 1986, 52), with the elimination of the four misconceptions (chs. 1–4; see Lang, 2003), the bodhisattva practice (ch. 5), the elimination of the defilements (ch. 6), the attachment to sensory objects (ch. 7), and the practice of the disciple (ch. 8). Chapters 9–16 are "a defense of the Madhyamaka philosophy of emptiness against its detractors" (Lang, 1986, 52) and negate permanent things (ch. 9; see May, 1980–1984), the self (ch. 10), time (ch. 11), false views (ch. 12; see Tillemans, 1990), the sense organs and their objects (ch. 13; see Tillemans, 1990), the belief in extremities (ch. 14), and conditioned things (ch. 15) in addition to addressing logical and epistemological issues related to the doctrine of emptiness (ch. 16).

Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* has been commented on by Dharmapāla (see above; see also Tillemans, 1990) and by Candrakīrti in the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*/*Catuḥśatakavṛtti* (D 3865/P 5266; see Suzuki, 1994). At least in East Asia, however, Āryadeva's fame is due mainly to the *Śata*(*ka*)*śāstra* (T. 1569; 百論; see Tucci, 1929b, 3–89), in 50 *sūtras* (*sic*), the third authoritative treatise of the Sanlun school. Of disputed authenticity (see de Jong, 1971, 110; Gard, 1954, 751–747), the *Śata*(*ka*)*śāstra* might have been a "rearranged and abridged version of the *Catuḥśataka*" (Lang, 1986, 13), possibly compiled by the (Central Asian?) commentator Vasu (Gard, 1954, 747). At least as far as their subject matter is concerned, the two works have much in common:

1. merit and demerit;
2. the self;
3. unity;
4. multiplicity;
5. sense perception;
6. sense objects;
7. the (Sāṃkhya) doctrine according to which the result preexists in the cause (*satkāryavāda*);
8. the (Vaiśeṣika) doctrine according to which the result does not preexist in the cause (*asatkāryavāda*);
9. permanence; and
10. emptiness. (Lang, 1986, 11–13)

As pointed out by K.C. Lang, however, the two treatises differ in the arrangement of topics, in their arguments, and in their style (didactic stanzas vs. *sūtras*).

Several other treatises have been ascribed to Āryadeva:

- the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, likely the work of Dignāga (see below);
- the *Treatise on the Explanation of Nirvāṇa by Heterodox and Hīnayāna Teachers in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T. 1640; *Shì léng gā jīng zhōng wài dào xiǎo chéng niè pán lùn* [釋楞伽經中外道小乘涅槃論]; see Tucci, 1926);
- the *Treatise on the Refutation of Heterodox and Hīnayāna Theses in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T. 1639; *Pò léng gā jīng zhōng wài dào xiǎo chéng sì zōng lùn* [破楞伽經中外道小乘四宗論]);
- the *Skhalitaprama*[*rd*]*anayuktihetusiddhi* (D 3847/P 5247; see Clarke & Jamspal, 1978), a short treatise in which naive versions of hedonism/materialism, naturalism, temporalism, and theism are criticized in the name of dependent origination;
- the *Madhyamakabhramaghāta* (D 3850/P 5250), apparently a compilation of selected excerpts from Bhāviveka's *Tarkajvālā* (see Lindtner, 1982b, 173n21); and
- the philosophically more substantial *Akṣaraśataka* (T. 1572; D 3834, 3835/P 5234, 5235; see Gokhale, 1930), whose targets are Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika views, and whose topics parallel those of *Śata*(*ka*)*śāstra* 2–10.

Rāhulabhadra, a contemporary and follower of Nāgārjuna (maybe of Āryadeva as well; see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 54n155), is the last important figure of the formative period of Indian Madhyamaka. He likely authored a now lost commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, which is referred to by early authorities such as Asaṅga and *Sāramati (in T. 1565, 1634; see Lamotte, 1970, 1374). But Rāhulabhadra is especially famous for his hymns – first and foremost for his *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*, which serves as a preface to several (Indian versions of) Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* and is quoted in the pseudo-Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (see Lamotte, 1949, 1060–1065, 1060n2). According to D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981, 55–56), Rāhulabhadra's hymns betray his indebtedness to *tathāgatagarbha* ideas (i.e. the doctrinal stream accepting the existence of Buddha-nature in each sentient being).

This may be the place to briefly mention a work that, although it bears no particular relationship to the Madhyamaka (but see Katsura, 1979) and is more closely connected with Abhidharmic ways of

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thinking, had a strong impact on the early history of Indian Buddhist philosophy and the development of Dārṣṭāntika/Sautrāntika thought – that is, Harivarman's **Tattvasiddhi* (also known as **Satyasiddhi*; T. 1646; 成實論; see Aiyaswami Sastri, 1975, 1978; Potter, 1999, 255–312), composed either between 250 and 350 (Katsura, 1978, 1063) or between 310 and 390 (Kritzer, 2005, 210). Besides an introductory chapter dedicated to the three jewels (the Buddha, the law, and the community) and the different points of controversy, the work consists of four chapters dealing with the four nobles' truths. Whereas suffering consists of the five *skandhas* (corporeity, affective sensation, identification, conditioning factors, and cognitions), the origin of suffering is to be found in action and defilements. Harivarman defines the cessation of suffering as the cessation of the awareness of designations, of the awareness of factors, and of the awareness of emptiness (see Katsura, 1979). As for the path leading to the cessation of suffering, it consists of concentration and knowledge. Harivarman's treatment of topics such as the existence of past and future factors (ch. 1; see Katsura, 1978) or the modalities of cognition (ch. 2) contains interesting controversies with Vaiśeṣika and Sāṃkhya, the early Buddhist philosophers' main opponents.

Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda Literature

The origin of what came to be known as Yogācāra, Vijñānavāda, or *Vijñaptivāda – that is, Buddhist idealism – is commonly traced to a (Mūla)sarvāstivāda community of meditators or yoga practitioners (*yogācāra*) that, from the 1st century onward "commences to be active in the production of meditation treatises and manuals" (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 162; references in Deleanu, vol. II, 2006, 212n53). Its views are regularly discussed in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (see Silk, 2000, 286–287; Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 213n60).

Not infrequently entitled *Yogācārabhūmi* ([Treatise on] the Levels of Those Who Engage in Spiritual Training; Delhey, vol. I, 2009, 3n2; Delhey, 2013, 501), the most ancient among these *Yogācārabhūmi*s form the "prototypes" (Demiéville, 1954) or "forefathers" (Deleanu, 2006) of the *Yogācārabhūmi* that served as the foundation of classical Buddhist "mind-only" (*vijñaptimātratā*) idealism. The most famous among these and later meditation digests are the following:

1. the 1st- to 2nd-century *Yogācārabhūmi* (T. 606; 修行道地經; T. 607; 道地經; translated into Chinese in 148–170 CE but incomplete) by the Kashmirian Sarvāstivāda patriarch Saṅgharakṣa (see Demiéville, 1954, 363–397; Deleanu, 1997, 34–35), "a literary as well as scholastic work written in a unique blend of poetic imagery … and technical discussions concerning the theory and practice of spiritual cultivation" (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 158);
2. the 4th-century *Yogācārabhūmi* (also known as The Meditation Scripture [Taught] by Dharmatrāta; T. 618; *Dá mó duō luó chán jīng* [達摩多羅禪經]; see Demiéville, 1954, 362–363; Deleanu, 1993; Yamabe, 1999, 72–76) by the Kashmirian meditation master Buddhasena; and
3. the so-called *Yogalehrbuch*, a Mūlasarvāstivāda work (Schmithausen, 1970, 109, 113n257), Sanskrit fragments of which were discovered in 1906 in Kizil near Kucha and edited by D. Schlingloff (1964; see Hartmann, 1996; Yamabe, 1997; Yamabe, 1999, 60–72; see also Bretfeld, 2003).

The number of these digests was apparently so important that

> in the early 5th century, in order to compile a Yoga treatise destined to his Chinese disciples, Kumārajīva used, besides Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*, all sorts of '*dhyāna* summaries' … that were the works of other Sarvāstivādin patriarchs: Vasumitra, Upagupta, Saṅghasena, Pārśva, Kumāralāta. (Demiéville, 1954, 396; see also Yamabe, 1999, 78–79)

As noted by P. Demiéville (1954, 349–350, 354, 362), D. Schlingloff (1964, 54–56), D. Seyfort Ruegg (1967, 160–161), and N. Yamabe (1999, 73–74), these originally purely Śrāvakayānist works were supplemented with Mahāyānist elements or appendices from the 3rd to 4th century on. This is the case with chapters 28–30 of Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*, maybe an originally independent treatise, with chapters 4–7 of Buddhasena's *Yogācārabhūmi*, and with the bodhisattva ideal that made its way into the *Yogalehrbuch*. Properly Mahāyānistic treatises circulated as well, such as the *Vīradattaparipṛcchā* (also known as **Bodhisattvayogācārabhūmisūtra*; T. 330; 菩薩修行經; comp. T. 331; 無畏授所問; comp. also T. 310; 大寶積經; XCVI, 540a–543a), which deals with the practice of the perfections (six, sometimes ten behavioral, ethical, and cognitive norms/ideals), the meditation on the human body, and so on. According to P. Demiéville, the "mahāyānization" that took place between the 2nd and the 4th century reflects "a new need born … of the gradual increase of the Mahāyānists: the Yoga masters could no longer ignore this clientele" (Demiéville, 1954, 397).

A very similar blend of Śrāvakayānist and Mahāyānist materials can be observed on a much larger scale in the *Yogācārabhūmi(śāstra)* (see Schmithausen, 1969a; Deleanu, 2006; Delhey, 2013; Kragh, 2013), which serves as a doctrinal authority of semi-canonical character to the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda. One of its parts, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (T. 1579; D 4036/P 5537; see *Yugaron Shōmonji*, 1998; 2007; Deleanu, 2006), belongs to the same "ascetic current" (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 158; see also Yamabe, 2013) as the one underlying Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi*. This massive work – 100 *juan* (fascicles) in its Chinese translation – has been ascribed to either Maitreya (East Asian traditions) or Asaṅga (late Indic and Tibetan traditions), but its compilatory character has been demonstrated by L. Schmithausen (1969a).

The *Yogācārabhūmi* has come down to us in two complete translations – one in Tibetan (D 4035–4042/P 5536–5543) and one in Chinese (T. 1579; partial translation of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* [T. 1584]; on Dharmakṣema's 418 CE translation, see below). Important parts of the so-called *Maulī Bhūmi* (Basic Section; see below), including the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (T. 1579; D 4037/P 5538; see Wogihara, 1930–1936; Dutt, 1978; Takahashi, 2005), have been preserved in Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments (see Delhey, 2009, 15n45; 2013, 507–540).

The *Yogācārabhūmi* consists of five parts (six in Tibetan; Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 43–50):

1. the *Maulī Bhūmi* (Basic Section; or *maulyo bhūmayaḥ*; maybe originally referred to collectively as *Yogācārabhūmi*) consisting of 14 chapters expounding 17 levels/stages and representing about one half of the whole work;
2. the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (Collection of Clarifications; see Schmithausen, 1969b; Kramer, 2005);
3. the **Vyākhyā[na]saṃgrahaṇī* or **Vivaraṇasaṃgrahaṇī* (Collection of Exegeses; see Nance, 2012, 167–212);
4. the *Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī* (Collection of Synonym Terms); and
5. the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (Collection of [Scriptural] Bases[?]).

According to F. Deleanu,

> the basic part . . . deals with the three paths towards Liberation . . . as well as with various psychological and doctrinal aspects related directly or indirectly to spiritual cultivation, [whereas] the rest of the text represents collections of various doctrinal definitions, lists, exegetical materials dedicated to canonical scriptures, and so on. (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 43–44)

Except for the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the whole basic part is of Śrāvakayānist orientation. As for the four *Saṃgrahaṇīs*, they are essentially Śrāvakayānist as well, except for the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, quoted extensively in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (see Delhey, 2013, 535–538), and for the rest of the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*. As F. Deleanu puts it,

> the *Yogācārabhūmi* became a fundamental treatise of one of India's major Mahāyāna traditions in spite of the fact that a large part of it contains or presupposes no teachings peculiar to the Great Vehicle. (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 182)

Even in its Mahāyānist parts, the *Yogācārabhūmi* recurrently targets misconceptions of emptiness that reflect ideas close to the Prajñāpāramitā if not to early Madhyamaka (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1969, 322–323; Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 162–163; 170–171; Buescher, 2008, 173–176).

This fivefold macrostructure is reflected in the emic classifications of the *Yogācārabhūmi* as an Abhidharma work. Thus according to the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (T. 1579, 654b3–6; D *Zhi* 188b2–3/P *Zi* 195b6), the Abhidharma *piṭaka* (basket; called *mātṛkā* [matrix] in a Mūlasarvāstivāda environment) consists of 17 levels and four collections. In other words, the *Yogācārabhūmi* is an Abhidharma matrix. The *Yogācārabhūmi* has also been described as an Abhidharma *piṭaka* revealed by Maitreya (Delhey, vol. I, 2009, 3n3; Delhey, 2013, 502nn9–10).

From a doctrinal and literary point of view, L. Schmithausen distinguishes three main layers in the *Yogācārabhūmi*:

> 1) portions – probably the oldest layer(s) – not containing any reference to *ālayavijñāna*: parts of the *Basic Section*, esp. the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī*; 2) the rest of the *Basic Section*, with sporadic occurrences of *ālayavijñāna* but no reference to the *Sandhinirmocana sūtra*; 3) the *Viniścayasaṅgrahaṇī* containing a detailed treatment of *ālayavijñāna* and at the same time quoting and making use of the *Sandhinirmocana sūtra*. (Schmithausen, vol. I, 1987, 14)

The gradual elaboration of the *ālayavijñāna* in the *Yogācārabhūmi* is to be seen as genetically and doctrinally independent of Mahāyāna and *vijñaptimātratā* (mind-only; Schmithausen, vol. I, 1987, 33), a notion that only occurs in the quotation of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (8.7–9; see Lamotte,

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1935) in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*,
expression of the *vijñaptimātratā*
1984, 455; vol. I, 1987, 88–89). As
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(character[istic]s) or *svabhāvas*
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the notion of false imagination (*a*
they are nowhere to be found in the
(see Schmithausen, 1969a, 820–82
2006, 175). As F. Deleanu (vol.
also Buescher, 2008, 202) puts it, "p
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vol. I, 2006, 175).

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century CE works such as those o
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translation of the *Bodhisattvabh*
Delhey, 2013, 524n130), whose
references suggest that several ad
the *Yogācārabhūmi* were already ex
F. Deleanu (vol. I, 2006, 155, 195)
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2. the formation of the *Bodhis*
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3. the formation of the rest of
   of the *Vyākhyāsaṃgraha*
   Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī (270–34
4. the formation of the *Sand*
   (300–350?);
5. the formation of the ear
   Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī (320–
6. the citation of the *Sandhin*
   the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, th
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   195).

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1935) in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, the first literary expression of the *vijñaptimātratā* (Schmithausen, 1984, 455; vol. I, 1987, 88–89). As for well-known Yogācāra doctrines, such as the three *lakṣaṇas* (character[istic]s) or *svabhāvas* (natures) of all phenomena, the Buddha's not permanently fixed nirvāṇa and his three bodies (body of the law, body of magic transformation, and enjoyment body), and the notion of false imagination (*abhūtaparikalpa*), they are nowhere to be found in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Schmithausen, 1969a, 820–821; Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 175). As F. Deleanu (vol. I, 2006, 172; see also Buescher, 2008, 202) puts it, "philosophically, it is the formation of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* that marks the actual birth of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda as a distinct Mahāyāna school." In a vehemently anti-Prajñāpāramitā stance, the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (7.30) presents itself as a third turning of the *dharmacakra* surpassing the dispensation of the four nobles' truths and the revelation of emptiness (see Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 175).

The chronology of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is a difficult point (see Delhey, vol. I, 2009, 10–13). Whereas its *terminus post quem* corresponds to 1st- to 2nd-century CE works such as those of Aśvaghoṣa and Saṅgharakṣa, the *terminus ante quem* for most of its parts would be Dharmakṣema's 418 CE Chinese translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (T. 1581; see Delhey, 2013, 524n130), whose numerous cross-references suggest that several additional parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* were already extant by that time. F. Deleanu (vol. I, 2006, 155, 195) distinguishes six phases in the compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*:

> 1. the formation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (200–270?);
> 2. the formation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (230–300?);
> 3. the formation of the rest of the *Maulī Bhūmi*, of the *Vyākhyāsaṃgrahaṇī*, and of the *Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī* (270–340?);
> 4. the formation of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (300–350?);
> 5. the formation of the early parts of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (320–350?);
> 6. the citation of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, the compilation of the late parts of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, and the final redaction of the entire *Yogācārabhūmi* (350–380?), a process in which Asaṅga could have taken part. (Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 155, 195).

The *Yogācārabhūmi* has been made the object of numerous Indic commentaries (see Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 248–251). Some have been preserved in Tibetan translation:

- the incomplete and anonymous (or Jinaputra's?) **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (D 4043/P 5544);
- Guṇaprabha's **Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* (D 4044/P 5545; 5th cent. CE?) on parts of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and his **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartabhāṣya* (D 4045/P 5546) on the *Śīlapaṭala*;
- Jinaputra's **Bodhisattvaśīlaparivartaṭīkā* (D 4046/P 5547), a subcommentary on the *Śīlapaṭala*; and
- *Sāgaramegha's **Yogācārabhūmau Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (D 4047/P 5548; c. 750–800?).

Other exegetical works are alluded to or partly preserved in Chinese materials:

- Nanda's **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (c. 500?) and
- the commentaries by alleged disciples of Dharmapāla (530–561?), namely Viśeṣamitra, Jñānacandra, and Jinaputra (e.g. **Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*, of which Xuanzang translated the introductory part [T. 1580; 瑜伽師地論釋]).

As pointed out by L. Schmithausen (1969a, 821–822, 822n48), all the works belonging to the "Maitreya-Asaṅga complex" – the next layer of Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda literature – depend on the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but no influence of either of these works on the *Yogācārabhūmi* can be convincingly argued for. The authorship of five of these works is one of the most vexed problems of modern Buddhist scholarship (see Ui, 1929; Frauwallner, 1952; Demiéville, 1954, 380n4; Frauwallner, 1956, 255–258, 296–309; Seyfort Ruegg, 1969, 39–55; May, 1971, 281–293). In a nutshell, ubiquitous Indian and Tibetan traditions ascribe a group of five works to Maitreya:

1. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (T. 1604; D 4020/P 5521; see Lévi, 1907; 1911; Jamspal *et al.*, 2004);
2. *Madhyāntavibhāga* (T. 1601; D 4021/P 5522; see Nagao, 1964; Frauwallner, 1956, 320–326; D'Amato 2012);
3. *Dharmadharmatā(pra)vibhāga* (D 4022, 4023/P 5523, 5524; see Mathes, 1996, 61–67, 99–103, 104–114; Nozawa, 1955);
4. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*; and
5. *Uttaratantra* (= *Ratnagotravibhāga*; T. 1611; D 4024/P 5525; see Johnston, 1991; Obermiller, 1991, 96–111; Frauwallner, 1956, 255–264; Takasaki, 1966; Seyfort Ruegg, 1969).

According to these traditions, Asaṅga redacted these five works under the direct inspiration of the bodhisattva Maitreya residing in the Tuṣita heaven. Following H. Ui, E. Frauwallner regards Maitreya(nātha) as the name of Asaṅga's historical rather than celestial teacher. He also ascribes, in accordance with East Asian traditions, the *Ratnagotravibhāga* not to Maitreya but to *Sāramati (c. 250?; see Lamotte, 1987, 92, 93n2; Silk, forthcoming), the alleged author of the **Dharmadhātvaviśeṣatāśāstra* (T. 1626, 1627; 大乘法界無差別論) and the **Mahāyānāvatāraśāstra* (T. 1634; 入大乘論).

The *Ratnagotravibhāga*, one of the most authoritative sources of *tathāgatagarbha* ideas, likely had a strong impact on Maitreya's three genuinely Yogācāra works. In the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, *Sāramati/Maitreya "professes a monistically coloured form of Buddhism in which the immaculate and radiant thought becomes a supreme entity" (Lamotte, 1987, 92n2). This doctrine foreshadows the pseudo-Aśvaghoṣa's (**Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*; T. 1666, 1667; 大乘起信論; see Hakeda, 1967), "a Chinese apocryphon composed perhaps around the mid-6th century CE and presenting an ingenious … synthesis of the main Mahāyānistic theses that had reached China by that time" (May, 1971, 284–285).

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* comprises 21 chapters, of which the doctrinally most attractive are chapter 1 (apology of the Mahāyāna; see Nōnin *et al.*, 2009), chapter 9 (buddha nature), and chapter 18 (systematic demonstrations of momentariness and selflessness; see Eltschinger, 2010b). As a whole, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* is "an exposition of Yogācāra theories in connection with the religious practice and conduct of the Bodhisattva" (Obermiller, 1931, 86). Maitreya equates his positive, all-pervading absolute with the naturally immaculate and radiant mind whose impurities are strictly adventitious. Inasmuch as it consists in mind, this supreme entity resides in all beings as a seed or element out of which appears false imagination (viewed as the dependent nature). False imagination is the origin of the phenomenal world characterized by subject-object duality – here identified with the imagined nature. In Maitreya's system, the perfect nature refers to the purified mind. In a Vedānta-like manner, this purified absolute is equated with the supreme self (*paramātman*). The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* has been commented on in the following:

- Vasubandhu's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (T. 1604; D 4026/P 5527; see Lévi, 1907; see Nōnin *et al.*, 2009; 2013); Sthiramati (510–570?) wrote a massive subcommentary, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāravṛttibhāṣya* (D 4034/P 5531; see Hayashima, 1977–1983), and Vairocanarakṣita (11th–12th cent.?) wrote a cursory gloss, the **Sūtrālaṃkāravivṛti* (see Kano, 2008, 343);
- *Asvabhāva's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā* (D 4029/P 5530; early 6th cent. CE?);
- Parahitabhadra's *Sūtrālaṃkārādiślokadvayavyākhyāna* (D 4030/P 5532; 11th cent. CE?); and
- Jñānaśrīmitra's *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* (D 4031/P 5533; early 11th cent. CE?).

The *Madhyāntavibhāga* "contains an idealistic interpretation of the doctrine of the middle way … and of the doctrine of emptiness" (May, 1971, 289; see Frauwallner, 1956, 320–326). This interpretation likely derives from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and appears to be intended as a critique of Mādhyamika views on the subject. The treatise has been commented on by Vasubandhu in his *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* (T. 1599, 1600; D 4027/P 5528; see Nagao, 1964), and Vasubandhu's explanations have been in turn expanded on by Sthiramati in his *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* (D 4032/P 5534; see Yamaguchi, 1934). Both commentaries have been glossed by Vairocanarakṣita in his *Madhyāntavibhāgakatipayapadavivṛti* (see Kano, 2008, 343).

The *Dharmadharmatā(pra)vibhāga* consists of two parts. The treatise first demonstrates the nonexistence of external phenomena by reducing them to false imagination, inasmuch as they entail a subject-object duality and are nothing but appearances that conform to language. Its second part teaches that the path of nonconceptual insight results in one's identification with the nondual and inexpressible true nature (*dharmatā*) of phenomena, namely the immaculate thusness (*tathatā*). It has been commented on by Vasubandhu in his *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavṛtti* (D 4028/P 5529; see Mathes, 1996) and, together with Vasubandhu's gloss, by Vairocanarakṣita in his *Dharmadharmatāvibhāgavivṛti* (see Kano, 2008, 358–373).

Asaṅga (315–390 CE in Frauwallner, 1956, 326 but 330–405 CE in Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 196; 244n266) contributed decisively to the dogmatic systematization of Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda (see Frauwallner, 1956, 326–350; May, 1971, 289–293). He achieved this by accommodating "idealistic" doctrines to traditional Śrāvakayāna dogmatics and by integrating the "old scholastics of liberation" (Frauwallner, 1956, 327) into this new doctrinal framework. If this tendency toward the "appropriation of the conceptual world of Hīnayāna dogmatics" (Frauwallner, 1956, 328) can be said to permeate most of Asaṅga's literary output, his works nevertheless betray significant

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differences in terms of confessional o
authored the following:

1. the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (T.
P 5550; see Gokhale, 1947; Pradhan, 19

2. the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (T. 1592
P 5549; see Lamotte, 1973); and

3. the **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśās*
揚聖教論; see Schmithausen, vol. II,
von Rospatt, 1995, 219–251; Potter, 199
The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is a work
the standpoint of traditional reali
ontology" (Schmithausen, 1972, 15
typically idealist notions such as
or *vijñaptimātra*(*tā*) do not occur. T
the three natures is interpreted agai
Śrāvakayānist background of the self
person. Whereas the dependent nat
the constituents (*skandha*), sensory b
and elements (*dhātu*), the imagine
sists in the superimposition of a sel
the perfect nature in their very se
Abhidharmasamuccaya has been con
*Jinaputra(?) in his *Abhidharmasam*
(D 4053/P 5554; see Tatia, 1976;
1969b, 101ny; de Jong, 1973, 340–341
be the same as the *Abhidharmasam*
ascribed to Sthiramati (T. 1606; D 40

The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (T. 1592
P 5549; see Lamotte, 1973) is fairly dif
Abhidharmasamuccaya. It presents i
ogy for the Mahāyāna, whose ten su
regard to the Śrāvakayāna coincide w
logical, ontological, and soteriologi
Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda:

1. store consciousness (*ālayavijñ*
2. three natures (*svabhāvatraya*
3. mind-only (*vijñaptimātratā*);
4. the perfections (*pāramitā*);
5. the stages (*bhūmi*);
6. the discipline (*saṃvara*) of th
7. the specific concentrations (
   bodhisattva;
8. nonconceptual (*nirvikalpaka*
9. unfixed (*apratiṣṭhita*) nirvāṇa
10. the three Buddha-bodies (*kāy*

According to J.W. de Jong,

> whereas the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha* is a
> of the specifically Mahāyānistic d
> Yogācāra school, the *Abhidharmas*
> systematic guide of the Abhidhar
> said school's doctrinal system (de J

ss, the **Sūtrālaṃkāravivṛti* (see
ahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā (D 4029/
nt. CE?);
a's *Sūtrālaṃkārādiślokadvaya-*
/P 5532; 11th cent. CE?); and
s *Sūtrālaṃkārapiṇḍārtha* (D 4031/
nt. CE?).
vibhāga "contains an idealis-
of the doctrine of the middle
octrine of emptiness" (May, 1971,
er, 1956, 320–326). This interpre-
s from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and
ded as a critique of Mādhyamika
ect. The treatise has been com-
subandhu in his *Madhyānta-*
1599, 1600; D 4027/P 5528; see
asubandhu's explanations have
nded on by Sthiramati in his
ṭīkā (D 4032/P 5534; see Yama-
ommentaries have been glossed
ta in his *Madhyāntavibhāga-*
(see Kano, 2008, 343).
harmatā(pra)vibhāga consists
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imagination, inasmuch as they
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onform to language. Its second
e path of nonconceptual insight
ntification with the nondual and
nature (*dharmatā*) of phenom-
immaculate thusness (*tathatā*).
ented on by Vasubandhu in his
ibhāgavṛtti (D 4028/P 5529; see
l, together with Vasubandhu's
rakṣita in his *Dharmadharmatā-*
ano, 2008, 358–373).
CE in Frauwallner, 1956, 326 but
eanu, vol. I, 2006, 196; 244n266)
vely to the dogmatic systemati-
/Vijñānavāda (see Frauwallner,
, 1971, 289–293). He achieved this
g "idealistic" doctrines to tradi-
dogmatics and by integrating
of liberation" (Frauwallner, 1956,
doctrinal framework. If this ten-
appropriation of the conceptual
dogmatics" (Frauwallner, 1956,
permeate most of Asaṅga's liter-
s nevertheless betray significant

differences in terms of confessional orientation. He authored the following:

1. the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (T. 1605; D 4049/P 5550; see Gokhale, 1947; Pradhan, 1950);
2. the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (T. 1592–1594; D 4048/P 5549; see Lamotte, 1973); and
3. the **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* (T. 1602; 顯揚聖教論; see Schmithausen, vol. II, 1987, 261n99; von Rospatt, 1995, 219–251; Potter, 1999, 433).

The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is a work "written from the standpoint of traditional realistic Hīnayāna ontology" (Schmithausen, 1972, 158), in which typically idealist notions such as *cittamātra(tā)* or *vijñaptimātra(tā)* do not occur. The doctrine of the three natures is interpreted against the purely Śrāvakayānist background of the selflessness of the person. Whereas the dependent nature consists of the constituents (*skandha*), sensory bases (*āyatana*), and elements (*dhātu*), the imagined nature consists in the superimposition of a self on them and the perfect nature in their very selflessness. The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* has been commented on by *Jinaputra(?) in his *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (D 4053/P 5554; see Tatia, 1976; Schmithausen, 1969b, 101ny; de Jong, 1973, 340–341), which might be the same as the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā* ascribed to Sthiramati (T. 1606; D 4054/P 5555).

The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (T. 1592–1594; D 4048/P 5549; see Lamotte, 1973) is fairly different from the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. It presents itself as an apology for the Mahāyāna, whose ten superiorities with regard to the Śrāvakayāna coincide with the gnoseological, ontological, and soteriological program of Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda:

1. store consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*);
2. three natures (*svabhāvatraya*);
3. mind-only (*vijñaptimātratā*);
4. the perfections (*pāramitā*);
5. the stages (*bhūmi*);
6. the discipline (*saṃvara*) of the bodhisattva;
7. the specific concentrations (*samādhi*) of the bodhisattva;
8. nonconceptual (*nirvikalpaka*) knowledge;
9. unfixed (*apratiṣṭhita*) nirvāṇa; and
10. the three Buddha-bodies (*kāya*).

According to J.W. de Jong,

> whereas the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha* is a compendium of the specifically Mahāyānistic doctrines of the Yogācāra school, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is a systematic guide of the Abhidharma part of the said school's doctrinal system (de Jong, 1973, 339)

The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* has been commented on by Vasubandhu in his *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya* (T. 1595–1597; D 4050/P 5551) and by *Asvabhāva in his *Mahāyānasaṃgrahopanibandhana* (T. 1598; D 4051/P 5552).

E. Frauwallner characterizes the **Āryadeśanāvikhyāpanaśāstra* (T. 1602; 顯揚聖教論; see Schmithausen, vol. II, 1987, 261n99; von Rospatt, 1995, 219–251; Potter, 1999, 433) as "a systematic summary of the doctrines of the bulky Yogācārabhūmiśāstram" (1956, 327–328).

The next decisive figure for Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda is Vasubandhu, whose name is associated with innumerable works on topics ranging from *tathāgatagarbha* to Vaibhāṣika and from Sukhāvatī to Yogācāra (see Nakamura, 1980, 268–273; Mejor, 1991, 7–13). E. Frauwallner (1951) notoriously distinguishes two Vasubandhus:

1. Vasubandhu the Elder (320–380 CE), a Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika (referred to as Sthaviravasubandhu or Vṛddhācāryavasubandhu; see Mejor, 1989–1990, 277–281), who, on the inspiration of his (half-)brother Asaṅga, turned to Mahāyāna and composed Yogācāra and Mahāyāna commentaries;
2. Vasubandhu the Younger (400–480 CE), who authored the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (as a heterodox, Sautrāntika-oriented Vaibhāṣika), the *Paramārthasaptatikā*, and, later in his life, the *Viṃśikā* and *Triṃśikā*.

Many objections have been raised against E. Frauwallner's hypothesis (see Griffiths, 1986, 164–165n9; Skilling, 2000, 29n2; Kritzer, 2005, xxv; Deleanu, vol. I, 2006, 234n205). The chronological gap between the two alleged Vasubandhus has narrowed since L. Schmithausen (1992) demonstrated that the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra as early as 443 CE presupposes *Triṃśikā* 20 and 28. Moreover, R. Kritzer (2005) has convincingly shown how deep the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s indebtedness to the *Yogācārabhūmi* is, thus suggesting a strong Yogācāra impact already on the young Vasubandhu. The prevailing scholarly consensus concerning the works that can be regarded, mainly because of their "Sautrāntika presuppositions" (Schmithausen, 1967), as authored by Vasubandhu is as follows:

1. the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*;
2. the *Vyākhyāyukti* (D 4061/P 5562; see Lee, 2001; Cabezon, 1992; Skilling, 2000; Verhagen, 2005; 2008; Horiuchi, 2009; Nance, 2012; commented on in Guṇamati's *Vyākhyāyuktiṭīkā*; D 4069/P 5570);

3. the *Karmasiddhi(prakaraṇa)* (T. 1608, 1609; D 4062/P 5563; see Lamotte, 1936; Muroji, 1985);
4. the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā*;
5. the *Pañcaskandhaka* (T. 1612; D 4059/P 5560; see Li & Steinkellner 2008; Buescher, 2010);
6. the *Viṃśikā* (T. 1588–1590; D 4056, 4057/ P 5557, 5558; see Lévi, 1925; Kellner & Taber, forthcoming); and
7. the *Triṃśikā* (T. 1586; D 4055/P 5556; see Lévi, 1925; Schmithausen, vol. II, 1987, 262, 263n101).

To the above, the lost *Paramārthasaptatikā* is certainly to be added as well as the *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa* (D 3995/P 5496; commented on in Guṇamati's *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśaṭīkā*; D 3996/P 5497).

However, Vasubandhu's authorship of the commentaries on the aforementioned *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, and *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* as well as of the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* (see below) and the *Gāthā(rtha)saṃgraha* (D 4102, 4103/P 5603, 5604; see Skilling, 2000, 305–307) cannot be categorically dismissed. The issue simply awaits further research. According to F. Deleanu (vol. I, 2006, 187; see also Franco & Preisendanz, 2010, xv–xvii), Vasubandhu's dates are 350–430 CE. The issue of the number of Vasubandhu(s) remains open (see Mejor, 1989–1990; Buescher, 2013).

In his *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, Vasubandhu explains, against the Vaibhāṣikas and the Āryasāṃmitīyas, psychophysical continuity (memory, karmic retribution, etc.) by resorting to a Sautrāntika version of the *ālayavijñāna*, its seeds, and the subtle transformation of the series. The work has been commented on by Sumatiśīla (*Karmasiddhiṭīkā*, D 4071/P 5572; late 8th cent.?).

The *Pañcaskandhaka* consists of an enumeration of dharmas accompanied by short definitions and "can be roughly characterised as a summary of Abhidharma in accordance with the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda tradition as was presented by Asaṅga in chapter 1 of his *Abhidharmasamuccaya*" (Li & Steinkellner, 2008, vii–viii). It has been glossed by Sthiramati (T. 1613; D 4066/P 5567; see Kramer, forthcoming), by Guṇaprabha in his *Pañcaskandhavivaraṇa* (D 4067/P 5568), and by *Pṛthivībandhu in his *Pañcaskandhakabhāṣya* (D 4068/P 5569).

The *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* (D 4058/P 5559; see La Vallée Poussin, 1932–1933a; Tola & Dragonetti, 1983) explores in 38 verses the respective characteristics, the mutual relationships, and the soteriological (ir)relevance of the three natures, which it compares with a magical elephant (imagined nature, subject-object duality) whose form or appearance (dependent nature, false conception) is created from a piece of wood (perfect nature, thusness) by the force of magic formulas (the root consciousness).

Vasubandhu's most important works are without doubt *Viṃśikā* (or *Viṃśikāvṛtti*; on the title, see Kano, 2008, 345, 350) and *Triṃśikā* (see Frauwallner, 1956, 350–390; May, 1971, 301–318). Rather than positively and systematically expounding Vasubandhu's idealism, the *Viṃśikā* constitutes a sort of defensive propaedeutic in which Vasubandhu answers Buddhist objections pertaining to the place of the object in cognition and dismisses the Vaiśeṣikas' and the Vaibhāṣikas' atomistic accounts of the external objects. It has been commented on by Dharmapāla (T. 1591; 成唯識寶生論), by Vinītadeva in his *Viṃśikāṭīkā* (D 4065/P 5566); the root-text together with Vinītadeva's commentary have been commented upon by Vairocanarakṣita in his *Viṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti* (see Kano, 2008, 348–358).

Unlike the *Viṃśikā*, the *Triṃśikā* provides a systematic account of mature Buddhist idealism. In an Abhidharma-like manner, Vasubandhu describes the store consciousness, the defiled mind, and all the concomitant factors including defilements; he further discusses the three natures before concluding with soteriology. Only two Indic commentaries of the *Triṃśikā* have been preserved: Sthiramati's *Triṃśikābhāṣya* (D 4064/P 5565; see Buescher, 2007) and Vinītadeva's *Triṃśikāṭīkā* (D 4070/P 5571; see Jaini, 1985). Both commentaries have received cursory explanations by Vairocanarakṣita in his *Triṃśikāṭīkāvivṛti* (see Kano, 2008, 343). But as Xuanzang's famous, and in China hugely influential, commentary on the *Triṃśikā* (T. 1585; 成唯識論; see La Vallée Poussin, 1928–1929; Wei, 1973) makes clear by quoting and discussing the views of the ten scholars Bandhuśrī, Citrabhānu, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Nanda, Śuddhacandra, Dharmapāla, Viśeṣamitra, Jinaputra, and Jñānacandra (see Lévi, 1932, 18–22; Dignāga should be added), Vasubandhu's treatise had been the focus of intensive exegetical activity by mid-7th century CE. Its proper interpretation was at stake during the 6th-century debate between the Nālandā-based Dharmapāla and the Valabhi scholar Sthiramati (see Frauwallner, 1956, 394–407; May, 1971, 298–299).

Epistemological Literature

The philosophical tradition known as "Buddhist (logic and) epistemology" has close connections with

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Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda. Dignāga's *Has*
and *Ālambanaparīkṣā* demonstra
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had a strong impact on Yogāc
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Tattvasaṃgraha(pañjikā) neutrali
demonstration of the existence of
Śaṅkaranandana's *Prajñālaṃkāra*
at demonstrating mind only (see
391; Eltschinger, forthcoming a),
Advaitabinduprakaraṇa (Thakur, 1
on the identity between cognition
same author's *Bhedābhedaparīkṣ*
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gical Literature

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Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda. Dignāga's *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* and *Ālambanaparīkṣā* demonstrate the unreality of the phenomenal world. His *Pramāṇasamuccaya* had a strong impact on Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda thinkers such as Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, and Xuanzang. The "perception" sections of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya* draw idealistic conclusions from the apories of external realism. Chapter 23 of Śāntarakṣita's and Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgraha(pañjikā)* neutralizes Śubhagupta's demonstration of the existence of external objects. Śaṅkaranandana's *Prajñālaṃkāra*, a work aimed at demonstrating mind only (see Ratié, 2011, 390–391; Eltschinger, forthcoming a), Jñānaśrīmitra's *Advaitabinduprakaraṇa* (Thakur, 1959), which bears on the identity between cognition and its object, the same author's *Bhedābhedaparīkṣā* (Thakur, 1959), and finally Ratnākaraśānti's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (D 4259/P 5756; see Umino & Kelsang, 1982) are little known but likely belong to the same broad category.

This inclination is also evidenced by the fact that these authors developed new arguments in favor of mind only, among which the so-called *sahopalambhaniyama* (the necessary coperception [of the object and the cognition]), shaped first by Dharmakīrti and later defended in Prajñākaragupta's *Sahopalambhaniyamasiddhi* (D 4255/P 5753; see Iwata, 1991) and Jitāri's *Sahopalambhaprakaraṇa* (see Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 89), among others. Moreover, Dignāga's earliest works exhibit doctrinal affinities with Maitreyan idealism (see below).

However, the epistemologists' accounts of idealism are far from homogeneous. Apart from putting forward different types of philosophical arguments (see Arnold, 2008; Ratié, forthcoming a), these philosophers disagree on the issue of solipsism, some accepting the existence of other minds (e.g. Dharmakīrti in his *Santānāntarasiddhi*, at least on the level of ordinary existence) and others rejecting it (e.g. Ratnakīrti in his *Santānāntaradūṣaṇa*; see Thakur, 1975; Kajiyama, 1965b; Wood, 1991, 149–159, 223–230). Furthermore, noted epistemologists defend the existence of the external world. Finally, several authors acknowledge idealism as a provisionally true account of conventional reality but adopt the Madhyamaka as their ultimate standpoint (see below). In his *Sugatamatavibhaṅgabhāṣya* (D 3900/P 5868; see Shirasaki, 1984–1987), Jitāri even attempted to interpret Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 100; Steinkellner, 1990). This should dissuade us from understanding Buddhist epistemology as a "school" without further qualification.

This tradition is a school neither in the sense that its representatives would share definite metaphysical and/or practical commitments nor in the sense that they would exhibit institutional and/or sectarian unity. Buddhist logic is a school in the looser sense of an intellectual tradition applying a(n apparently) consensual methodology to a set of problems that it partly shares with its opponents (not only the orthodox Brahmanical systems of Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, and Vyākaraṇa but also Sāṃkhya, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, materialism, and Jainism), and this with a view to defend the rationality of Buddhism as a salvational system.

Besides a common reliance on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s account of Buddhist dogmatics, epistemologists take the works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti as a canon, the conformity to which is the stake of internal controversies. In its polemical spirit and targets, Buddhist epistemological literature is reminiscent of the following:

- Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (against the self [chs. 12, 16; see Eltschinger, 2013] and against god, nature, or time as ultimate principles [ch. 17]);
- Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (see above);
- the *Yogācārabhūmi*'s critique of the allodoxia (*paravāda*; see Eltschinger, forthcoming b);
- Vasubandhu's lost *Paramārthasaptatikā* (against the Sāṃkhya teacher Vindhyavāsin; see Eltschinger & Ratié, 2013, 159); and
- the end of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s chapter 9.

The origin of Buddhist epistemology is to be sought in the so-called Buddhist dialectical tradition (*vāda* and *hetuvidyā*; see Kang, 2003, 10–16). Like its non-Buddhist counterpart (e.g. *Nyāyasūtra*, books 1 and 5, *Carakasaṃhitā Vimānasthāna* 8.15–66; see Frauwallner, 1984; Preisendanz, 2000; Kang, 2003), this tradition concerned itself with enumerating and discussing eristic-dialectical items (e.g. types of logical fallacies, false objections, points of defeat, means of valid cognition [*pramāṇa*]), namely all that a monk or a bodhisattva was to master before engaging in scholarly disputation or catechetic/didactic dialogue. Important remnants of this tradition have come down to us in works such as the following:

- the **Upāyahṛdaya* (also known as **Prayogasāra*; T. 1632; 方便心論; see Tucci, 1929b; Kajiyama, 1991; Gillon & Katsura, forthcoming);
- the so-called Spitzer Manuscript (see Franco, 2004);
- chapter 10 of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* (see Kajiyama, 1984; Yoshimizu, 1996; 2010);

- the *Hetuvidyā* section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (D 4035, *Tshi* 187a7ff./P 5536, *Dzi* 214b6ff.; see Yaita, 2005; Wayman, 1958; Eltschinger, 2012, 456–466);
- the pseudo-Nāgārjuna's *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* (see above);
- parts of Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*Sāṅkathyaviniścaya* section; see Schmithausen, 1972; Todeschini, 2011; Eltschinger, 2012, 456–466);
- the **Tarkaśāstra* (T. 1633; 如實論; see Tucci, 1929b; Frauwallner, 1957) and the dialectical treatises ascribed to Vasubandhu: the *Vādavidhi*, the *Vādavidhāna*, and the **Vādasāra*, all of which are lost (see Frauwallner, 1933; 1957).

Dignāga's *Nyāyamukha*, whose structure is borrowed from the *Vādavidhi*'s, is to be counted as a dialectical rather than an epistemological work.

Dignāga (480–540 CE; or a few decades earlier?) is credited with the dialectical tradition's logico-epistemological turn. The turn toward logic was made possible by Dignāga's "discovery" of the wheel of logical reasons (*hetucakra*), a theoretical device displaying the (types of) acceptability or unacceptability of any given reason. Dignāga's theorem drew on an earlier doctrine, the *trairūpya* (the three properties [of a logical reason]), aimed at defining the necessary requirements of an acceptable reason (see Frauwallner, 1959, 85–91; Hattori, 1968, 4n22). Dignāga's new ideas found expression in a short tract entitled *Hetucakraḍamaru* (D 4209/P 5708; D–/P 5708; see Frauwallner, 1959) and later in the *Nyāyamukha* and the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. This tradition's epistemological turn was due to Dignāga's new focus on the means of valid cognition, likely inspired by recent developments within the Sāṃkhya system (see Frauwallner, 1958; 1959, 96–98). Dignāga's account remained the standard *hetuvidyā* system in Buddhist educational centers such as Nālandā until the 7th century (see Takakusu, 1896, 186–187).

While describing Buddhist learning in Nālandā, Yijing (義淨; 635–713 CE) provides a list of eight works by Dignāga (see Frauwallner, 1959, 139; Hattori, 1968, 10n57; on Dignāga's writings, see Frauwallner, 1959; Hattori, 1968, 1–11; Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 1–15):

1. the *Traikālyaparīkṣā* (D 4207/P 5705; see Frauwallner, 1959);
2. the **Sāmānyalakṣaṇaparīkṣā* (T. 1623; 觀總相論頌);
3. the *Ālambanaparīkṣā(vṛtti)* (T. 1619, 1624; D 4205–4206/P 5703–5704; see Frauwallner, 1930; 1959, 130–132; Yamaguchi, 1929; Tola & Dragonetti, 1982);
4. the *Hetumukha* (nonextant);
5. the **Hetvābhāsamukha* (nonextant);
6. the *Nyāyamukha* (T. 1628, 1629; 因明正理門論; see Tucci, 1930; Frauwallner, 1959, 91–96; Katsura, 1977–1987);
7. the **Upādāyaprajñaptiprakaraṇa* (T. 1622; 取因假設論; see Kitagawa, 1952; Frauwallner, 1959, 121–126; Hattori, 1977); and
8. the *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)* (D 4203/P–; D 4204/P 5701 [i.e. Vasudhararakṣita's translation]; D–/P 5700; D–/P 5702 [i.e. Kanakavarman's translation]; see Steinkellner, 2005; Lasic, forthcoming; Katsura *et al.*, forthcoming; Pind, forthcoming; see Hattori, 1968; Kitagawa, 1973; Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 8–15).

The *Traikālyaparīkṣā*, one of Dignāga's earlier works, is nothing but an excerpt from the *Sambandhasamuddeśa* (vv. 53–85) of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (early 5th cent. CE?) meant to demonstrate, via slight lexical changes (and the lost autocommentary?), the potencies of the Yogācāra mind instead of those of Bhartṛhari's *śabdabrahman* (word absolute).

The **Sāmānyalakṣaṇaparīkṣā* consists of a critical examination of realist accounts of universals.

In the lost *Hetumukha*, Dignāga developed – in order to solve problems pertaining to inference – the theory of language and concepts that would become the subject matter of chapter 5 of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, dedicated to the theory of conceptual exclusion (*apoha*; see Frauwallner, 1959, 98–104; Hattori, 1982; Hayes, 1988; Pind, forthcoming).

The lost **Hetvābhāsamukha* likely consisted of a monograph on fallacious logical reasons.

Dignāga's most influential work is his later *Pramāṇasamuccaya(vṛtti)*. It consists of six chapters dedicated to the following:

1. perception (*pratyakṣa*);
2. private inferential judgement (*svārthānumāna*);
3. proof (*parārthānumāna*);
4. example (*dṛṣṭānta*);
5. conceptual/verbal exclusion (*apoha*); and
6. false objections (*jāti*).

Each chapter is divided into an exposition of Dignāga's own opinion and a critical examination of his opponents' views. Dignāga's adversaries are not only early representatives of the Sāṃkhya,

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Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsā sc
coreligionists such as Vasubandhu
his *Vādavidhi*). According to Dignā
Frauwallner, 1959, 84nn4–7; Hattori,
Pramāṇasamuccaya summarizes
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(**Sāṃkhyaparīkṣā*), Vaiśeṣika (**Va*
and Nyāya (*Nyāyaparīkṣā*; see Much

Prior to his interest in logic an
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monograph on yoga, the *Yogāvatāra*
see Frauwallner, 1959). Later, Dign
Vasubandhu's Sautrāntika ideas, tur
lem of the (non)existence of the ext
the impossibility of extranoetic ob
lowing works:

1. the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* (T. 16
3849/P 5248, 5249; see Frauwallner
he attempted to show, with the *Viṃ*
atomism, that the phenomenal wo
as a designation;

2. the **Upādāyaprajñaptipraka*
Dignāga demonstrated that comp
not exist since they are neither the
ferent from their parts and merely
dent designations (*upādāyaprajña*

3. the *Ālambanaparīkṣā(vṛtti)*, i
critically examined the concept
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tions: (1) to be the cause of th
(2) to be isomorphic with it; atoms
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Dignāga's familiarity with Vasub
he has been traditionally conside
Hattori, 1968, 1–3) is also eviden
mentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhi*
Abhidharmakośamarmapradīpa (
see Frauwallner, 1959, 126–127).

Dignāga also composed a *Vāda*
see Frauwallner, 1959, 84n7; Hat
Dignāga's student Śaṅkarasvāmi
few decades earlier?) composed an
the *Nyāyapraveśaka(śāstra)* (T. 1

naparīkṣā(vṛtti) (T. 1619, 1624;
6/P 5703–5704; see Frauwallner,
30–132; Yamaguchi, 1929; Tola &
1982);
kha (nonextant);
hāsamukha (nonextant);
ukha (T. 1628, 1629; 因明正理門
i, 1930; Frauwallner, 1959, 91–96;
7–1987);
yaprajñaptiprakaraṇa (T. 1622;
; see Kitagawa, 1952; Frauwallner,
; Hattori, 1977); and
asamuccaya(vṛtti) (D 4203/P–;
01 [i.e. Vasudhararakṣita's trans-
P 5700; D–/P 5702 [i.e. Kanaka-
nslation]; see Steinkellner, 2005;
oming; Katsura *et al.*, forthcom-
forthcoming; see Hattori, 1968;
973; Steinkellner & Much, 1995,

ikṣā, one of Dignāga's earlier
but an excerpt from the *Samban-*
(vv. 53–85) of Bhartṛhari's
ly 5th cent. CE?) meant to dem-
t lexical changes (and the lost
), the potencies of the Yogācāra
ose of Bhartṛhari's *śabdabrahman*

lakṣaṇaparīkṣā consists of a criti-
f realist accounts of universals.
umukha, Dignāga developed – in
blems pertaining to inference –
guage and concepts that would
t matter of chapter 5 of *Pramāṇa-*
ated to the theory of conceptual
; see Frauwallner, 1959, 98–104;
es, 1988; Pind, forthcoming).
bhāsamukha likely consisted of a
lacious logical reasons.
t influential work is his late
ya(vṛtti). It consists of six chapters
llowing:
pratyakṣa);
ntial judgement (*svārthānumāna*);
thānumāna);
ṣṭānta);
verbal exclusion (*apoha*); and
ons (*jāti*).
divided into an exposition of
pinion and a critical examina-
nts' views. Dignāga's adversaries
representatives of the Sāṃkhya,

Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsā schools but also coreligionists such as Vasubandhu (esp. against his *Vādavidhi*). According to Dignāga himself (see Frauwallner, 1959, 84nn4–7; Hattori, 1968, 9n51), the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* summarizes earlier polemical tracts that he composed against Sāṃkhya (**Sāṃkhyaparīkṣā*), Vaiśeṣika (**Vaiśeṣikaparīkṣā*), and Nyāya (*Nyāyaparīkṣā*; see Much, 1991b).

Prior to his interest in logic and the theory of knowledge, Dignāga had authored *stotras* and *stotra* commentaries (see Hattori, 1968, 6–7). As a follower of Maitreya(nātha), he dedicated himself to Prajñāpāramitā exegetics in the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthasaṃgraha* (T. 1518; D 3809/P 5207; see Tucci, 1947; Frauwallner, 1959) and to the paths of vision and cultivation of nonduality in a short monograph on yoga, the *Yogāvatāra* (D 4074/P 5575; see Frauwallner, 1959). Later, Dignāga, inspired by Vasubandhu's Sautrāntika ideas, turned to the problem of the (non)existence of the external world and the impossibility of extranoetic objects in the following works:

1. the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* (T. 1620, 1621; D 3848, 3849/P 5248, 5249; see Frauwallner, 1959), in which he attempted to show, with the *Viṃśikā*'s critique of atomism, that the phenomenal world merely exists as a designation;
2. the **Upādāyaprajñaptiprakaraṇa*, in which Dignāga demonstrated that composite wholes do not exist since they are neither the same as nor different from their parts and merely consist in dependent designations (*upādāyaprajñapti*);
3. the *Ālambanaparīkṣā(vṛtti)*, in which Dignāga critically examined the concept of an object of cognition by assigning it two necessary conditions: (1) to be the cause of the cognition and (2) to be isomorphic with it; atoms obviously satisfy the first condition but not the second, while aggregate wholes satisfy the second but not the first; as a consequence, the object is nothing but the appearance of an object in cognition itself.

Dignāga's familiarity with Vasubandhu (of whom he has been traditionally considered a pupil; see Hattori, 1968, 1–3) is also evidenced by his commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhidharmakośamarmapradīpa* (D 4095/P 5596; see Frauwallner, 1959, 126–127).

Dignāga also composed a *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* (lost; see Frauwallner, 1959, 84n7; Hattori, 1968, 9–10). Dignāga's student Śaṅkarasvāmin (500–560; or a few decades earlier?) composed an influential work, the *Nyāyapraveśaka(śāstra)* (T. 1630; D–/P 5706; D 4208/P 5707; see Jambuvijaya, 2009). It has been commented on by the Jain polymath Haribhadra (late 8th cent.?) in the *Nyāyapraveśakaṭīkāśiṣyahitā* (see Jambuvijaya, 2009). This work in 27 *sūtras* seems to have enjoyed enormous popularity as a logic primer.

The works of Dignāga seem to have been infrequently commented on in post-Dharmakīrti times. But as his system permeated the *hetuvidyā* curriculum in Nālandā, these works must have been more frequently glossed. Dharmakīrti's likely teacher, Īśvarasena (early 6th cent. CE?), is reported to have commented on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (see Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 22), and Dharmakīrti himself polemicizes against a *Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra* (see Tillemans, 2000, 177–179). A commentary on the *Nyāyamukha* is ascribed to Dharmapāla by Huili (慧立; 615–? CE), Xuanzang's biographer (see Tillemans, vol. I, 1990, 11). The *Ālambanaparīkṣā* has been commented on by Dharmapāla (T. 1625; 觀所緣論釋) and by Vinītadeva (710–770 CE?) in his *Ālambanaparīkṣāṭīkā* (D 4241/P 5739). The *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthasaṃgraha* has been glossed by Dignāga's friend Triratnadāsa in his *Vivaraṇa* (T. 1517; D 3810/P 5208). The *Yogāvatāra* was commented on by Dharmendra(?) in his *Yogāvatāropadeśa* (D 4075/P 5576). The most important among the extant exegetical works is, however, Jinendrabuddhi's *Viśālāmalavatīpramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (8th–9th cent.?; D 4268/P 5766; see Steinkellner *et al.*, 2005; Lasic *et al.*, 2012; Katsura *et al.*, forthcoming; Krasser & Lasic, forthcoming).

Inasmuch as he created a Buddhist system of the world, language, cognition, and action out of Dignāga's logic and epistemology, Dharmakīrti (c. 550 CE?; see Krasser, 2012) is the instigator of the mature *pramāṇa* school (see Vetter, 1964; Dunne, 2004; Eltschinger, 2010a). In the field of metaphysics, Dharmakīrti improved on Vasubandhu's demonstration of momentariness by devising a new proof strategy, the *sattvānumāna* (inference [of momentariness] from existence). As regards logic, in addition to settling the number of valid logical reasons to three (intrinsic nature, effect, and nonperception), he attempted to give a more rigorously deductive or analytical orientation to Dignāga's system by vindicating a natural connection between the two properties involved in an inference. Dharmakīrti made the *apoha* theory the foundation of his system by showing how reliable conceptual constructs and language ultimately go back to the real things' causal efficiencies and how inference is called for in order to correct the errors for which nescience is responsible. Moreover, Dharmakīrti strongly insisted on scripture's lack of reliability and discarded all attempts at grounding scriptural, especially vedic, authority in naturalistic accounts of language. His system also mirrors strong apologetic concerns in its defense of Buddhism and the possibility of salvation against materialism and Mīmāṃsā.

Dharmakīrti is the author of seven treatises (see Frauwallner, 1954; Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 23–44; comp. Lindtner, 1980; Steinkellner, 1991):

1. the *Pramāṇavārttika* (D 4210/P 5709; see Miyasaka, 1971–1972; see also below);
2. the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (D 4211/P 5710; see also below);
3. the *Nyāyabindu* (D 4212/P 5711; see La Vallée Poussin, 1907; Stcherbatsky, 1918; 1930; Malvania, 1971);
4. the *Hetubindu* (D 4213/P 5712; see Steinkellner, 1967; Krasser, forthcoming);
5. the *Santānāntarasiddhi* (D 4219/P 5716; see Stcherbatsky, 1916; Chu, 2011);
6. the *Sambandhaparīkṣā*(*vṛtti*) (D 4214, 4215/P 5713, 5714; see Frauwallner, 1934); and
7. the *Vādanyāya* (D 4218/P 5715; see Much, 1991a).

The *Pramāṇavārttika*, Dharmakīrti's first and principal work, contains Dharmakīrti's philosophical system in almost its entirety. The treatise's chapter 1 (*Svārthānumānapariccheda*), originally an independent work in mixed prose and verses, the *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* (D 4216/P 5717a; see Gnoli, 1960; Eltschinger, 2007; Eltschinger *et al.*, 2012; Steinkellner, 2013), is dedicated to the three kinds of valid logical reasons (i.e. intrinsic nature, effect, and nonperception), although about 70% of the chapter bears on *apoha* and scriptural authority. Chapters 2 to 4 consist of verses alone and present themselves as a loose and innovative commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*:

1. *Pramāṇavārttika* 2 (or *Pramāṇasiddhi*) comments on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*'s initial stanza (homage to the Buddha) and outlines Dharmakīrti's Buddhology and apologetic line (see Vetter, 1990; Franco, 1997);
2. *Pramāṇavārttika* 3 (or *Pratyakṣapariccheda*) comments on *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 1 and contains Dharmakīrti's doctrine of perception, its types, the apories of external realism, and the turn to idealism (see Tosaki, 1979);
3. *Pramāṇavārttika* 4 (or *Parārthānumāna*) comments on *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 3 and spells out Dharmakīrti's conception of a thesis, of valid and invalid reasons, and of Dignāga's wheel of reasons (see Tillemans, 2000).

The *Pramāṇaviniścaya*'s three chapters are dedicated to the following:

1. perception (see Steinkellner, 2007; Vetter, 1966);
2. private inferential judgement (see Steinkellner, 1973; 1979; 2007); and
3. proof (see Hugon & Tomabechi, 2011).

This work does not add anything really significant except for a gradual turn to the new proof of momentariness and the neglection of *apoha*, scriptural authority, and Buddhology.

The *Nyāyabindu* is a three-chapter summary of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* composed of 209 *sūtras*. As its abundant commentaries and subcommentaries testify, the *Nyāyabindu* enjoyed great popularity as an introduction to Dharmakīrti's logic. The four remaining works are short monographs dealing with various topics:

1. The *Hetubindu* turns back to the three kinds of valid logical reasons.
2. The *Santānāntarasiddhi* presents itself as a polemical dialogue among Sautrāntikas, Vaibhāṣikas, and Yogācāras on the issue of solipsism.
3. The *Sambandhaparīkṣā*(*vṛtti*) refutes the existence of real relations among things and among properties.
4. The *Vādanyāya* presents Dharmakīrti's account of debate and dialectics via a systematic confrontation with Nyāya on the points of defeat.

A significant part of the Buddhist epistemologists' literary output consists of commentaries and (sub)subcommentaries on the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti.

The *Pramāṇavārttika*'s chapter 1, together with the autocommentary, has been glossed by Śākyabuddhi in his *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (660–720 CE?; D 4220/P 5718; see Inami *et al.*, 1992) and by Karṇakagomin in his *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛttiṭīkā* (c. 800?; see Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1943), the latter of which is in many respects an update of Śākyabuddhi's commentary. The verses of chapters 1 to 4 have been commented on by Manorathanandin (12th cent. CE?) in his *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1938–1940; with Vibhūticandra's [c. 1200?] marginal notes). Chapters 2 to 4 have been commented on by Devendrabuddhi (630–690 CE?), perhaps a direct pupil of Dharmakīrti, in his *Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā* (D 4217/P 5717b), and by Prajñākaragupta (c. 800 CE?) in his *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* (D 4221/P 5719; see Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1953; Franco, 1997; Ono, 2000;

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Franco, 1997; Ono, 2000;

Moriyama, forthcoming). Chapters 2 and 3 have been commented on by Ravigupta (early 9th cent.?) in his *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (D 4224, 4225/P 5726, 5722). Śaṅkaranandana's (early 10th cent.?) *Pramāṇavārttikānusāriṇī* (D 4223/P 5721) covers both the stanzas and the prose autocommentary of the first chapter (at least), but its extant Tibetan translation stops with stanza 128.

The *Pramāṇaviniścaya* has been commented on by Dharmottara (740–800 CE?) in his *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (D 4229, 4227/P 5752; see Sakai, 2010; Ishida, 2011; Watanabe, forthcoming), by Śaṅkaranandana in the nonextant *Viniścayānusāriṇī* (see Eltschinger, forthcoming a), and by Jñānaśrībhadra (late 11th cent. CE?) in his *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (D 4228/P 5728).

The *Nyāyabindu* has received detailed explanations by Dharmottara in his *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (D 4231/P 5730; see Stcherbatsky, 1918; 1930; Malvania 1971) and Vinītadeva in his *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (D 4230/P 5729; see La Vallée Poussin, 1913), and cursory ones by Kamalaśīla in his *Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta* (D 4232/P 5731; see Tosaki, 1984) and Jinamitra (c. 800 CE?) in his *Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha* (D 4233/P 5732).

The *Hetubindu* has been commented on by Arcaṭa (also known as Dharmākaradatta; 730–790 CE?) in his *Hetubinduṭīkā* (D 4235/P 5734; see Sanghavi & Jinavijayaji, 1949) and by Vinītadeva in his *Hetubinduṭīkā* (D 4236/P 5735).

The *Santānāntarasiddhi* has been commented on by Vinītadeva in his *Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā* (D 4238/P 5724; see Stcherbatsky, 1916).

The *Sambandhaparīkṣā*(*vṛtti*) has been commented on by Vinītadeva (*Sambandhaparīkṣāṭīkā*; D 4236/P 5735), by Śaṅkaranandana in his *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāriṇī* (D 4237/P 5736), and by the Jain scholar Prabhācandra (9th cent.?; see Shastri, 1972).

The *Vādanyāya* has been commented on by Vinītadeva in his *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* (D 4240/P 5735) and by Śāntarakṣita (725–788 CE?) in his *Vādanyāyaṭīkāvipañcitārthā* (D 4239/P 5725; see Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 1935–1936).

Several among these glosses have in turn been commented on by later scholars such as the Jain Mallavādin (9th–10th cents. CE?), Devabala (10th cent. CE?), Durvekamiśra (970–1030 CE?), Jayanta (mid-11th cent. CE?), and Yamāri (1000–1060 CE?; see Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 91, 97, 102–103, 119).

Dharmakīrti's ideas were soon made the object of digests and manuals. Chronologically first may have been the works of (Bhadanta) Śubhagupta (720–780 CE?), who authored concise treatises (only the stanzas are extant) on nearly all topics of the system:

- omniscience, in his *Sarvajñasiddhi* (D 4243/P 5741; see Watanabe, 1987);
- revealed word, in his *Śrutiparīkṣā* (D 4245/P 5743; see Eltschinger, 1999);
- *apoha*, in his *Anyāpohavicāra* (D 4246/P 5744; see Mikogami, 1993);
- refutation of the existence of god, in his *Īśvarabhaṅga* (D 4247/P 5745; see Watanabe, 1977);
- proof of the possibility of rebirth, in his *Paralokasiddhi* (lost; see Steinkellner, 1985); and
- demonstration of selflessness, in his *Nairātmyasiddhi* (lost).

Śubhagupta is especially well known for his *Bāhyārthaparīkṣā* (D 4244/P 5742; see Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 53–54), whose attempt to refute Dharmakīrti's mind-only was in turn severely criticized by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla in chapter 23 of their *Tattvasaṃgraha*(*pañjikā*).

The most interesting among the extant works dedicated to expounding Dharmakīrti's philosophy is indeed the *Tattvasaṃgraha*(*pañjikā*) (D 4266/P 5764; D 4267/P 5765; see Krishnamacharya, 1926; Shastri, 1968; Funayama, 1992; Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 56–63; McClintock, 2010; Ratié, forthcoming b). The treatise covers the whole of Dharmakīrti's philosophy in 26 chapters (summary in Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 89–90). It is at the same time a brilliant attempt at legitimating Dharmakīrti's program by integrating it into the wider framework of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Far from being a servile introduction, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* elaborates on and updates its model while applying Dharmakīrti's methodology to new ór insufficiently examined problems. Remnants of a commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* have been preserved (see Harimoto & Kano, 2008). Other later digests include Jitāri's *Bālāvatāratarka* (940–1000 CE?; D 4263/P 5760; see Shirasaki, 1983), Mokṣākaragupta's *Tarkabhāṣā* (11th–13th cents.?; D 4264/P 5762; see Krishnamacharya, 1942; Kajiyama, 1966), Vidyākaraśānti's *Tarkasopāna* (12th cent. CE?; see Dorjee, 1994), and the anonymous *Tarkarahasya* (see Yaita, 2005).

However, the followers of Dharmakīrti did not limit themselves to commenting, summarizing, and updating his treatises, for they actually never ceased to identify new problems, to refine their methodology, and to adapt to new religio-philosophical environments – especially to Tantrism, of which many of them were noted specialists (Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Jitāri, Ratnākaraśānti, etc.). In the 9th to 10th centuries at the latest, Kashmir became the center of an intense philosophical interaction involving Buddhists, Naiyāyikas, Vaiyākaraṇas (Grammarians), and Śaivas.

Śaṅkaranandana, a Brahman by birth and a Buddhist layman by conviction, likely was Buddhism's main representative (see Krasser, 2001; Eltschinger, forthcoming a). And from the second half of the 10th century, the Magadhan center of Vikramaśīla produced several generations of polyvalent intellectuals: Jitāri, Durvekamiśra, Ratnākaraśānti (970–1030?), Jñānaśrīmitra (980–1040?), and Ratnakīrti (990–1050?).

In the field of the theory of knowledge, research and polemics were carried out regarding the number, the scope, and the validity of the *pramāṇa*s (the means of valid cognition). Arcaṭa had presumably written a *Pramāṇadvitvasiddhi* (lost), a work whose subject matter – the reduction of all *pramāṇa*s to two – possibly coincided with that of Ratnakīrti's *Pramāṇāntarbhāvaprakaraṇa* (see Thakur, 1975) as well as with that of an anonymous treatise bearing the same title (see Nyayacharya, 1969). Candragomin's **Nyāyasiddhyāloka* (mid-8th cent. CE?; D 4242/P 5740) is apparently devoted to the means of valid cognition as well. The validity of the(se) means of cognition is the object of Dharmottara's two *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā*s – a long one (D 4248/P 5746) and a short one (D 4249/P 5747; see Krasser, 1991) – and of three treatises by Śaṅkaranandana, *Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*, *Madhyaprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*, and *Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*.

Post-Dharmakīrti authors also dedicated several treatises to the defense of a nominalist ontology and the concomitant language theory. Monographs on *apoha* were composed by Dharmottara (*Apohaprakaraṇa* [D 4250/P 5748; see Frauwallner, 1937]), Śaṅkaranandana (*Anyāpohasiddhi* [D 4256/P 5754]), Jitāri (*Apohasiddhi* [lost]), Jñānaśrīmitra (*Apohaprakaraṇa* [see Akamatsu, 1983; McCrea & Patil, 2010]), and Ratnakīrti (*Apohasiddhi* [Mc Allister, 2011]).

The refutation of the non-Buddhists' real universals is the subject matter of Jitāri's *Jātinirākṛti* (see Bühnemann, 1982) and Paṇḍita Aśoka's *Avayavinirākaraṇa* and *Sāmānyadūṣaṇa* (early 11th cent. CE?; see Thakur, 1974; Tola & Dragonetti, 1994).

Later philosophers showed great interest in various aspects of the theory of logic and inference. Besides his *Hetutattvopadeśa* (D 4261/P 5758; see Tucci, 1986), a primer of Buddhist logic, Jitāri wrote two treatises on issues related to logical pervasion, a *Dharmadharmiviniścaya* (D 4262/P 5759) and a *Vyāpakānupalambha* (*sic*). Pervasion is also the subject matter of two monographs by Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti – the *Vyāpticarcā* (see Lasic, 2000b) and the *Vyāptinirṇaya* (see Lasic, 2000a). Ratnākaraśānti's *Antarvyāptisamarthana* (D 4260/P 5757; see Kajiyama, 1999) belongs to the same category.

In addition to pervasion per se, much attention was paid to logical reasons. Śaṅkaranandana composed two treatises on the identity relation – the *Pratibandhasiddhi* (D 4257/P 5755, stanzas only) and the *Laghupratibandhasiddhi*. Jñānaśrīmitra devoted a treatise to the issue of the establishment of the causality relation (*Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi* [D 4258/P 5763; see Thakur, 1959]) and wrote two monographs on nonperception (*Anupalabdhirahasya* and *Sarvaśabdābhāvacarcā* [see Kellner, 2007]).

One of the topics often encountered in later epistemological literature is the proof of momentariness (*kṣaṇabhaṅga*), which is hardly surprising granting that momentariness is the cornerstone of Buddhist ontology and soteriology. Treatises entitled *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* were flourishing. Works on this topic have been composed by Arcaṭa (lost; see Steinkellner & Much, 1995, 64), Dharmottara (D 4253/P 5751; see Frauwallner, 1935), *Muktākalaśa (D 4254/P 5752), Jitāri, Durvekamiśra (lost), and Ratnakīrti (see Woo, 1999; McDermott, 1969). Jñānaśrīmitra's treatise on the same topic is entitled *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* (see Thakur, 1959; Kyuma, 2005). Ratnakīrti is the author of a *Sthirasiddhidūṣaṇa* (see Mimaki, 1976). Chapters 1 and 3 of Śaṅkaranandana's *Dharmālaṃkāra* deal with momentariness and the rebuttal of objections raised against momentariness.

Thematically connected with the proofs of momentariness are the proofs of selflessness (*nairātmya*) – another soteriologically relevant aspect of Buddhist ontology. Whereas Karṇakagomin's *Nairātmyasiddhi* is lost, Jitāri's short treatise of the same title has survived (see Bühnemann, 1982); the proof of selflessness is the subject matter of chapter 2 of Śaṅkaranandana's *Dharmālaṃkāra*.

More Buddhologically connoted aspects of epistemology, such as omniscience and yogic perception, are comparatively little represented. We owe *Sarvajñasiddhi*s to Śaṅkaranandana (*Sarvajñasiddhi* [see Eltschinger, 2008] and *Sarvajñasiddhisaṃkṣepa*), Jitāri (see Bühnemann, 1982), Jñānaśrīmitra (lost; see Steinkellner, 1977), and Ratnakīrti (see Thakur, 1975;

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Late Mādhyamika Literatu

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As Śubhagupta before him, Dharmottara composed a short monograph demonstrating the possibility of rebirth against materialism, the *Paralokasiddhi* (D 4251/P 5749; see Steinkellner, 1986).

Later Kashmirian and Magadhan authors also criticized various non-Buddhist accounts of religious authority. While Śaṅkaranandana's *Āgamasiddhi* and Jitāri's *Śrutikartṛsiddhi* and *Vedaprāmāṇyasiddhi* (see Bühnemann, 1982; Eltschinger, 2003) criticize Mīmāṃsaka doctrines concerning the authorlessness of the Veda and the permanence of the relation between word and meaning, two treatises by Śaṅkaranandana, the *Īśvarāpākaraṇa* and the *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṃkṣepa* (with an anonymous commentary; see Krasser, 2002), Jitāri's *Īśvarādimataparīkṣā* (see Bühnemann, 1982), Jñānaśrīmitra's *Īśvaravāda* (see Thakur, 1959), and Ratnakīrti's *Īśvarasādhanadūṣaṇa* (see Thakur, 1975; Patil, 2009) refute the existence of a creator god revealing the Veda. Jitāri's literary output includes a critique of Digambara Jainism, the *Digambaramataparīkṣā* (or *Anekāntavādanirāsa*?; see Iyengar, 1952).

Late Mādhyamika Literature

From about 500, the Madhyamaka underwent in-depth transformations that eventually led to the rise of two mutually contentious streams. Some, like Buddhapālita (c. 500 CE?), denied any relevance to Dignāga's new methodology while establishing the Mādhyamika position and advocated the *prasaṅga* type of argument. Others, like Bhāviveka (or Bhavya, 500–570 CE?), advocated the use of independent inferences (*svatantrānumāna*) and probative syllogisms, thus allowing reasoning to positively function side by side with scripture as a justification for establishing positions. From at least the early 11th century on, Tibetan doxographers labeled the first *Prāsaṅgika-mādhyamikas and the second *Svātantrika-mādhyamikas. Further refinements in this classification reflected the *Svātantrikas' attitude toward the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda. Those who, like Bhāviveka, strongly rejected idealism and thus accepted external objects on the conventional level, were referred to as *Sautrāntika-svātantrikas, whereas those who, like Śrīgupta (7th cent. CE?), Jñānagarbha (early 8th cent. CE?), and especially Śāntarakṣita, accepted *cittamātra* as a provisionally true and useful device in order to grasp Madhyamaka-like emptiness, were labelled *Yogācāra-svātantrikas (see Dreyfus & McClintock, 2003).

Buddhapālita's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāvṛtti* (D 3842/P 5242; see Saito, 1984; Ye 2011b) has come down to us in a Tibetan translation and an incomplete Sanskrit manuscript. It exhibits close similarities with another old commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the **Akutobhayā* (D 3829/P 5229; see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 47–48; Huntington, 1986) – never alluded to by Buddhapālita, Bhāviveka, and Candrakīrti. Bhāviveka's own commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the *Prajñāpradīpa* (T. 1566; D 3853/P 5253; see Kajiyama, 1963; Eckel, 1980; Ames, 1982; 1986; 1993–2000), which is commented on by Avalokitavrata (7th cent. CE?) in his *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā* (D 3859/P 5259), contains a sharp criticism of Guṇamati's and Buddhapālita's ideas as well as refutations of Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Jaina, and Ābhidharmika conceptions.

Bhāviveka's critique of competing Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist systems is the focus of his most original work, the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (stanzas: D 3855/P 5255; see Lindtner, 2001; prose commentary: D 3856/P 5256; see Heitmann, 2004, 2009; Eckel, 2008; Krasser, 2011). This work, which became an inexhaustible source for Tibetan doxographers, is composed of 11 chapters (the first three possibly formed an originally independent treatise, the *Tattvajñānāmṛtāvatāra*):

1. the thought of awakening (*Bodhicittāparityāga*);
2. Buddha's vow (*Munivratasamāśraya*);
3. reality (*Tattvajñānaiṣaṇā*);
4. critique of the Śrāvaka view of reality;
5. critique of the Yogācāra view of reality;
6. critique of the Sāṃkhya view of reality;
7. critique of the Vaiśeṣika view of reality;
8. critique of the Vedānta view of reality;
9. critique of the Mīmāṃsaka view of reality;
10. omniscience (*Sarvajñasiddhinirdeśa*); and
11. praise (*Stutilakṣaṇanirdeśa*).

Excerpts from chapter 4 became an independent treatise dedicated to the doxography of the Buddhist sects, the *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* (D 4139/P 5640; see Teramoto & Hiramatsu, 1935). The question whether the prose commentary on the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, the *Madhyamakahṛdayavṛttitarkajvālā* (D 3856/P 5256), is also the work of Bhāviveka or the work of a later author (named Bhavya?) remains debated (see Ejima, 1990; Seyfort Ruegg, 1990; Krasser, 2011).

Three other treatises have been ascribed to Bhāviveka.

1. The *Karatalaratna* (T. 1578; 大乘掌珍論; see La Vallée Poussin, 1932–1933b) summarizes the Mādhyamika doctrine while discussing two syllogisms, criticizes non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist views (e.g. Yogācāra's dependent nature), and deals, in its final part, with soteriological topics.

2. The *Madhyamakārthasaṃgraha* (D 3857/P 5258; see Ejima, 1980, 18–34) presents itself as a monograph on the two truths, which it subdivides into a true/untrue conventional level (the criterion being the pseudo-things' possessing causal efficiency or not) and a modal/nonmodal ultimate level. It is most certainly the work of a later Bhāviveka/Bhavya.

3. The *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* (D 3854/P 5254; see Lindtner, 1982b, 172–182; Ejima, 1982; Seyfort Ruegg, 1990, 62–67), which refers to Candrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, and tantric literature (e.g. *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and *Pañcakrama*) is probably also the work of that later Bhāviveka/Bhavya.

No less important for the history of the Indo-Tibetan Madhyamaka is Candrakīrti who, through recurrent critiques of Bhāviveka, Dignāga, and the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda, "sought to establish once for all the *prasaṅga* method of reasoning" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 71), or, to be more precise, took advantage of his defense of Buddhapālita's use of *prasaṅgas* to update to *paraprasiddhānumānas* (inferences that are established for the opponent) on the basis of his conviction that reliance on just *prasaṅgas* was outdated.

Candrakīrti's first major work is the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (D 3861–3863/P 5261–5263; see La Vallée Poussin, 1912; Li *et al.*, forthcoming). The first ten chapters of this introduction to Madhyamaka deal with the ten levels of the resolve to awaken associated with the ten stages and the ten perfections of a bodhisattva. Its chapter 6 (on the Prajñāpāramitā) divides itself into two parts. The first part, the exposition of *dharmanairātmya* (the selflessness/insubstantiality of the factors of existence), provides an opportunity to criticize Bhāviveka and Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda in order to analyze the two truths and to emphasize the provisionality of the *ālayavijñāna* dispensation. The second part, dedicated to *pudgalanairātmya* (the selflessness/insubstantiality of the person), argues against Buddhist and non-Buddhist views on the personalistic belief. Chapters 11, 12, and 13 contain an account of the qualities of a bodhisattva, an account of the buddha stage, and a conclusion. The work has been commented on by Jayānanda (*Ṭīkā*; D 3870/P 5271; see van der Kuijp, 1993).

Candrakīrti is also well known as a commentator of Nāgārjuna's *Śūnyatāsaptati* and *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* and Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (see above). His most famous commentary, however, is his *Prasannapadāmūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (D 3860/P 5260; see de Jong, 1949; 1978; May, 1959; La Vallée Poussin, 1903–1913; MacDonald, 2000; forthcoming; Seyfort Ruegg, 2002), the only commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* that has been preserved in its Sanskrit original. It contains a defense of Buddhapālita's *prasaṅga* method and a detailed critique of both Bhāviveka's independent reasoning and Dignāga's two *pramāṇas* (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 74–81).

Śrīgupta and his likely student Jñānagarbha appear as the forerunners of Śāntarakṣita in the elaboration of the *Yogācāra-mādhyamika synthesis. Śrīgupta is the author of a *Tattvāvatāravṛtti* (D 3892/P 5292), in which he subjected both material/atomic things and cognition to the neither-one/simple-nor-many/multiple (*ekānekaviyogahetu*) argument for emptiness. Idealism is here considered provisionally true as a step toward the elimination of the belief in material entities and the realization of nonsubstantiality. Jñānagarbha, who may have been Śāntarakṣita's teacher, wrote the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga* and its commentary, the *Satyadvayavibhaṅgavṛtti* (D 3881, 3882/P–; see Eckel, 1992), which were in turn commented on by Śāntarakṣita in his *Satyadvayavibhaṅgapañjikā* (D 3883/P 5283; see Eckel, 1992, 105–150). Jñānagarbha shares Śrīgupta's basic views on idealism. In close agreement with the pseudo-Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakārthasaṃgraha* (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1990, 67–68), Jñānagarbha subdivides the two truths according to whether they conform to mere appearances (*saṃvṛti*), which are divided into nondelusive and delusive, or to reasoned argument and syllogisms (*paramārtha*). In both authors' view, that which is tenable if examined by reasoned argument is considered to be *paramārtha*; as for mere appearances in a cognition, they are regarded as a *saṃvṛti*, which is not tenable if examined by reasoned argument.

Another important early 8th-century Mādhyamika master is Śāntideva (also known as Akṣayamati), the author of the celebrated *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* (D 3871/P 5272; see La Vallée Poussin, 1904–1912; Vaidya, 1960) – commented on by Prajñākaramati (c. 950–1000 CE?) in his *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (D 3872/P 5273; note also Vibhūticandra's *Tātparyapañjikā*

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o Vibhūticandra's *Tātparyapañjikā*

[D 3880/P 5282]). The current version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, which is enlarged from an earlier version found in Dunhuang (see Saito, 1996, 258; Harrison, 2007), comprises ten chapters and focuses on the six perfections. Chapters 1 to 5 concentrate on various aspects of the resolve to awaken (*bodhicitta*); chapters 6 to 9 deal with forbearance (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and insight (*prajñā*); and chapter 10 focuses on the dedication of merit (*puṇya*). From a philosophical point of view, chapter 9 (on the Prajñāpāramitā) is by far the most important. Its critique of the *pramāṇas* and refutation of the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda tenets point to Śāntideva's likely inclination toward Candrakīrti's interpretation of the Madhyamaka. The work's success is testified to by the high number of its commentaries and abridged versions (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 84–85). Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (D 3939, 3940/P 5235, 5236; see Bendall, 1902; Hedinger, 1984; Harrison, 2007), probably composed between the two versions of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, consists of 19 chapters and 27 stanzas, which the author elucidates by quoting numerous Mahāyāna *sūtras* and self-authored stanzas, thus making the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* a treasury of Sanskrit fragments of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

Śāntarakṣita is generally considered the systematizer of the *Yogācāra(-svātantrika)-mādhyamika, "a school which elaborated a synthesis of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda on the level of the philosophical analysis of surface-level process" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 87). Mind only is considered by Śāntarakṣita to be "a philosophical propaedeutic leading up to the Madhyamaka's goal of establishing the insubstantiality of all factors including the mind" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 90). Śāntarakṣita develops this doctrinal program in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* and *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (D 3884, 3885/P 5284, 5285; see Ichigo, 1985; Blumenthal, 2004), whose 97 stanzas are organized along two parts – reasoning (the neither-one-nor-many argument) and scripture. The treatise's speculative part I successively discusses corporeality (atoms, etc.) and the mind (realistic-dualistic accounts such as those of Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas, and non-Buddhists and nondualistic accounts such as those of the various branches of the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda). In addition to the tantric *Tattvasiddhi* (D 3708/P 4531), the logico-epistemological *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, and a commentary (*Satyadvayavibhaṅgapañjikā*) on Jñānagarbha's *Satyadvayavibhaṅga* (see above), Śāntarakṣita is also the author of the *Saṃvaraviṃśakavṛtti* (D 4082/P 5583), a work that discusses a bodhisattva's ethical practice taking as its background the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

Śāntarakṣita's famous disciple Kamalaśīla (740–795 CE?) closely followed in the footsteps of his master, not only by joining him in journeying to Tibet but also in a literary way by first commenting on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* (see above) and *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (D 3886/P 5286; see Ichigo, 1985) and then by composing an independent *Mādhyamika-yogācāra treatise, the *Madhyamakāloka* (D 3887/P 5287; see Keira, 2004). In addition to discussing the Yogācāra's three natures and mind only, two doctrines regarded as propaedeutic inasmuch as they help neutralize superimposition, negation, and the subject-object dichotomy, Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* alludes to the doctrines of the one vehicle (*ekayāna*), the *tathāgatagarbha*, and the *gotra*. His important literary output includes commentaries on the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā* and *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā* (D 3815/P 5215; D 3817/P 5216), as well as on the *Śālistambasūtra* (D 4001/P 5502; see Schoening, 1995), and other independent tracts (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 99). Historically important are Kamalaśīla's three *Bhāvanākrama* treatises (D 3915/P 5310; see Tucci, 1986; D 3916/P 5311; see Goshima, 1983; and D 3917/P 5312; see Tucci, 1971), which contain the documents and arguments that served as a basis for Kamalaśīla's defense of gradualism during the famous Council of Lhasa/bSam-yas.

The postclassical period of Indian Madhyamaka witnesses two other important syntheses.

The first synthesis connects Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā. Although the connection between Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka dates back to Nāgārjuna, it found a specific scholastic expression in the synthesis of Madhyamaka and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* formulated by the (6th-cent.?) scholar Ārya Vimuktisena, the author of a *Vṛtti* on Maitreya's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (D 3787/P 5185). Other famous representatives of this synthesis include Bhadanta Vimuktisena, the author of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravārttika* (7th cent. CE?; D 3788/P 5186), and Haribhadra, the author of the huge *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokāprajñāpāramitāvyākhyā* (D 3791/P 5189; see Wogihara, 1932). Buddhajñānapāda, the tantric master who founded the Jñānapāda lineage of the tradition based on the *Guhyasamāja*, authored the *Saṃcayagāthāpañjikā* (D 3798/P 5196). Abhayākaragupta (d. 1125) composed the *Marmakaumudī* (D 3805/P 5202) on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*.

The second synthesis connects Madhyamaka and Tantrism. Several representatives of this movement bear the same names as the founders of Madhyamaka. Ārya Nāgārjuna (8th cent. CE?), who founded the Ārya lineage of the tradition based on the *Guhyasamāja*, is the presumed author of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (D 1801/P 2666) and of the *Pañcakrama*. Āryadevapāda might be the author of the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* (D 1804/P 2669; comp. D–/P 5028 [ascribed to Indrabhūti]) and the *Jñānasārasamuccaya* (D 3851/P 5251; see Mimaki, 1976). Candrakīrtipāda composed a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Pradīpoddyotana* (D 1785/P 2650). Kambalapāda's *Ālokamālā* (D 3895/P 5866; see Lindtner, 2003) deserves to be mentioned for its close connection with Yogācāra. Advayavajra (or Maitrīpāda), Kṛṣṇapāda, and Vimalamitra are other significant figures of this doctrinal trend (see Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 106–108).

Finally, mention should be made of a few late Mādhyamikas whose biographies time and again testify to the ever greater impact of Tibet as a dynamic center of Buddhist intellectual life.

Atiśa (also known as Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna; 982–1054 CE?), who was schooled by the best Magadhan teachers (Bodhibhadra, Jitāri, Kṛṣṇapāda, and Ratnākaraśānti) as well as by Dharmakīrti/Dharmapāla of Suvarṇadvīpa (i.e. Indonesia), occupies a prominent place among them. Atiśa left Vikramaśīla, where he likely wrote his *Satyadvayāvatāra* (D 3902, 4467/P 5298, 5380), for western Tibet, where he collaborated with the famous translator Rin chen bzang po (958–1055 CE), and central Tibet (see Eimer, 1977). His works include the important *Bodhipathapradīpa* (D 3947, 4465/P 5343, 5378; see Eimer, 1978), "a short guide to the path of awakening" (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 111), in which Atiśa outlines the history of Madhyamaka and summarizes its main arguments for emptiness.

Among Atiśa's teachers, Bodhibhadra composed the *Jñānasārasamuccayanibandhana* (D 3852/P 5252; see Mimaki, 1976) and the more Vijñānavāda-inclined Dharmakīrti/Dharmapāla of Suvarṇadvīpa the *Abhisamayālaṃkāraṭīkā* (D 3794/P 5192). Ratnākaraśānti also sided more with the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda than with the Madhyamaka (see Isaacson, 2013). Besides his tantric and logico-epistemological works (see above), this influential teacher authored a *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (D 4072/P 5573), the *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa* (D 4085/P 5586), the *Triyānavyavasthāna* (D 3712/P4535), and a *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (D 4079/P 5579), a "manual of the Yogācāra doctrine" (Katsura, 1976, 484).

Other important figures of late Indian Madhyamaka are Jayānanda (late 11th cent. CE?), the author of the *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* and a short work on logic, the *Tarkamudgara* (D 3869/P 5270), and especially Abhayākaragupta. Abhayākaragupta, a *Yogācāra-mādhyamika master of Vikramaśīla and a prolific author in the field of tantric ritual, composed the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (D 3903/P 5299; see Isoda, 1981; 1983), which

> expounds Mahāyānist gnoseology and soteriology in connection with the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine … [this work] bears testimony to the efforts made by the later Mādhyamikas systematically to elaborate a synthesis of the entire Mahāyānist tradition. (Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 114f.)

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Vincent Eltschinger

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Philosophical Literature: Tibet

Although Tibetan lacks an emic term that might correspond to "philosophy", there is certainly an indigenous conceptual domain that can broadly be characterized as philosophical. This territory is to some extent demarcated by terms such as *lta ba* ("view"; Skt. *darśana*), which has been understood in contradistinction to *spyod pa* ("conduct"; Skt. *caryā*). Some basic tenets of faith go unquestioned, including belief in the efficacy of the three jewels (the Buddha, his teachings, and his community), the workings of karma, the existence of past and future lives, and the need to act morally and observe ethical codes. These have generally not been subject to challenge, even theoretically, and exhibit relatively few signs of historical variation. Conversely, the correct "view", or correct philosophical stance, has represented disputed ground, and served as the subject of controversy and debate. The Tibetan commentarial and debate traditions – deemed principally to be the province of the scholarly community – have been preoccupied with these issues. Philosophical views and interpretations have been questioned and revised, and debate of philosophical issues has been seen as permissible. Trenchant disagreements between scholars and schools have occasionally developed, but these have generally not been seen as impinging upon the aforementioned basic issues of faith and morality. The main exception concerned views that were deemed to be nihilistic, such as those attributed to the Chinese monk Hwa shang Mahāyāna (see below), which have been depicted as undermining crucial Buddhist principles. Furthermore, from an early stage, Tibetan authors have organized non-Tibetan (principally Indic) materials doxographically, distinguishing different schools and traditions in terms of competing or hierarchical systems of philosophical tenets.

Historically, a number of topics dominated Tibetan philosophical discussion. These included most centrally the nature and relationship between the two truths, the absolute and conventional (*don dam*; Skt. *paramārtha*; and *kun rdzob*; Skt. *saṃvṛti*), especially the ontological status, coherence, and verifiability of conventional reality; understandings of the buddha nature or the essence of buddhahood (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*; Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*), the innate factor that serves as the basis for an individual's eventual enlightenment; the relevance to the path of conceptual thought and analytical reasoning; and how freedom from conceptual constructs is to be understood. Despite the more universal themes – such as the exact relationship between philosophy and contemplative practice – that these might be said to address, the fascination with these topics must be seen as the legacy of Tibetan attempts to make sense of the extremely diverse sets of teachings and traditions that entered their lands from India and surrounding territories during the first centuries of the introduction of Buddhism, from the 7th century CE onwards.

The Madhyamaka (Dbu ma; "Middle Way") philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism, championed by Nāgārjuna (*fl.* c. 150–250 CE) and his major commentators, made a major impact at an early stage, and subsequent generations of Tibetan religious authors have almost exclusively claimed some form of allegiance to Nāgārjuna's system. However, simultaneously, scriptures (such as the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*) and treatises important to the other major branch of Mahāyāna philosophy, the Yogācāra (Rnal 'byor spyod pa), attributed to Maitreya, or composed by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (*fl.* 4th cent. CE and c. 350–430, respectively), also became influential. Both these and the varieties of tantric teachings that flowed into Tibet seemed to call for a far more affirmative stance on consciousness, buddha nature, and various aspects of the path than was immediately apparent in the anti-realist approach of the Madhyamaka, with its heavy emphasis upon negation. Ever since, there have been attempts to reconcile the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra systems, whether by presenting some form of syncretized version of their teachings, or organizing them hierarchically, within a doxographical model. A third important aspect of Buddhist philosophy to enter Tibet from India was the Pramāṇa (Tshad ma) or logico-epistemological tradition – as described by Dignāga (*fl.* c. 500 CE) and Dharmakīrti (*fl.* c. 625 CE). Discussions about the pertinence and viability of the analytical approach that this topic encouraged began during the formative period of Buddhism in Tibet. Tantra also flourished in India and Nepal

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during this time, and huge numbers of materials and teachings were imported into Tibet.

Meanwhile, from China, Chan Buddhist teachings also made an impression. Both these and the tantric teachings dealt with the spiritual path in a radically different fashion than that advanced by supporters of the analytical approach. The roots of the indigenous system of Rdzogs chen (Great Perfection), with its own notions regarding thought and conceptualization, can similarly be traced back to this time. The aforementioned favored topics of Tibetan philosophical literature grew largely from attempts to organize and resolve apparent conflicts between these different systems, and they furthermore grapple with issues of authenticity and emphasis.

Some broad categories of periodization have been proposed for the development of the thought and writings of some of the traditions. D. Seyfort Ruegg divides the Tibetan development of Madhyamaka philosophy into four periods: (1) preliminary assimilation during the 8th and 9th centuries CE; (2) complete assimilation during the 10th to the 14th centuries; (3) the classical period – roughly the 14th–16th centuries; and (4) the scholastic period (16th cent. onward; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981, 207–29). Four phases have also been distinguished for the Pramāṇa tradition: (1) the ancient period (8th and 9th cents. CE); (2) the preclassical period (mainly the 10th and 11th cents.); (3) the classical period (12th to 15th cents.); and (4) the post-classical period (15th cent. onward; van der Kuijp, 1989; 1983 for a broader review of Pramāṇa literature in the 11th to the 13th cents.).

This periodization is partly acknowledged in indigenous literature by the use of the terms *snga rabs pa* ("former generation[s]") and *phyi rabs pa* ("later generation[s]"), by means of which Tibetan authors would seek to categorize earlier writers according to historical period and intellectual affinities. These categories would then be contrasted and criticized.

Periodization is judged mainly in terms of the perceived innovations introduced by authors, or the critical responses that certain writings provoked. Some works mentioned below seem to have made an almost immediate impact, and interest in them has remained almost constant, while others fell into obscurity for long periods of time, only to reemerge more recently. Yet others perhaps only ever enjoyed limited popularity (either locally or among the religious elites). Tibetan authors often wrote in response to earlier philosophical writings, but frequently remained vague about the identity of the works they had in mind. The historical record also undoubtedly has numerous distortions, due to bipartisan religious reporting, including questionable assertions of continuity. Much work remains to be done to build up a more balanced historical picture of the impact and significance of individual texts and authors.

Philosophy within Limits

As is the case in Indian Buddhist literature, Tibetan authors have commonly projected the philosophical enterprise as a means of uniting "text" (*lung* Skt. *āgama*) with "intellectual enquiry" or "reasoning" (*rigs pa*; Skt. *yukti*). However, perhaps the most important underlying concept and organizing principle in the philosophical literature of Tibet is that of "upholding the tradition." Authors have neither identified nor advertised the exercise they have been engaged in as one of philosophizing. Instead, they have seen themselves as heirs to a tradition which could be traced back to the teachings of the Buddha. A general decline in standards and the specificities of circumstance and audience to which the original teachings were delivered have been cited as reasons why the original message became increasingly obscure, and also justified the necessity for a commentarial tradition. Disputes – often focusing upon relatively minor points of philosophy and doctrine – have essentially concerned the question of who held the correct interpretation of the point under debate. Discussions centered less upon canonical than commentarial evidence, with a focus on determining which of the successive generations of Indic (and later Tibetan) writers maintained and transmitted the "correct" position – advertised as the Buddha's true "intent" (*dgongs pa*, *dgongs don*, etc.).

In many respects Tibetan philosophical writings remained remarkably faithful to their predecessors, particularly to later Indian traditions. Some Western scholars speak of an Indo-Tibetan tradition. This seems to imply that Tibetan philosophers simply continued where their Indic counterparts stopped, while in reality, there was a considerable amount of philosophical creativity and innovation. However, due to the emphasis upon maintaining the tradition, to propose that someone had produced an "inventive" work (*rang bzo*) was a serious charge. It was

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therefore invariably necessary for Tibetan scholars to disguise innovation as rediscovery.

Related to the above principle is the Tibetan urge to present an integrated vision. Partly in an attempt to bring order to the thousands of works from diverse sources absorbed by the Tibetan Buddhist tradition over the centuries, Tibetan thinkers attempted to create an integrated system, in which apparently diverse or even contradictory teachings and traditions, as presented in Indian canonical works, were not only projected as compatible, but as elements of a single, harmonious whole. This has most commonly been presented by the Tibetan tradition as the integrated understanding of *sūtra* and *tantra*. It has also been expressed in the creation of canons, most centrally the Kanjur and Tanjur, which involved editorial decisions that occasionally led to works being excluded on the grounds that they were judged corrupt or inauthentic. The pursuit of the integrated vision, in particular, led to a doxographical organization in which Indian Buddhist philosophical schools – despite their sometimes opposing positions – have all been recognized as being based on the Buddha's teachings. They have, however, often been projected as representing a hierarchical progression, leading to the final philosophical position – the true understanding of reality. The perceived necessity to organize according to the doxographical model and thereby present a unified vision greatly influenced Tibetan scholarly interpretations of scriptural and historical sources.

Tibetan philosophical literature can be divided into a number of distinct, but related, areas (exegetical, pedagogical, and polemical) and genres. Commentarial literature, a category that encompasses subgenres such as *'grel ba* (Skt. *vṛtti*) and *'grel bshad* (Skt. *ṭīkā*), is the clearest example of the Tibetan continuity with regard to Indian writings, and includes titles (or subgenres) bearing the Sanskrit or hybrid Sanskrit-Tibetan names of *ṭīka* and *ṭik chen* ("great commentary"). Many of these works, such as the *tshig 'grel* (lit. word commentary), provide a line-by-line or word-by-word commentary to a text, whereas the *don 'grel* (lit. meaning commentary), for instance, focuses more upon a text's import. Others vary from this format, concentrating only upon particular sections, or especially abstruse elements – for example, the *dka' 'grel* ("explanation of difficult points"). Still others, bearing titles such as *brjed byang* ("memorandum") or *zin bris* ("notes"), are presented more as personal study aids, but have been treated as commentarial literature by later generations of Tibetan scholars. The extent to which these subgenres represent a continuity or a departure from genres of Indic commentarial literature, and the degree to which the categories represent substantially different – rather than nominally distinct – formats and genres require further investigation.

The gradual rise of scholasticism and the debate tradition led to the production of textbook materials with philosophical content, including the large variety of "manuals" (*yig cha*) used in the monastic colleges (Newland, 1996) and the "summary" format (*bsdus pa*), which sometimes facilitated memorization. Scholarly discussion and dispute also resulted in a philosophical subgenre called *dgag lan*: polemical rejoinders, often exchanged between those belonging to different schools (Lopez, 1996). Interest in doxographical organization also spurred the popularity of the *grub mtha'* (Skt. *siddhānta*) genre (Hopkins, 1996).

Background: Philosophy and Philosophical Literature

The enterprise of translating Buddhist texts, primarily from Indic languages, was first undertaken in the Tibetan imperial era (7th to 9th cents. CE). Translation continued even beyond the demise of Buddhism in India in the 12th century, although it, along with various Buddhist institutions and traditions, was interrupted by the break-up of the Tibetan empire in the mid-9th century. The arrival and spread of Buddhism in Tibet are traditionally referred to in terms of two periods, the so-called "earlier dissemination" (*snga dar*) and "later dissemination" (*phyi dar*). In these periods, different schools of Tibetan Buddhism developed. The Rnying ma school ("Old" tradition) traces its roots primarily to the translations and religious figures from the imperial period. Other schools are referred to collectively as Gsar ma ("New" traditions), and associate themselves more directly with translations and founder figures from the post-imperial period. The philosophically significant Gsar ma schools are the Bka' brgyud, Bka' gdams, Sa skya, Jo nang, and Dge lugs. The old-new dichotomy, however, is of limited use in understanding divisions between these schools. While there is also a philosophical dimension to these divisions, regional history, political events and alignments, loyalties and resistance histories are often more relevant to understanding their differences.

The Imperial Period, the 8th and the 9th centuries CE

The initial introduction of Buddhism into Tibet is usually projected as a state-sponsored exercise. Bsam yas, the first monastery in Tibet, was founded during the reign of the Tibetan ruler Khri srong Lde'u btsan (742– 794? CE). It is celebrated as the site of what is now commonly referred to as the "Samye Debate," between the Chinese master Moheyan (Hwa shang Mahāyāna) and the Indian master Kamalaśīla (for an early study see Demiéville, 1952). Khri srong Lde'u btsan is reported to have adjudicated, and ruled that Buddhism in Tibet should follow the Indian, rather than the Chinese, model. Some of the earliest known descriptions of Bsam yas' foundation and the debate are contained in the *Dba' bzhed* or *Sba bzhed* (Testament of Dba'/Sba; Wangdu & Diemberger, 2000). Numerous Tibetan scholars demonize the Chinese protagonist in the debate and attribute to him nihilistic views on philosophy and morality. However, imperial-era writings, such as those discovered in Dunhuang, suggest that the monk's view was closer to a form of Chan Buddhism (for evidence related to the debate based on Chinese language materials, see Demiéville, 1952; Pachow, 1979; Gómez, 1983). Early debates, although apparently touching upon issues of the respective traditions' claims to authenticity, seem also to have pitted those who favored a more analytical method against those who were inclined toward a more quiescent approach. The tussle introduced one of the first serious philosophical discussions, with those supporting the Indian "gradualist" (*rim gyis*; Skt. *kramena*) approach to enlightenment opposing the notion of "sudden" or "simultaneous" (*cig c[h]ar ba*) enlightenment. This informed later debates, particularly regarding buddha nature and the relationship between the unenlightened and enlightened mind (Seyfort Ruegg, 1989). The gradualist approach generally prevailed, but the influences of the sudden approach remained, particularly in Tibetan Rdzogs chen philosophy (Karmay, 1988).

The arrival, during the first dissemination period, of the Indian scholar Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–788 CE), and his disciple Kamalaśīla (c. 740–795 CE), who is reported to have been Hwa shang Mahāyāna's opponent during the Samye debate, left a significant mark upon Tibetan intellectual thought. Śāntarakṣita, in his seminal work, *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (*Dbu ma rgyan*; Ornament of the Middle Way; D 3884/ P 5284; trans. Blumenthal, 2004), propounds a Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis. This became the standard way of understanding the relationship between the two traditions during the early period, and the text's presentation of the two truths served as the principal interpretation for the later Rnying ma school. Śāntarakṣita's position was elaborated upon by Kamalaśīla, in works such as his *Madhyamakālaṃkārapañjikā* (*Dbu ma'i rgyan gyi dka' 'grel*; Commentary on Difficult Points of the *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*; D 3886/ P 5286).

Early Buddhist narrative (such as that contained in the *Dba' bzhed*) concentrated on the heroic exploits of foreign Buddhist masters who arrived in Tibet, and the activities of Tibetan translators. The state was heavily involved in the project of translating mainly Indic Buddhist texts, with Bsam yas as an early center. Attempts were made to standardize translation terminology, through production of official dictionaries, such as the late 8th-early 9th-century Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Bye brag rtogs byed chen mo*; Great Volume of Precise Understanding; D 4346/P 5832; ed. Ishihama & Fukuda, 1989). This includes substantial lists of philosophical terminology, not only related, for instance, to Buddhist Pramāṇa, but also of non-Buddhist schools, such as the Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika. Similarly, as outlined in a related text, the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Word Combination in Two Parts; D 4347/P 5833; ed. Ishikawa, 1990), rules were established for the creation of translation teams, comprised of Tibetans working in conjunction with Indian scholars. In addition to historical trends in India, availability of Indian masters and texts was obviously a significant factor determining which philosophical works were translated during this early stage.

Long before the finalization of the Kanjur and Tanjur compendia in the 13th-14th century, catalogues that listed text collections at imperial courts, such as the *'Phang thang ma* (Halkias, 2004), divided translations of Indian commentaries (*śāstra*) taxonomically, according to philosophical content, differentiating between the two great branches of Mahāyāna thought, the Yogācāra (also known as Cittamātra, *sems tsam*) and Madhyamaka. Tibetan translators from the early period are traditionally celebrated (and venerated) primarily for producing faithful renderings of a pre-existing tradition, but clearly they also had a major role in editorship and literary organization, shaping Tibetan understandings of that tradition.

The beginnings of what developed into an independent Tibetan tradition of philosophical literature are apparent in the *Lta ba'i khyad par* (Varieties

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of Views), composed by Sna nam Ye shes sde (late 8th–early 9th cent. CE), translator of the aforementioned treatises by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. A version of this work was recovered among the cache of Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot 5847), and despite its Tibetan authorship, it was also incorporated into the Tanjur (D 4360/P 5847). The work does not provide exegesis of any specific scripture or treatise, but represents an early foray into commentarial writing. As with later writings, it combines explanation of selected scriptural passages, and engages in cross-textual analyses, establishing principles and hierarchical (doxographical) organization (Snellgrove, 2002 [1987], 439; Seyfort Ruegg, 1981). The work advertises itself as a *brjed byang* ("memorandum"), rather than a commentary, as though it constituted collected notes from a specific teaching. However, it is obvious that Ye shes sde made a very considered attempt to present a unified vision of the Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine, path, and philosophy. The *Lta ba'i khyad par* acknowledges the separate emergence of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra philosophies in India, and the hermeneutical discussions of scripture related to the two. Anticipating a later doxographical division (between the Sautrantrika-svātantrika-madhyamaka and the Yogācāra-svātantrika-madhyamaka), Ye shes sde identifies two distinct forms of Madhyamaka, and seems to feel that the latter, the syncretic model of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, has settled the issue of the relation between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra systems.

The 10th to the 12th centuries

Traditionally portrayed as the period during which Buddhism was reestablished in Central Tibet, the so-called later dissemination of Buddhism took place in the centuries immediately following the collapse of the Tibetan empire, a period of flux and innovation. A new generation of translators, most notably Lo tsa ba Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), who travelled to India, and Indian teachers, such as Atiśa (980–1054), who arrived in Tibet, gave rise to a new set of translations and teaching lineages, which formed the basis of the various Gsar ma schools, all of which arose during this time, with the exception of the Jo nang and Dge lugs, which developed later. Growing literary confidence saw the development of new literary genres, and translator-authors, such as Rngog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109), produced the first wave of indigenous commentarial literature.

The roots of Rdzogs chen seem to lie in a system of meditative practice which developed during the imperial era, and drew inspiration and terminology from tantric yoga, as found in the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (*Rgyud gsang ba snying po*; TBRC W12652; van Schaik, 2004). Already during this time, the features that would later be seen as characterizing Rdzogs chen doctrine were apparent, including the stress upon nonconceptuality and nonduality, and the encouragement of practitioners to recognize the natural state of their own minds, rather than to strive for any "external" enlightenment. As the Rnying ma school was forging a separate identity from the Gsar ma schools, Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (11th cent.) attempted to place the Rdzogs chen system in some form of philosophical framework. Several of this Rnying ma author's compositions are overtly doxographical in nature. These include a commentary to the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*, a treatise attributed to Padmasambhava (TBRC W24519) – apparently one of the earliest works in Tibet with a truly doxographical character – and his *Lta ba dang grub mtha' sna tshogs pa brjed byang du bgyis pa* (Notes on Various Views and Philosophical Systems Set Down as a Memorandum; TBRC W21617). In these, and several other writings, Rong zom referred to what appears to already have become a standard framework, in which Indian Buddhist schools were divided according to their respective philosophies: into the realist Bye brag smra ba (Vaibhāṣika) and Mdo sde pa (Sautrāntika) schools, associated with non-Mahāyāna thought, and the Mahāyāna philosophies of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. In his *Snang ba lhar bsgrub* (Establishing Appearances as Divine; trans. Köppl, 2008), Rong zom criticized the Madhyamaka system for what he saw as its failure to appreciate the inseparability of the two truths, and expressed some disdain for what he considered to be the intellectualization of the spiritual path. Frequent references to the primordial (*ye nas*) understanding indicate that he was sympathetic to the simultaneous approach to enlightenment, one of the two tendencies debated at Bsam yas. Rong zom's notion of the unified system resulted in his arguing that the vehicle of *tantra* (*mantrayāna*) was superior to that of *sūtra* (*sūtrayāna*), and that while a correct understanding begins with the tantric system of thought, it could only be fully gained through the embrace of Rdzogs chen. In the *Snang ba lhar bsgrub* he argued against what he saw as the Madhyamaka tendency for the reification of the relative, proposing that the relative had to be appreciated as a manifestation of the deity. This blend of *sūtra* and *tantra* elements is one that was largely rejected in the scholastic traditions of the Gsar ma, which increasingly sought to understand the philosophical distinctions and commentarial traditions of *sūtra*-related systems in their own right (without necessarily endorsing their contents as representing the final view).

Developments connected to the monastery of Gsang phu (Gsang phu sne'u thog) of the Bka' gdams tradition, established in 1073 (the same year as Sa skya monastery) by Rngog Legs pa'i shes rab (*fl.* early to late 11th cent.) turned out to have a large impact on the state of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. His nephew and successor as abbot was Rngog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109), who has been referred to as the "father of Tibetan scholasticism" (Jackson, 1994, 372; for an account of Rngog Blo ldan shes rab's life see Kramer, 2007). In addition to his major contributions as a translator, Rngog Blo ldan shes rab promoted the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis position of Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, and Jñānagarbha. His translations of texts from the cycle "The Five Dharmas" of Maitreya (*Byams chos sde lnga*; TBRC W2CZ8058), attributed to Maitreya (and Asaṅga) and other associated works helped establish the topic of *Phar phyin* (the exposition of aspects of Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras*) as a distinct scholastic field in Tibet. In relation to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (TBRC W3JT13413), one of the aforementioned five dharmas, in particular, his work confirmed the primacy of the commentarial tradition emanating from Haribhadra (Seng ge bzang po, *fl.* 8th cent.). In Rngog's *Rgyud bla ma don bsdus pa*, a "Summary" (commentary) to another of the five dharmas (TBRC W1PD104832), the *Mahāyānottaratantra* (*Theg pa chen po'i rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos*, D 4024/P 5525; also known as the *Uttaratantra* or *Ratnagotravibhāga*), he argued that the buddha nature should be identified with emptiness, rather than equated with some variety of consciousness, or a certain quality therein. Crucially, through both his translations and commentaries, Rngog Blo ldan shes rab founded the Tshad ma gsar ma ("New Pramāṇa") tradition, a fresh approach to epistemology. The earlier tradition attributed to Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla was favorable to the epistemological approach, but Rngog Blo ldan shes rab was far more systematized and more successful in establishing the importance of the topic. His explanations of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (entitled *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi dka' gnad rnam bshad*, in the *Rgyud bla ma don bsdus pa*, vol. I, 83–389) was one of the first indigenously composed commentaries, and – as with Kamalaśīla's earlier treatment of Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* – dealt with the work not by line-by-line exposition, but by focusing upon the treatise's "difficult points" (*dka' gnad*). Rngog's *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi bsdus don*, however, provided a "topical summary" (*don bsdus* or *bsdus don*) of the same text (Kramer, 2007, 109 n. 161). He employed the summary format for dealing with three of the five dharmas of Maitreya: the *Uttaratantra* (Jackson, 1993), the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (see *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i bsdus don*, D 3795/P 5193), and the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*Dbus mtha' don bsdus*).

Despite the disappearance of many of his compositions (a number of which have recently resurfaced in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum*; TBRC W1PD89051), the reputation of the sixth abbot of Gsang phu (c. 1152–1169), Ph(w)ya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169), remains considerable. He is credited with creating the first general summary (*bsdus pa*) of Dharmakīrti's thought in Tibet, in the form of his *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* (Clarifying Ignorance regarding the Pramāṇa Treatises; TBRC W1PD89051, 434–630). He is reported to have composed more than one version of a text bearing this name, and thereby "initiated a literary genre of Summaries that has proven immensely successful" (Dreyfus, 1997, 22). It is uncertain whether Phya pa based himself on an earlier Tibetan text of the same format, but there appear to be no Indian precedents for this sort of work in which topics within Pramāṇa are addressed systematically (van der Kuijp, 2002, 384–389). Phya pa is also seen as instrumental in transforming debate into a pedagogical tool. Not only are his summaries considered the predecessor of the later Dge lugs *bsdus grwa* textbooks (see below), but popular tradition says that he was the first to propose that debate should be presented in the form of consequences (*thal 'gyur*; Skt. *prasaṅga*) instead of formal syllogisms (Dreyfus, 1997, 22), thereby ensuring that debate was used more for education than public disputation between those holding competing views.

Outside the Gsang phu tradition, Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (1055–1145), who took up residence in Rgyal lha khang monastery in Central Tibet, is remembered for his contribution to the understanding of Madhyamaka. He was the first to translate the two major works of Candrakīrti (*fl.* c. 625), the *Prasannapadā* (*Dbu ma tshig gsal*; D 3860/P 5260) and *Madhyamakāvatāra* (*Dbu ma la 'jug pa*; D 3861/P 5262), commentaries to Nāgārjuna's

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ndigenously composed commentar-
th Kamalaśīla's earlier treatment of
Madhyamakālaṃkāra – dealt with
ine-by-line exposition, but by focus-
atise's "difficult points" (*dka' gnad*).
a rnam nges kyi bsdus don, however,
ical summary" (*don bsdus* or *bsdus*
e text (Kramer, 2007, 109 n. 161). He
summary format for dealing with
dharmas of Maitreya: the *Uttara-*
1993), the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (see
pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i bsdus don,
and the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*Dbus*
).

disappearance of many of his
number of which have recently
ne *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum*; TBRC
e reputation of the sixth abbot of
52–1169), Ph(w)ya pa Chos kyi seng
emains considerable. He is credited
e first general summary (*bsdus pa*)
thought in Tibet, in the form of
d kyi mun sel (Clarifying Ignorance
amāṇa Treatises; TBRC W1PD89051,
reported to have composed more
n of a text bearing this name, and
d a literary genre of Summaries that
nensely successful" (Dreyfus, 1997,
in whether Phya pa based himself
betan text of the same format, but
be no Indian precedents for this
which topics within Pramāṇa are
natically (van der Kuijp, 2002, 384–
also seen as instrumental in trans-
nto a pedagogical tool. Not only are
onsidered the predecessor of the
dus grwa textbooks (see below), but
n says that he was the first to pro-
should be presented in the form of
hal 'gyur; Skt. *prasaṅga*) instead of
s (Dreyfus, 1997, 22), thereby ensur-
was used more for education than
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sang phu tradition, Pa tshab Nyi
1145), who took up residence in
monastery in Central Tibet, is
his contribution to the under-
hyamaka. He was the first to trans-
or works of Candrakīrti (*fl.* c. 625),
dā (*Dbu ma tshig gsal*; D 3860/P
hyamakāvatāra (*Dbu ma la 'jug*
52), commentaries to Nāgārjuna's

Mūlamadhyamakakārikā (*Dbu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab*; D 3824/P 5224; Dunne, 2011, 216), and thereby brought Candrakīrti's interpretations to the attention of Tibetan scholars. Pa tshab was also an author, but only recently a set of texts attributed to him has resurfaced. These are exegetical glosses to Nāgārjuna's root text and Candrakīrti commentaries (Dreyfus & Drongbu Tsering, 2010) and not expositions of Pa tshab's own system. They are, however, consistent with the traditional narrative, according to which Pa tshab played a pivotal role in promoting the notion of a dichotomy in Madhyamaka philosophy.

There are various opinions regarding the division between the "Syllogistic" school (Rang rgyud pa; Skt. Svātantrika), and "Consequentialist" (Thal 'gyur pa; Skt. Prāsaṅgika) schools (Dreyfus & McClintock, 2003), and questions remain about the exact origins of the distinction. (Some Western scholars treat the names *Svātantrika and *Prāsaṅgika as reconstructions, since they are not actually attested in Indian sources.) Pa tshab clearly endorsed Candrakīrti's interpretation of Nāgārjuna's work. This helped popularize the doxographical division, in which the Indian authors Buddhapālita and Śāntideva (*fl.* 8th cent.) were, like Candrakīrti, classified as adhering to Prāsaṅgika views, whereas Bhāviveka, and more significantly Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, were consigned to the inferior Svātantrika subschool of Madhyamaka.

Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla had argued for the use of inferential reasoning, and a gradual move from a conception to a perception of emptiness. In line with the epistemological approach, they emphasized the reliability and correctness of perception, especially as pertaining to knowledge in the domain of conventional reality. Conversely, Candrakīrti, in Pa tshab's tradition of interpretation, was skeptical of any certainty of knowledge in this domain, apparently undermining the epistemological approach. There are some resonances with Rong zom's criticism of Madhyamaka thought, and disagreements about the status of objects and the reliability of knowledge in the conventional realm have proved among the most abiding themes in Tibetan philosophical literature. Phya pa's attempt to defend Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla largely failed, in the sense that it was not picked up by later philosophers. Thenceforth Candrakīrti was established as the most popular interpreter and commentator of Nāgārjuna for centuries in Tibet.

The 13th and the early 14th Century

The Bka' gdams interpretation of logic seems to have represented the standard until the appearance of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* (Treasury of Logic on Valid Cognition; TBRC W11391; partial trans. Fukuda, 1989–1993) by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251). Sa skya Paṇḍita was a towering figure, who was not just an important author but also instrumental in forging a political alliance with the Mongols and the subsequent Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), in the wake of the initial Mongol incursion into Tibet (1240). These events eventually saw the Sa skya tradition, centered at Sa skya monastery, being handed political stewardship over Tibet (Kapstein, 2006, 110–116).

The *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and its autocommentary are each divided into 11 chapters (*rab byed*):

1. Objects;
2. Cognition;
3. Generalities and Particulars;
4. Affirmative and Negative (Understanding);
5. Object and Language;
6. Relationship;
7. Incompatibility;
8. Defining Characteristics;
9. Perception;
10. Inference for Oneself; and
11. Inference for Others.

Sa skya Paṇḍita also translated the *Pramāṇavārttika* (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel*; D4210/P 5709), Dharmakīrti's major commentary on Dignāga's "Compendium of Valid Cognition" (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*; *Tshad ma kun btus*; D 4203/P 5700). While the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* is not a commentary to any specific Indian treatise, it marks a lasting shift in focus away from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam nges*; D 4211/P 5710) toward his *Pramāṇavārttika*. It built upon the topical format of the *bsdus pa* works, but rather than simply summarizing and clarifying Indian Pramāṇa thinking, it criticized earlier Tibetan interpretations, most notably those of the Gsang phu scholars. This marked a significant step in the development of indigenous scholarly discourse, opening up the way to centuries of disputation and controversy over rival interpretations, conducted through the medium of literature. The *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* also became the center of a commentarial tradition, resulting in the apparently unprecedented situation that a Tibetan work, in contrast to an Indian text, was seen as a root and a source of authority. This treatise is furthermore credited with providing a "fully-fledged theory of concept formation" (van der Kuijp, 1979, 408). The work specifically attacked Phya pa's approach to objects of perception. Rejecting idealist interpretations of Dharmakīrti, Phya pa favored a realist model similar to that of the Indian Buddhist Vaibhāṣika school, according to which objects exist simultaneously with their perceptions. Sa skya Paṇḍita instead argued for a causal model, in which objects exist prior to their perceptions. This is closer to the Sautrāntika view (Hugon, 2015). Sa skya Paṇḍita also put forth the point that on a higher scale of analysis, an idealist interpretation was valid. This solidified the notion that the Indian traditions could be organized on a doxographical ascending scale, a view that was enthusiastically developed by later Dge lugs authors.

Much important Sa skya literature in subsequent decades relates to Sa skya Paṇḍita's interpretation of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. The Sa skya scholar 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge (c. 1195–c. 1267) produced the first Tibetan commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*, and also possibly the first commentary – other than the autocommentary – to Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* (van der Kuijp, 2014, 114). The former was criticized by another Sa skya scholar, Btsun pa Ston gzhon, in his exegesis of the same text (van der Kuijp, 2014). The title of the text, *Rnam 'grel gyi rnam bshad gangs can gyi rgyan* (Ornament of the Land of Snow: A Commentary to the *Pramāṇavārttika*; TBRC W20481) is perhaps also significant in terms of a literary awareness, as it is clearly acknowledged, in its use of the epithet for Tibet ("Land of Snow"), that the work is part of an indigenous literary tradition.

Meanwhile, the Bka' gdams monastery of Snar thang had become a major center of learning and literary activity. An author connected to this monastery, Lcom ldan Rigs pa'i ral gri (1227–1305), composed commentaries on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (*Tshad ma rnam par nges pa 'i 'grel bshad chen po rgyan gyi me tog*; TBRC W11848) and the collection of seven Pramāṇa treatises composed by Dharmakīrti (*Tshad ma 'i bstan bcos sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*; TBRC W11847). A successor, Dbus pa blo gsal (also known as Sangs rgyas 'bum; 13th cent.) composed an important text on Indian Buddhist philosophical traditions (*Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod*; W27218; also known as *Blo gsal grub mtha'*; Mimaki, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1992, 1994). Lcom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri and Dbus pa blo gsal are also known for their work codifying and cataloguing a collection of texts at Snar thang which eventually gave rise to the earliest known Tibetan canon. Thereby a lasting separation between the Kanjur and the Tanjur was established (van der Kuijp & Schaeffer, 2009).

Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364), the 11th abbot of the Sa skya monastery of Zhwa lu, is also mainly remembered for his important work on the formation of the canon, as well as his voluminous writings. His famous treatise on buddha nature written in 1359, entitled *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (Ornament Clarifying and Beautifying Buddha Nature; TBRC W22106; trans. Seyfort Ruegg, 1973) is philosophically significant. As did Rngog Blo ldan shes rab, he sought to interpret buddha nature in terms of Madhyamaka philosophy and to identify this essence, shared between buddhas and ordinary beings, as emptiness.

The Phyag rgya chen po tradition ("The Great Seal"; Skt. Mahāmudrā) in Tibet was transmitted through the Bka' brgyud tradition, and popularized by figures such as Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (1079–1153). Like Rdzogs chen, the Phyag rgya chen po system is more phenomenologically and meditatively inclined, and shares with it an emphasis upon nonstriving, nonduality, and upon discovering the natural state of the mind. As with Rdzogs chen, opinions may vary as to when it might be judged philosophical, rather than a purely meditative system. However, Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticisms of Phyag rgya chen po doctrines such as the Dkar po chig thub ("Self-sufficient White Means") in his "Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes" (*Sdom gsum rab dbye*, TBRC W1KG1686; trans. Rhoton, 2002) certainly drew its proponents into a philosophical discussion. Protagonists of Phyag rgya chen po, such as Sgam po pa, made a clear contrast between analytical and meditative approaches. Without dismissing the former, they stressed the importance of experience and meditation from the start, as opposed to philosophical study and reasoning. Unsurprisingly, the system has harboured strains of anti-intellectualism. Sa skya Paṇḍita's judgement of the Phyag rgya chen po, while perhaps partly responding to these strains, also accused the system of drawing inspiration from Chinese (Chan) influences (Jackson, 1994; Kapstein, 2000, 77). Responses to these criticisms followed in later centuries from authors such as Pad ma dkar po (1527–1592). Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339), the third Karmapa, composed a text on the theme of buddha nature, *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po bstan pa* (Exposition of Buddha Nature; TRBC W1CZ1094; trans. Brunnhölzl, 2009), in which he equated buddha nature with the key Phyag rgya chen po term "natural mind" (*tha mal gyi shes pa*; Mathes, 2008, 1).

This work is often posited as a precurso
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who visited Rang byung rdo rje in his
monastery in 1321.

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1975–1976). Klong chen rab 'byams
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This work is often posited as a precursor to the theories of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361), who visited Rang byung rdo rje in his Mtshur phu monastery in 1321.

Dol po pa, who belonged to the Jo nang tradition, is perhaps the most controversial author of philosophical literature in Tibet (on his life and works, see Stearns, 1999). He completely rejected Haribhadra and his otherwise standard interpretation of the Prajñāpāramitā, championed by Rngog Blo ldan shes rab. In particular, reversing the hermeneutical understanding of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, he proposed that those texts belonging to the final (third) turning of the wheel of dharma, rather than teaching a provisional (and inferior) Yogācāra position, often surpassed those of the "Middle Turning" or "Second Wheel" (primarily the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras*) in their clarity and definitiveness regarding the Buddha's final intention. In line with mainstream Madhyamaka thought, Dol po pa held that on the relative or conventional level, objects are "empty of intrinsic nature" (*rang stong*). His innovatory stance, however, was to assert that in the absolute or ultimate sense, objects are "empty of extrinsic existence" (*gzhan stong*), this is to say, that realization of the ultimate lay in realizing it as being devoid of the relative. In this way, Dol po pa seemed to construct a far more affirmative understanding of the ultimate than had hitherto prevailed. Without endorsing it as the final view, it was more sympathetic to aspects of Indian Yogācāra interpretations of the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras*, such as the three natures espoused by Vasubandhu. It also presented a more unifying picture, which combined the more positive aspects of buddha nature, *tantra*, the "Great Middle Way" (*Dbu ma chen po*), and the "Great Seal." Dol po pa set out his primary positions in his *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* (TBRC W1KG1869; trans. Hopkins, 2006). However, the more positive perspective on the ultimate was severely criticized by subsequent authors, and particularly in the Dge lugs tradition it was essentially judged as heretical (on Dol po pa's positions, see Kapstein, 2001, 301–316; Sparham, 2001, 193–214).

Klong chen Rab 'byams pa dri med 'od zer (1308–1364), believed by many to be the greatest Rnying ma author on doctrine, is credited with systematizing the Rdzogs chen teachings. Reflecting his preeminence in the field, most of his translated works relate to Rdzogs chen, particularly the *Ngal gso skor gsum* (Trilogy of Rest; TBRC W1GS60877; trans. Guenther, 1975–1976). Klong chen rab 'byams pa's writings are set against the historical backdrop of the political redefinition of Tibet which took place at the end of the Yuan dynasty, and his works were partly a counter to the continued rise of the Gsar ma traditions, and the formation of the canon, from which various Rnying ma *tantras* were excluded. Despite the existence of a work on epistemology (*Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsdus pa*; TBRC W1KG4003) attributed to Klong chen rab 'byams pa – the authorship of which has been called into question (van der Kuijp, 2003, 381–431) – his principal philosophical work is the collection posthumously designated the *Mdzod bdun* (Seven Treasures; TBRC W10MS11430). These seven works are called:

1. Wish-fulfilling One (*Yid bzhin*);
2. Personal Instruction (*Man ngag*);
3. Expanse of Reality (*Chos dbyings*);
4. Words and Meanings (*Tshig don*);
5. Supreme Vehicle (*Theg mchog*);
6. Tenets (*Grub mtha'*); and
7. Way of Being (*Gnas lugs*).

In some of these volumes, Klong chen rab 'byams pa systematized the earlier Rnying ma teachings, and in others the focus is placed upon the meditational and empirical aspects of Rdzogs chen and *tantra*. However, the 6th work, "Tenets", offers a pioneering doxographical presentation (Butters, 2006; Barron, 2007). The work not only deals with the Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools of India – during the course of which the author appears to reject Dol po pa's view of extrinsic emptiness, in favor of a position closer to that of the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka (Butters, 2006, 5) – it also presents two different ways of organizing tantric materials hierarchically, namely the nine-vehicle Rnying ma model alongside the fourfold classification of *tantras* of the Gsar ma traditions (for the latter see Hopkins, 1977). The integration of the Rdzogs chen into the hierarchical doxographical vision promoted by the Gsar ma schools was a way of arguing for its supremacy. Despite the apparently limited immediate impact of these writings, they have greatly influenced subsequent generations of Rnying ma thinkers.

The 14th Century: The Rise of the Dge lugs

What subsequently became known as the Dge lugs school was originally organized around Dga' ldan monastery in Central Tibet, for which reason its early adherents were known as the Dga' ldan pa. Members of the Dge lugs school have on occasion projected themselves as the inheritors of the Bka' gdams tradition, which effectively ceased to exist as a separate school by the 16th century (Jinpa, 2002). Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) is credited with the school's foundation. His writings, supported by those of his chief disciples, particularly Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (also known as Rgyal tshab rje, 1364–1462) and Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang (also known as Mkhas grub rje, 1385–1438), have served as the philosophical base of the Dge lugs tradition. The school eventually had a massive effect upon monastic education and organization, and the formation of what amounted to the state religion of Tibet. Its philosophical and doctrinal influence has been equally significant (for Tsong kha pa's contribution to philosophical thought, see Tillemans, 1998; Jinpa, 2002; Sparham, 2014).

Tsong kha pa's writings can be divided between those of his early and mature periods (Sparham, 2014). His distinctive philosophical views only truly emerge in the latter period. Rejecting predominant attempts to syncretize the Yogācāra and Madhyamaka positions, Tsong kha pa depicted these as two distinct schools of thought, with the Madhyamaka as the superior. This hierarchical division pervaded all of his interpretations, including those of *tantra* and buddha nature, which ultimately had to be understood from the Madhyamaka perspective as presented by Nāgārjuna. Tsong kha pa vehemently opposed Dol po pa's notion of extrinsic emptiness and his impugning of Haribhadra's commentary to the *Abhisamayālaṃkara*. In his *Drang nges legs bshad snying po* (Essence of Eloquence with respect to Provisional and Definitive Meaning; TBRC W1CZ1011; trans. Thurman, 1984), Tsong kha pa set out his hermeneutical position with regard to the interpretation of the *sūtras*, paying particular attention to a section of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (*Mdo sde dgongs 'grel*; D 0106/ P 0774), in which the Buddha resolves apparent inconsistencies between statements he gave during the three turnings of the wheel of dharma. Tsong kha pa argued that the Buddha explained that it was the Madhyamaka view – rather than the Yogācāra one – that represented his final position. While Tsong kha pa emphasized the centrality of the three nature theory (*ngo bo nyid gsum*, Skt. *trisvabhāva*) to the Yogācāra, he refuted Dol po pa's understanding of that theory. In various works, Tsong kha pa greatly elaborated on other aspects of Yogācāra thought, such as emptiness (Hopkins, 1999; 2002) and doctrines of mind (Sparham, 1993). Expansion upon the distinctiveness of the Yogācāra system supported one of his primary philosophical endeavors, namely, establishing a stratified doxographical vision of Buddhist schools. As in earlier doxographies, going back to at least the 12th century, Tsong kha pa organized the Buddhist schools in ascending order, starting with the realist Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika (posited on the basis of earlier Buddhist sources), followed by Yogācāra and finally Madhyamaka. Each of the four Buddhist schools was conceived of as having various subdivisions. Tsong kha pa stressed the heuristic value of views ascribed to the lower schools, but dismissed their relevance to the final view. This included the *ālayavijñāna* (*kun gzhi'i rnam shes*, "foundation consciousness") – of which many Tibetan philosophers, presenting a syncretic version of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, had hitherto accepted the literal existence – and the Yogācāra version of the three natures.

One of Tsong kha pa's most important steps related to the internal division within the Madhyamaka. He reoriented discussion regarding the distinction between the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika from one of method – whether they rejected or advocated the use of syllogistic formulas – to a fundamental disagreement regarding ontology, arguing that the Svātantrika view failed to penetrate ultimate reality. Tsong kha pa heightened the sense that various historical authors were representatives of distinct philosophical schools, and that the Prāsaṅgika view was not only supreme, but the sole route to higher spiritual goals. As this declared that only the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka school pioneered by Candrakīrti captured the Buddha's final intention, it countered the assertion that different interpretations could be combined within the so-called "Great Middle Way" (*Dbu ma chen po*; *Mahāmadhyamaka*; Sparham, 2001, 193). This position devalued not only the Yogācāra/Cittamātra, but also the philosophical view that had once dominated in Tibet, based on the teaching of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, who, according to the taxonomy developed by Tsong kha pa and his followers, belonged to the Rnal 'byor spyod pa dbu ma rang rgyud pa (Yogācāra-svātantrika-madhyamaka) subcategory. Developing his characteristic position on the two truths, Tsong kha pa proposed that what was refuted by Nāgārjuna was any form of essential or *intrinsic* existence. This opposed what Tsong kha pa perceived as Dol po pa's reification of the enlightened state, involving the assertion of a pure and privileged transcendent state of consciousness. Here, the enlightened mind had the same ontological status as other conventional phenomena. While denying instrinsic existence, Tsong kha pa's unique – and

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Tsong kha pa's arguments tha
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tenets, are set out in four key work

1. *Dka' gnad brgyad kyi zin b*
Eight Difficult Points [of Prāsaṅgi
TBRC W22272; trans. Seyfort Rueg

2. *Dbu ma dgongs pa rab g*
tary to Candrakīrti's *Madhyam*
W1KG15604);

3. *Lhag mthong chen mo* (th
the *Lam rim chen mo*; TBRC W4
Chenmo Translation Committee,

4. *Dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur b*
bya ba'i rnam bshad rigs pa'i rgya
as *Rtsa she'i ṭīk chen*), a commenta
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contentious – understanding of the two truths left the ordinary (conventional) world intact, granting it a degree of coherence and verifiable efficacy that many other commentators of Nāgārjuna believed he had striven to undermine (Tauscher, 1995). Tsong kha pa's interpretation of Indian texts requires the addition of numerous modal qualifiers, such as "truly" (*bden par*) and "conventionally" (*tha snyad du*) (Tillemans, 1998), which seemingly moderate, for instance, statements of negation, such as the denial that adherents of the Madhyamaka school of thought hold specific theses or propositions.

Tsong kha pa's arguments that the Prāsaṅgika was the highest view in the ascending doxographical model, and his assertion that the Prāsaṅgika was a distinct philosophical tradition with its own set of tenets, are set out in four key works:

1. *Dka' gnad brgyad kyi zin bris* (Notes on the Eight Difficult Points [of Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika]; TBRC W22272; trans. Seyfort Ruegg, 2002);
2. *Dbu ma dgongs pa rab gsal*, a commentary to Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* (TBRC W1KG15604);
3. *Lhag mthong chen mo* (the last section of the *Lam rim chen mo*; TBRC W466; trans. Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee, 2004); and
4. *Dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba'i rnam bshad rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* (also known as *Rtsa she'i ṭīk chen*), a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (TBRC W22272; trans. Samten & Garfield, 2006).

While ostensibly aligning himself with Pa tshab Nyi ma grags in recommending Candrakīrti as Nāgārjuna's principal Indian commentator, Tsong kha pa effectively discards the notion that Candrakīrti was skeptical with regard to the certainty of knowledge in the conventional domain, thus distancing himself from what has sometimes been called "Madhyamaka free from extremes" (*mtha' bral dbu ma*), or "the view of neither being nor nonbeing" (*yod min med min gyi lta ba*; Tillemans, 1998). Instead, he supported the position of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla on the necessity of inferential reasoning, and further emphasized the importance of the epistemological approach, suggesting that Dharmakīrti's philosophy was not incompatible with that of Candrakīrti. His writings on Pramāṇa are relatively few in number, but his position is said to be outlined in the writings of his chief disciples, especially the *Tshad ma rnam 'grel thar lam gsal byed*, Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's commentary to the *Pramāṇavārttika* (TBRC W665; the second chapter is translated by Jackson, 1993). As with his *Dka' gnad brgyad kyi zin bris*, this work is reported to be a reworking of the notes Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen took during Tsong kha pa's teaching. The former is included in Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's "Collected Works" (*Gsung 'bum*, these are collections of important authors' writings), while the latter is in those of Tsong kha pa. Aspects of Tsong kha pa's views on Pramāṇa are also reflected in Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang's commentary to the *Pramāṇavārttika* (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel ṭīk chen rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*; TBRC W321) as well as in his *Tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel* (TBRC W1KG16155; trans. Samuels, forthcoming), and in the *Tshad ma rigs rgyan* (TBRC W1KG16157), written by another direct disciple of Tsong kha pa, Dge 'dun grub (1391–1474), who was retrospectively designated the first Dalai Lama. Rather than specific commentaries, the latter two works deal with Pramāṇa topically, in much the same way as the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and the *bsdus pa* literature.

Tsong kha pa's views on Madhyamaka are also reflected in, for example, Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang's *Dbu ma stong thun chen mo* (TBRC W00EGS1016265; trans. Cabezón, 1992). As with the major work on Pramāṇa, it is the *Rnam bshad snying po'i rgyan* (The Ornament of the Essence; TBRC W3CN1449), Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's commentary to *Sphuṭārthā*, *'Grel ba don gsal* (Haribhadra's Clear Meaning Commentary; D 3793/P 5191) to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* that later Dge lugs tradition regards as presenting Tsong kha pa's final thought on the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom), rather than his own early commentary on the topic, *Legs bshad gser phreng* (Golden Garland of Eloquence; TBRC W1KG16138; trans. Sparham, 2007–2009). The same later tradition has sought to project a greater degree of philosophical homogeneity between the writings of Tsong kha pa and his chief disciples – and indeed between his early and mature periods – than seems warranted by their content.

With regard to Tibet's earlier intellectual tradition, Tsong kha pa's "Collected Works" include a brief exposition on Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, entitled *Dbu ma rgyan gyi brjed byang* (TBRC W22272). This is also considered to be Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's notes from teachings by Tsong kha pa on Śāntarakṣita's text (trans. Blumenthal, 2004, 249–287). More recently, a commentary of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* attributed to Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen was discovered (*Rgyal tshab rje'i tshad ma rigs gter 'grel pa*; TBRC W1KG11902), although some doubts over the attribution have been raised (Dreyfus, 1993). Issues regarding the authorship, attribution, and inclusion (or exclusion) from volumes of "Collected Works" appear to exhibit some parallels with those related to the formation of the canon. The intellectual development of the works by Tsong kha pa's disciples and the exact relation between their thought and that of Tsong kha pa require further investigation.

The 15th to the 16th Centuries: Critics of Tsong kha pa

Tsong kha pa's theories sparked controversy and stimulated much philosophical discussion among Tibetan authors. Before the Dge lugs was considered to be a distinct school, and perhaps fueled by the sense that Tsong kha pa – whose principal teacher was the Sa skya master Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349–1412) – had misrepresented their tradition, Sa skya scholars formed the vanguard of the critics disputing Tsong kha pa's representation of Madhyamaka and the two truths. Prominent detractors included the Sa skya authors Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shā kya Mchog ldan (1428–1507), Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429–1489), and Stag tshang Lo tsa ba Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405). The eighth Karmapa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554?) also composed a refutation of Tsong kha pa's views on Madhyamaka (Williams, 1983; trans. Goldfield *et al.*, 2006). Although united in their opposition to Tsong kha pa, there are significant differences in their respective positions.

Perhaps the most effective critic of Tsong kha pa was Go rams pa. In his major Madhyamaka texts, *Lta ba'i shan 'byed* (Distinguishing the View; TBRC W1PD1725; trans. Cabezón & Dargyay, 2007; Arguillère, 2008), *Lta ba ngan sel* (Eliminating Bad Views; TBRC W1PD1725), a commentary on Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, and *Dbu ma'i spyi don* (A General Synopsis of Madhyamaka; TBRC W1PD1725) he adopts an overtly polemical stance, especially in criticism of Tsong kha pa, while in the first mentioned work he also disputes Dol po pa's interpretation of Madhyamaka philosophy. Go rams pa's critique of Tsong kha pa was perhaps the main factor resulting in the subsequent censoring of his works, which only emerged from relative obscurity in the 20th century.

Tsong kha pa had proposed that the distinction between the two truths was to be understood on the basis of the apprehended object (*yul*). This meant that something might be said to have two natures: one conventional, the other ultimate. Go rams pa argued against this, maintaining that the distinction must be made on the basis of the apprehending subject (*yul can*). Seeking to reverse Tsong kha pa's version of the Madhyamaka subdivision, Go rams pa reasserted that the division between Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika lay in their preferred method, and indicated nothing about their understanding of reality. Like Tsong kha pa, Go rams pa espoused that logical reasoning was essential to the path. However, he supported neither Tsong kha pa's application of logical rules – such as that a double negation implies an affirmation – nor his use of qualification (ultimate or conventional) when interpreting Indian treatises. For Go rams pa, negation, such as that in Nāgārjuna's famous tetralemma found in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārika* – in which a thing is said to arise neither from itself, another, both, or neither – was to be taken literally, and such statements represented analytical devices that undermine and dismantle conception, rather than lead to "correct" forms of conception, as might be said to be the case in Tsong kha pa's view. Although Go rams pa argued that a conceptual method had to be used in order to eventually arrive at a state of nonconceptuality, in his *Lta ba'i shan 'byed*, he defended himself against accusations that his approach was simply one of nonthinking (for a general description of Go rams pa's views, see Kassor, 2011; for a comparison of Go rams pa's differences with Tsong kha pa, see Thakchoe, 2007)

Shā kya Mchog ldan's writings on Madhyamaka include its history in India and Tibet (*Dbu ma'i byung tshul rnam par bshad pa'i gtam yid bzhin lhun po*; TBRC W00EGS1016899; Tillemans & Tomabechi, 1995; Komarovski, 2000). In his *Theg pa chen po dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i chos kyi bang mdzod lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* (Ocean of Scriptural Statements and Reasoning: Treasury of Ascertainment of the Mahāyāna Middle Way; TBRC W23200) he launched a systematic critique of Tsong kha pa. In later writings, Shā kya Mchog ldan moved markedly toward the extrinsic emptiness position expounded earlier by Dol po pa. He challenged the doxographical categories and produced a unique reading of the Yogācāra and Madhyamaka systems, aimed at demonstrating how they could be understood as compatible (Komarovski, 2011). The impact of these works on Tibetan intellectual thought is difficult to judge. Aspects of Shā kya Mchog ldan's works did not meet with the approval of mainstream Sa skya thinkers, and only reappeared from obscurity in the 1970s.

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'od stong 'phro ba; TBRC W1KG35
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Stag tshang Lo tsa ba (b. 1405) voiced his critique of Tsong kha pa in a work on doxography (*Grub mtha' kun shes nas mtha' bral grub pa*; TBRC W29895), in which he calls into question the latter's proposition regarding the role of valid cognition in establishing conventional objects. Probably inspired by G.yag ston Sangs rgyas dpal (1348 –1414) and his commentary on "Treasury of Logic on Valid Cognition" (*Sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa rigs pa'i 'od stong 'phro ba*; TBRC W1KG3509), there was a renewed interest in Sa skya Paṇḍita's work, with Go rams pa and Shā kya Mchog ldan, among others, composing their respective commentaries (*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs pa phyin ci ma log par 'grel ba tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi don gsal bar byed pa* and *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs rgyan rigs pa'i 'khor los lugs ngan pham byed*; both texts can be found in TBRC W20402). These works were chiefly aimed at reaffirming Sa skya Paṇḍita's anti-realist stance. G.yag ston Sangs rgyas dpal especially attacked Phya pa, and his perceived realist position on universals and commonsense objects, as outlined in the "Summaries" (*bsdus pa*) (Dreyfus, 1997, 24). Current understanding of Phya pa's works relies partly upon what can be gleaned from Shā kya Mchog ldan's critical analysis. In these Sa skya works, disapproval of Tsong kha pa's position is more muted than in texts dealing with the subject of Madhyamaka. However, differing understandings of the roles of language, thought, and logic, and interpretations of Dharmakīrti's views were still in many respects at variance with those of the Dge lugs school. For an elaboration on these rival interpretations of Pramāṇa, see G.B.J. Dreyfus, 1997.

The 16th to the 19th Centuries: The Rise of Scholasticism

The aforementioned attacks upon Tsong kha pa's writings provoked responses by Dge lugs authors. These are regularly cited as examples of what is now generally viewed as a distinct genre, most often designated (often retrospectively) as *dgag lan*. This term is frequently translated as "polemical literature" (for further discussion, see Lopez, 1996; Viehbeck, 2014), but refers more specifically to a work that sets out to answer or rebut an attempted refutation. In the Dge lugs context these are invariably defences of Tsong khapa's positions. The tradition of composing rejoinders precedes the Dge lugs era, and writings bearing titles such as *rtsod lan* ("counter argument") are by no means limited to philosophical subject matter. However, the systematic and rehearsed approach and the vitriolic language of the Dge lugs defences – such as Rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan's (1469–1546) *Go lan* (Response to Gorampa; TBRC W19227; Lopez, 1996, 217) – seem to distinguish them from what came before, and certainly aid in cementing the notion of a distinct genre.

Students of Tsong kha pa were inspired to found the monasteries of 'Bras spungs and Se ra in 1416 and 1419, respectively. These, together with Dga' ldan monastery, formed the "Three Seats" (*Gdan sa gsum*), the most powerful Dge lugs monasteries. The three eventually became the world's largest monastic institutions, and their ascendency launched an era of Dge lugs monastic dominance. The monasteries increasingly defined themselves in terms of scholastic activity, specifically laying far greater stress upon group sessions of dialectical contestation and formalized debate than discourse and tutoring (on the concept of scholasticism in relation to the Dge lugs tradition see, Cabezón, 1994). For their part, the non-Dge lugs schools developed commentarial schools (*bshad grwa*), in which exegesis was stressed (Dreyfus, 2005, 276–292).

As Tsong kha pa's successors systematized his philosophical teachings, and the monasteries steadily grew more organized and successful, there were gradual moves toward tailoring these teachings for pedagogical purposes, within an increasingly standardized curriculum (various aspects of traditional Dge lugs education are explored by Onoda, 1992; Dreyfus, 2003). This brought about innovations in genre, such as the introduction of manuals known as *bsdus grwa* ("collected topics"), the oldest available instance of which is the *Rwa stod bsdus grwa* (TBRC W2CZ8044), composed by 'Jam dbyangs mchog lha 'od zer (1429–1500). The tradition of outlining one's position within the format of debate was already well established in Tibetan philosophical literature. The *bsdus grwa* works (Perdue, 1992; Onoda, 1992), which were designed to serve as primers for young monks, take this to another level, dispensing almost entirely with exegesis. The texts consist primarily of a series of debates. The "correct" position on various points is represented by the responses of "our system" (*rang lugs*) to the arguments of different (usually unidentified) opponents. It might generally be observed, however, that the responses and the positions of the various interlocutors in *bsdus grwa* and other scholastic literature range from the obvious to the oblique, and the manner of their presentation is certainly intended to fuel debate and exploration.

The "Three Seats" were comprised of various colleges (*grwa tshang*). The educational evolution of the college system was intimately linked with the growth of scholastic literature. Each college eventually adopted a different author as their main spokesman and interpreter of the legacy of Tsong kha pa and his main disciples. Works by these authors are known as *yig cha* – textbooks of the respective colleges, serving as the primary materials for the study of philosophical writings. The core *yig cha* are texts entitled *spyi don* and *mtha' dpyod*. Tending more toward synopsis, the *spyi don* (lit. general meaning) deal with their respective areas (principally *phar phyin* [Prajñāpāramitā], *dbu ma* [Madhyamaka], and *tshad ma* [Pramāṇa]) more systematically and include numerous divisions and classifications, and sections of exegesis. The *mtha' dpyod* (lit. examination of boundaries) consider specific issues, entirely through the aforementioned medium of debate, where the "correct" system has to be deciphered from the author's responses to the arguments of various opponents. The *spyi don* and the *mtha' dpyod* were sometimes supported by various supplementary works or appendices by later writers, bearing names such as *mchan* and *zur bkol*. *Spyi don* and *mtha' dpyod* had already been in use as titles prior to this era, but it is within the Dge lugs scholastic literature that they solidify into clearly distinguished genres. The relatively late beginnings of the Dge lugs tradition and its concentration upon the literary endowment of Tsong kha pa and his main disciples means that, historically speaking, the Dge lugs school maintains the highest degree of philosophical homogeneity. Despite major rivalries between the Dge lugs colleges, and fierce loyalties to their respective *yig cha* authors, philosophical differences between these authors are minimal.

The Dge lugs ascendancy was facilitated by the foundation of the Ganden Podrang (Dga' ldan pho brang) government, under the fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682), with the support of the Dzungar Mongol leader Gushri Khan (1582–1655). This initially led to an unprecedented period of literary censorship, primarily targeting works of philosophical content. The works of the Jo nang tradition, as well as those of vehement critics of Tsong kha pa, such as Go rams pa and Shā kya Mchog ldan, were banned in Central Tibet, only to be retrieved from Eastern Tibet during the 20th century. Subsequently, under the patronage of the Manchu dynasty, the Dge lugs tradition enjoyed a position verging on that of a state religion. During this era several important treatises on doxography were produced by Dge lugs scholars, beginning with the *Grub mtha' chen mo* (Great Exposition of Philosophical Systems; TBRC W21503; partial trans. Hopkins, 2004) by 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1648–1721), followed by Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's (1717–1786) *Grub mtha' lhun po mdzes rgyan* (Exposition of the Philosophical Systems Beautifying the Axis Mundi; TBRC W28833; partial trans. Klein, 1987; Lopez, 1987; Hopkins, 1995), and the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* (Crystal Mirror of the Philosophical Systems; TBRC W2124; trans. Sopa & Jackson, 2009) by Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802). The last named work is notable for its inclusion of the Bon tradition. More generally speaking, these texts further advanced the Dge lugs version of the hierarchical doxographical model, while moving toward a more inclusive understanding of the philosophical landscape.

Dge lugs scholasticism exerted a major influence on the other Tibetan traditions: various non-Dge lugs monasteries adopted an education system modelled upon it, and produced their own versions of monastic educational materials such as *bsdus grwa* works. Later Dge lugs writings move further toward formulaic representation and rehearsed argumentation, which are characteristic of the scholastic tradition. The strength of the Dge lugs and the perceived absence of serious philosophical challengers – although the writings of non-Dge lugs authors during the 17th and 18th centuries in particular require further study – led to a process of scholastic stultification. Authors turned repeatedly to attacking long-dead scholars, particularly Rong ston Shākya rgyal tshan (1367–1449), Dol po pa, and Stag tshang Lo tsa ba, while increasingly there was a narrowing of philosophical scope, which focused upon the *yig cha*.

Tibetan Philosophy in the 19th Century

The Dge lugs supremacy, occasionally manifesting in religious exclusivism, marginalized the other traditions, particularly in Central Tibet, and overshadowed much of the pre-Dge lugs intellectual history. The fortunes of the non-Dge lugs schools were to some extent revived by the advent of what has commonly been referred to as the Ris med (lit. nonpartisan) movement in Kham, Eastern Tibet. Although some questions have been raised about whether it is correct to regard this as a distinct movement (for further discussion, see Gardner, 2006, 112 ff.;

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ion, see Gardner, 2006, 112 ff.;

Viehbeck, 2014, 68–74), the Ris med trend is often thought to have arisen to counteract the perceived growing hostilities between the various schools. Ris med was not overtly philosophical, although its most important figure, the prolific author 'Jam mgon Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899), did compose some philosophical works, commenting, for instance, on the writings of the third Karmapa, Rang byung rdo rje (Brunnhölzl, 2007). He is, however, generally viewed as an encyclopedist, whose major treatise, the *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (Treasury of Knowledge; TBRC W5488), recorded much that was relevant to Tibet's intellectual past. Most chapters of this large work have been translated into English (Kalu Rinpoche Translation Group *et al.*, 2003–2010). This process of recording helped to preserve and, in some cases, rescue earlier teachings that were threatened with extinction. The appearance of this work, and the Ris med movement in general, helped foster affinities and encouraged sharing, mainly among the non-Dge lugs schools. Furthermore, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's editing, codification, and systemization of the sprawling mass of knowledge eventually provided an impetus to later figures who, with newfound intellectual confidence, developed analytical systems that were hitherto lacking in the Rnying ma and Bka' brgyud traditions.

The most important of these later figures was the Rnying ma scholar, Mi pham Rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912), possibly the most original thinker of his time, who was active in the Eastern Tibetan kingdom of Derge (Sde dge), the heart of Ris med activity. Mi pham sought to harmonize the Rnying ma's Rdzogs chen teachings with aspects of Indian philosophical traditions. This project was aided by his engagement with authors commonly associated with the Ris med movement, and his drawing from the writings of figures such as Go rams pa. Mi pham is particularly known for his works on Madhayamka (described in Phuntsho, 2005). Mi pham's commentary to Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (*Dbu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung*; TBRC W30366; trans. Doctor, 2004; Padmakara Translation Committee, 2005) aimed to reestablish the centrality of this Indian text. He also described and contextualized the view of extrinsic emptiness, in works such as *Gzhan stong khas len seng ge'i nga ro* (TBRC W1PD76231; trans. Pettit, 1999; Kapstein, 2009). In his *Nor bu ke ta ka* (TBRC W2DB16631; trans. Arguillère, 2004), a commentary to the ninth chapter of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (D 3871/ P 5272), he was especially critical of Tsong kha pa's position on Madhyamaka. This provoked responses from Dge lugs scholars, and drew him into a protracted exchange with Dpa' ris Rab gsal (1840–1912), which took the form of writings of the *dgag lan* genre (Viehbeck, 2014). Mi pham's compositions and his willingness to draw from authors of other traditions left a lasting legacy. A number of his works were studied in monastic colleges of the Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud, and Sa skya schools. As part of the process of exchange, the writings by Go rams pa, from which Mi pham drew particular inspiration, have also been studied within Rnying ma centers of learning.

Tibetan Philosophy in Recent Times

Following the revitalization of the non-Dge lugs traditions, including the increased systematization and embracing of scholastic learning, the first half of the 20th century saw little in the way of development in philosophical literature. The *Klu grub dgongs rgyan* (Ornament of Nāgārjuna's Intent; TBRC W17210; trans. Lopez, 2006) by Dge 'dun chos 'phel (1903–1951) is perhaps the best known work from the period. Philosophically, it renewed some of the criticisms of Tsong kha pa's Madhyamaka interpretation, making reference to arguments of Mi pham and other critics. However, the current image of the work bears little relation to its initial impact or its philosophical contribution. It was seized upon by those outside the Dge lugs, who were keen to emphasize that it was composed by someone originally trained within that tradition. Its current high profile derives much from the contemporary fascination (particularly among Western academics) with the author, who was also a figure of controversy for more reasons than his philosophical writings.

The decades immediately following the Chinese Communist annexation in the 1950s were the most challenging period for Tibetan literature in general. An effective ban on serious literary activity in the Tibetan language, beginning in the 1960s, was only relaxed during the late 1970s. Writings that emerged prior to this point – and many that appeared subsequently – adopt what purports to be a Marxist-Leninist perspective on Tibetan culture and religion. There is little to suggest serious philosophical reflection: the vast majority of such writings represent ideological (and uninformed) propaganda, intent upon vilifying the ways of thinking associated with "old" Tibet. In the Tibetan regions, genuine attempts to understand Western philosophy perhaps only began in the 1990s, with writings by young scholars such as the *Nub phyogs sher rtogs rig pa'i tshig 'bum* by 'Brong bu tshe ring rdo rje (Compendium of Western Philosophy; 1995). In the exile community, at a similar time, the 14th Dalai Lama participated in lively dialogues with non-Tibetan scientists and philosophers. In Tibet, the efforts of Tibetan authors to understand Western philosophers have been hampered by their exclusive reliance upon questionable Chinese translations and sometimes by an imperfect grasp of Tibetan philosophy. Both communities lack any form of standardized vocabulary for dealing with non-Tibetan philosophy, or for bridging the gulf between Tibetan and Western systems. For example, translations for "philosophy" range from *sher rtogs rig pa* in Tibet, to *lta grub*, or even simply *lta ba* ("views") among members of the diaspora. Tibetan interest – both on an individual and institutional level – in non-Tibetan philosophical systems and comparisons with indigenous philosophy has been limited. This is at least partly attributable to the fact that so much energy of Tibetan scholars is devoted to the rediscovery, conservation, and propagation of the indigenous literary heritage. Their efforts have proved successful in bringing traditional philosophical material to a wider audience. However, this concentration upon the historical material makes it difficult to identify contemporary Tibetan language works that might qualify as significant contributions to indigenous philosophical literature.

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JONATHAN SAMUELS
BERTHE JANSEN

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Philosophical Literature: Japan

Buddhist philosophical literature in Japan makes extensive use of Classical Chinese works, and with the exception of certain works written in Japanese, it was the norm for Buddhist philosophical literature in Japan to be written in Classical Chinese. Japanese Buddhism, along with that of China, Vietnam, and the Korean Peninsula, thus belongs to the Classical Chinese Buddhist cultural sphere. Classical Chinese, within this sphere, played a role similar to that of Latin in the Western world.

Despite this use of a common language and set of cultural assumptions, there is much in the Japanese Buddhist philosophical corpus unique to Japan. As the structure of the Japanese language differs from that of Chinese, it was often the case that Classical Chinese word order was altered and Japanese words were added to aid understanding. Over time, the custom of reading Classical Chinese as if it were Japanese took hold; this was the system of *kundoku* (訓読; Jin Wenjing, 2010, 21ff.). Guiding code marks (*kunten* [訓点]) indicating Japanese word order were added to texts to facilitate their reading. In addition, Classical Chinese written by Japanese people often did not follow the grammatical rules of the continental original.

A considerable number of works deliberately paid no attention to Classical Chinese grammar and from the outset arranged Chinese characters in the Japanese reading order. Many of these were of the nature of notes or records never intended to be presented as finished pieces of writing. The fact that the reading and writing of Classical Chinese in Japan was by no means necessarily correct or precise served to increase the margin for free thought and interpretation.

Recent scholarly work on Japanese Buddhism from the perspective of philosophy includes works by J.W. Heisig, T.P. Kasulis, and J.C. Maraldo (2011), in which the point is made that in Buddhism, philosophy and religion are not distinguished. This distinction was introduced from the West in the 19th century and gave rise to a great debate on the question of whether Buddhism was a philosophy or a religion. However, it is certainly clear that this distinction did not originally exist within Buddhism itself and that both philosophical reasoning and soteriological purpose are fundamental to Buddhism. An empirical, dogmatically neutral understanding of the nature of man and the world is not a central aim of Buddhist philosophy. Rather, with religious ideals such as enlightenment or rebirth in the Pure Land as key principles, an understanding of the relationship between this world and those ideal states is at the heart of Buddhist philosophical concerns. An understanding of this fact is prerequisite to a consideration of Buddhist philosophy. Of particular interest with regard to the method of philosophical argumentation is the fact that debate in Buddhism typically develops around the interpretation of previously existing textual materials. In India, at first, the words of the scriptures themselves were accepted as proof for arguments. This changed over time, and eventually only direct perception and reasoned inference were accepted as valid epistemic methods (Ganeri, 2001). The field of logic then emerged as set of rules for logical inference and argumentation. Buddhist logic was also studied in Japan, where it was known as *inmyō* (因明; Takemura Shōhō, 1986). Indian logic was bound up, however, with the structures of Indian languages. It was therefore difficult to translate accurately to Chinese, and the process of translation introduced a great many misunderstandings and errors. Despite this, the study of Buddhist logic flourished in Japan, and we observe many instances of Japanese Buddhist debaters making efforts to put forward arguments in keeping with its rules (Takemura Shōhō, 1970, 30–52; Nakamura Hajime, 1967, 192–194). That is not to say that these efforts were always successful. Thus it was that Japanese Buddhist philosophy developed as a hermeneutic discipline wherein interpretations of textual precedents rather than arguments from pure reason were offered as proofs. If one's views were problematic or inconvenient, the issue was how one might go about reinterpreting and changing them. In so doing, the texts acceptable as scriptural bases for argument were the *sūtras*, Indian or Chinese exegetical works and commentaries, and the works of Japanese treatise masters (*ronshi* [論師]) established as authorities. Among these, the works of the school's founding patriarchs were in particular treated as holy writ. Obtaining *sūtras*

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and commentarial literature from China was thus of great significance. With the transmission and copying of the Tripiṭaka, the study of Buddhist philosophy in Japan began in earnest (Sueki Fumihiko, 2014a, 91–104).

The wide distribution of texts was attempted as publishing became available in and around the 12th century. It was not until the 17th century, however, that printed canons entered circulation in large numbers. As scholarship increased on the *sūtras* and commentarial literature that formed the textual bases for the doctrines of the various Buddhist schools in Japan (Ishii Kōsei, 2012), many annotated editions of such works were produced. There are also a considerable number of school-specific "essential texts" collections and works that focus on a certain theme or issue. The type of argumentation contained in such volumes was also put forth in the form of lectures, debates (exegetical and sectarian disputes), preaching, exposition of the dharma, and oral teachings given in private. Extant records of these live forms of argumentation have great significance as philosophical materials. In these hermeneutical debates, branches within a certain school broke away over even a minor difference in interpretation that became the subject of a dispute. Another flourishing area was the classification of Buddhist teachings according to content, period, and other factors known as *kyōsō hanjaku* (教相判釋; doctrinal taxonomy; often abbreviated to *kyōhan* – the term *kyōhan* is equivalent to the Chinese *pànjiāo* [判教]; Sueki Fumihiko, 2014b). This taxonomy typically involved judging the relative value of Buddhist doctrines.

The above forms of Japanese Buddhist philosophical literature are not limited in scope to narrow, technical points of philosophy. They are works that recognize and embrace the importance of ritual, meditative, and other forms of practice and give due attention to texts relevant to such matters. In the past, scholarly research focused only on those textual materials that had been edited and produced as finished works. Now, all the materials stored in temples are referred to as sacred teachings, *shōgyō* (聖教; Abe Yasurō, 2010). This includes such items as *injin* (印信; documents, particularly in the esoteric traditions, that signify the passing of teachings from master to disciple; Nagamura Makoto, 2000, 94) and notes for the performance of rituals. Comprehensive surveys of materials held in Buddhist temples are now being carried out (Nagamura Makoto, 2000). These hitherto insufficiently studied materials, far from being unassociated with philosophical concerns, provide clues for the understanding of the deep ties that bind Buddhist philosophy to Buddhist practice. The importance of images, sculpture, and architecture is now also being fully recognized, along with the limits imposed by an overreliance on documentary materials. Buddhist philosophy in Japan must now be approached with full regard to nondocumentary materials, although, this overview article will mainly look to documentary sources in the form of completed texts.

The paragraphs above deal with issues concerning the materials relevant to the development of Buddhist philosophy in Japan. The following sections turn to Japanese Buddhist philosophical texts in historical context, after a brief survey of the fundamental concepts of Japanese Buddhism.

Buddhism, having originated in India, has its foundations in Indian thought. That is to say, it has as a first principle the purpose of breaking free from the suffering inherent in saṃsāra, the cyclical existence dependent on karma (Gowans, 2003, 104–116; Sadakata Akira and Nakamura Hajime, 1997, 69–71). The notion of saṃsāra was introduced to East Asia along with Buddhism. The six realms of saṃsāra (*rokudō* [六道]) through which beings wander are the following:

1. the hell realms;
2. the realm of hungry ghosts;
3. the animal realm;
4. the realm of the *asura* (angry gods);
5. the human realm; and
6. the heavenly realms.

Thus, the concept of beings is not limited to humans but is understood to include all living beings (*shujō* [衆生]; Skt. *sattva*). Animals in particular were thought to belong to the same category as humans. The question of whether plant life could be placed in the same broad category as humans and animals became a debate topic. Saṃsāra entails a clear concept of another existence following death. There had not been any logically grounded concept of an afterlife in Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism, and thus the Buddhist view of life after death came to be widely accepted throughout the Japanese archipelago (Nauman, 2004, 51–62; Matsumura Kazuo, 2006). However, the very Indian notion of cyclical transmigration in saṃsāra spanning from the limitless past to a limitless future was not easily absorbed in East Asia. Therefore, "[b]y the seventh century in China, we find the creation of interpretative paradigms that stressed practices capable of bringing liberation at an accele
2011, 45). These paradigms were
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bringing liberation at an accelerated pace" (Blum, 2011, 45). These paradigms were to develop further in Japan.

Concepts such as achieving buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* [即身成佛]), rebirth in the Pure Land (*jōdo ōjō* [浄土往生]), and sudden enlightenment (*dongo* [頓悟]) allowed for ideal states such as enlightenment and rebirth in the Pure Land to be realized relatively easily. These ideals were particularly thoroughly and popularly diffused in Japan and reached their logical conclusion, or limit, in innate-enlightenment thought (*hongaku shisō* [本覚思想]). The term "innate enlightenment" appears in the Chinese *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* (Jpn. *Daijō kishin ron* [大乗起信論]; Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna; Stone, 1999, 3–35). As it developed in Japan, this notion meant to view the actual states in which beings existed as essentially the same as the absolute buddha nature. Such theories were predicated on the perceived supremacy of the Mahāyāna. Non-Mahāyāna Buddhism was seen as a "Hīnayāna" ("Lesser Vehicle") and consequently of little value. This general view was held more or less continuously and uncritically until the 18th century. Vasubandhu's "Hīnayāna" text *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Jpn. *Abidatsuma Kusharon* [阿毘達磨俱舎論]) has, nevertheless, a foundational influence on the basic Japanese Buddhist worldview.

That imagined world has Mount Sumeru at its center, and to the south thereof is the world of men, Jambudvīpa ("Continent of the Black Plum Tree"), which has India (Tenjiku [天竺]) at its center and China (Shintan [震旦]) to the east. Japan was seen as no more than a small peripheral island far from this main continental landmass, and this view of the world took hold throughout Japan (Abe Yasurō, 2012). This is known as the "peripheral land Japan" theory (*Nihon henkokuron* [日本辺国論]). From the 13th century onward, it gave way to the more nationalist viewpoint that Japan was a land protected by the gods – the "land of the *kami*" theory (*shinkokuron* [神国論]; Sato Hiroo, 2006, 87–129). The "land of the *kami*" theory was not an outright contradiction of the "peripheral land Japan" theory. It was based, rather, on the concept that because Japan was indeed a peripheral land far from the heart of the Buddhist world, the buddhas had appeared there in the form of *kami* for the salvation of its inhabitants. This concept is known as the "original ground, manifest traces" theory (*honji suijaku setsu* [本地垂迹説]), the key logical framework for Japanese *kami* being treated as incarnations of Buddhist deities (Teeuwen & Rambelli, 2003).

We may understand the development of Buddhism in Japan in terms of four distinct periods. The first period, during which Buddhist thought in Japan underwent its initial formation, was roughly from the 7th to the late 9th century. The second period, from around the late 10th to the 14th century, was one in which the fundamental philosophy established in the first period was developed into a philosophy of practice from a mind-body perspective. The third period, roughly from the 15th to the first half of the 19th century, was one of the gradual extension of the territory occupied by this-worldly concerns within Buddhist thought. It was also one in which Shintō thought took shape and Buddhism's ongoing interrelation with Shintō, Confucian, Christian, and other schools of thought developed further. The fourth period, in which modernization and the introduction of Western culture gave rise to new thought and new avenues of study, began in the latter half of the 19th century. The key characteristics of Japanese Buddhist philosophy apply most directly to the first and second periods. During the third and fourth periods, Japanese Buddhist thought changed as a result of interaction with other intellectual cultures and traditions. This article focuses on the first two periods and will touch only briefly on the third. The fourth period, one of dramatic changes due to the introduction of European and American culture, requires separate treatment. This article is intended to provide a clear picture of the overall character of the first three stages in the history of Buddhist philosophy in Japan, rather than any detailed exploration of individual works.

Initial Formation

According to tradition, Buddhism was brought to Japan from the kingdom of Paekche on the Korean Peninsula in either 538 or 551 CE. At this point in time, however, Buddhism in Japan was limited to such activities as the worship of buddha images, and theoretical study had yet to begin. A figure known as Prince Shōtoku (Shōtoku Taishi [聖徳太子]) is thought to have emerged in the early 7th century; he is credited with bringing Buddhism into national politics and is believed to have authored commentaries on the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*, and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The debate as to whether these were actually the work of Shōtoku himself or merely make use of his name has continued for many years, and as yet no conclusion has been reached. In recent years, the argument for the Japanese provenance of these works from the presence of Japanese grammatical forms in their Classical Chinese has been recognized as a strong one (Ishii Kōsei, 2008).

We can be certain that it was not until the latter half of the 7th century that Buddhist *sūtras* in Classical Chinese were brought to Japan in large numbers. In the 8th century, a complete Tripiṭaka was brought to Japan, and its copying on a grand scale was undertaken as a state project (Kornicki, 1997, 78–87; Sansom, 1978, 141–143). These copies became the fundamental materials for debate on sacred scripture. Around this time, groups were formed around the study of the various schools of Buddhist thought. These were called *shū* (宗), institutional scholarly groups involving a shared doctrinal interest. Eventually, these groups solidified in the mid-7th century into the Kusha (俱舍), Jōjitsu (成實), Ritsu (律), Sanron (三論), Hossō (法相), and Kegon (華嚴) schools. These are known as the six schools of the southern capital (i.e. Nara; *nanto rokushū* [南都六宗]). Each of these schools had a scholastic headquarters within one of the major temples of the time, where they held lectures and carried out scholarly inquiries in honor of their venerated founders (Sueki Fumihiko, 1996). Furthermore, a fixed number of ordinands were given government permission to become Buddhist monks each year. In this way, the study of Buddhist philosophy made rapid progress from the second half of the 7th to the first half of the 8th century. Commentaries were written on the essential texts of each school, and it became possible for debates to arise (Sueki Fumihiko, 1996).

There were marked differences between the six schools. The Kusha and Jōjitsu schools were for the study of the Abhidharma commentaries *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and **Satyasiddhiśāstra* (Jpn. *Jōjitsu ron* [成實論]), respectively. As such, they were important as a locus for the foundational study necessary for understanding other schools and provided a basic conceptual framework for a shared Buddhist philosophical worldview. Study of the **Satyasiddhiśāstra* did not flourish in later days. In contrast, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* was studied by successive generations of monks as an invaluable foundation to the study of Buddhism (Sueki Fumihiko, 1996). The Hossō and Sanron schools were the first to flourish, with the Hossō being particularly influential. One reason for this influence was that the Hossō school taught the latest Buddhist doctrines from Tang China, based on the consciousness-only (*cittamātra*; Jpn. *yuishiki* [唯識]) theories introduced by Xuanzang (Jpn. Genjō [玄奘]). Another reason was the support of the Fujiwara, the leading aristocratic lineage of the time. The Fujiwara made the Hossō school's headquarters a temple – the Kōfukiji [興福寺], their clan temple (*ujidera* [氏寺]; Sueki Fumihiko, 1996). Debates between the Hossō and Sanron schools took place in the late 8th century. During the first half of the 9th century, first the Tendai (天台) school and then the Shingon (真言) school were permitted an official allocation of annual Buddhist ordinands (*nenbun dosha* [年分度者]) by the Japanese government. There was thenceforth a system of eight officially recognized schools, which became the basis of Buddhism in Japan. The most famous introduction to the eight schools has always been the *Hasshūkōyō* (八宗綱要; The Essentials of the Eight Traditions). This work by the scholar monk Gyōnen (凝然), dated to 1268, has been consistently valued and is still read today (Sueki Fumihiko, 1996).

In the 13th century, the Jōdo and the Zen schools were added to the previous eight, forming a system of ten schools. Overviews of the two additional schools were included in the *Hasshūkōyō* as appendices. The major schools of Buddhism in present-day Japan consist of these ten, with the addition of the Jōdoshin and Nichiren schools. The Zen school is now separated into the Rinzai (臨済) and Sōtō (曹洞) schools; the Ōbaku (黄檗) school, introduced in Japan in the early modern period, is also counted among the schools of Japanese Zen Buddhism.

In the first half of the 9th century, two well-known great debates arose involving Saichō (最澄), the founder of the Tendai school in Japan: the Mahāyāna precepts debate (*daijōkai ronsō* [大乗戒論争]) with the Office of Monastic Affairs (*sōgō* [僧綱]) in Nara and the one-vehicle/three-vehicles debate (*sanjō/ichijō ronsō* [三乗・一乗論争]) with the Hossō monk Tokuitsu (徳一).

A number of Saichō's works on these debates are still extant, such as the *Kenkairon* (顯戒論; A Clarification of the Precepts; 819 CE) on the Mahāyāna-precepts debate and the *Shugokokkaishō* (守護國界章; 818 CE) and *Hokkeshūku* (法華秀句; 821 CE) on the one-vehicle/three-vehicles debate (see Sueki Fumihiko, 1995).

The Mahāyāna-precepts debate concerned the practical issue of Buddhist monastic precepts. Saichō argued for the introduction of the Mahāyāna precepts as found in the **Brahmajālasūtra* (Chn. *Fànwǎng jīng*; Jpn. *Bonmō kyō* [梵網經]; Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 114, 189; Groner, 1984) and against the use

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between Saichō and Tokuitsu, places t
foremost even among the Mahāyā
This work, and the debate to which i
became a catalyst for the spread of t
of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Japan (Sueki F
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y, the Jōdo and the Zen schools
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he 9th century, two well-known
involving Saichō (最澄), the
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jōkai ronsō [大乗戒論争]) with
ic Affairs (*sōgō* [僧綱]) in Nara
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hō's works on these debates
h as the *Kenkairon* (顯戒論;
he Precepts; 819 CE) on the
lebate and the *Shugokokkaishō*
) and *Hokkeshūku* (法華秀句;
vehicle/three-vehicles debate
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ecepts debate concerned the
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introduction of the Mahāyāna
the **Brahmajālasūtra* (Chn.
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oner, 1984) and against the use

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of those proposed by the ancient Buddhist schools of India, those of "*nikāya* Buddhism." The use in Japan of Mahāyāna precepts to the exclusion of the ancient Indian precepts was to become a feature of Japanese Buddhism that stood in contradistinction to the continued use of the "*nikāya* Buddhist" precepts in other Asian regions. This debate took the form of a dichotomous choice between the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, one was to be adopted and the other rejected. This conceptual framework was inherited by the Pure Land Buddhism of Hōnen from the 12th to the 13th century and became a key tendency within Japanese Buddhist thought.

The one-vehicle/three-vehicles debate between Saichō and Tokuitsu concerned points of doctrine. As no primary materials representing Tokuitsu's side of this controversy remain extant, there may be a degree of uncertainty concerning the precise arguments that he made. His position, however, was certainly based on the three-vehicles doctrine (the doctrine that the *śrāvaka*, pratyekabuddha, and bodhisattva vehicles are separate and distinct) as taught by the Hossō school. Saichō opposed this, propounding the doctrine of one vehicle. This was the doctrine that the three vehicles are all, in the final analysis, the buddha vehicle, namely, the path to buddhahood (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 71–75). The one-vehicle/three-vehicles problem was debated in China among the disciples of Xuanzang and may have been taken over in Japan. The debate continued after the time of Saichō and Tokuitsu into the 10th century (Miyoshi Toshinori, 2008). The eventual outcome was that the one-vehicle doctrine became the mainstream in Japan, and the three-vehicles doctrine was excluded. The one-vehicle doctrine is closely linked to the doctrine that all sentient beings possess buddha nature (*issai shujō shitsū busshō* [一切衆生悉有佛性]), a principle that received general acceptance in Japanese Buddhist philosophy. The *Hokkeshūku*, which marks the end of the debate between Saichō and Tokuitsu, places the *Lotus Sūtra* foremost even among the Mahāyāna scriptures. This work, and the debate to which it relates, thus became a catalyst for the spread of the veneration of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Japan (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 23ff., 65ff.).

Six of the eight schools – the Kusha and Jōjitsu schools being the exceptions – submitted overviews of their doctrines around 830 CE by order of the emperor:

1. the Sanron school submitted the *Daijō Sanron daigishō* (大乗三論大義抄) authored by Genei (玄叡);
2. the Hossō submitted the *Daijō Hossōkenjinshō* (大乗法相研神章) authored by Gomyō (護命);
3. the Kegon submitted the *Kegonshū ichijō kaishinron* (華嚴宗一乗開心論) authored by Fuki (普機);
4. the Ritsu submitted the *Kairitsu denraiki* (戒律傳來来記) authored by Buan (豊安);
5. the Tendai submitted the *Tendai hokkeshū gishū* (天台法華宗義集) authored by Gishin (義真); and
6. the Shingon submitted the *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* (秘密曼荼羅十住心論) authored by Kūkai (空海).

This event has been seen as an indication not only of the rivalry among the various schools but also that the flourishing of Japanese Buddhism lay in the schools prospering together (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995). The *Daijō Hossō kenshinshō* stood out from the other works in that it both focused on the doctrines of the Hossō school and expounded basic Buddhist concepts such as the three realms of existence (Skt. *trailokya*; Jpn. *sangai* [三界]), the five destinies (Skt. *pañcagati*; Jpn. *goshu* [五趣]), the four kinds of birth (Skt. *caturyoni*; Jpn. *shishō* [四生]), the wholesome and unwholesome causes and effects (Skt. *kuśalākuśalahetuphala*; Jpn. *zenaku inga* [善惡因果]), and the great chiliocosm (Skt. *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*; Jpn. *sanzen sekai* [三千世界]). The understanding of the Buddhist worldview found in the *Daijō Hossō kenshinshō* was not limited to the Hossō school but was common throughout Japanese Buddhism (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 23ff., 95ff.). The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* was studied throughout the various schools as a foundational and introductory text. In the Hossō school in particular, this foundation was built on by the study of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (Chn. *Cheng weishi lun*; Jpn. *Jō yuishiki ron* [成唯識論]).

Kūkai, the author of the *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron*, is well known as the person who brought esoteric Buddhism in systematic form from China to Japan. The *Himitsu mandara Jūjūshin Ron* propounds a process of spiritual development from the stage of ignorance to the stage at which the fundamental mindset appropriate to esoteric Buddhism is attained. Though this work is often compared to G.W.F. Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (The Phenomenology of Spirit), it is of the nature of a critical doctrinal taxonomy (*kyōhan* [教判]) and attributes certain stages of spiritual development to the various schools (Kawasaki Tsuneyuki, 1975). Kūkai's esoteric Buddhist thought is propounded in the *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* (辯顯顕密二教論) and *Sokushin jōbutsu ron* (即身成佛義), among other works. Of particular interest are the sections of the *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* that expound the differences between esoteric teachings and exoteric teachings (*kenkyō* [顯教]) and the acceptability of the doctrine of the preaching of the dharma by the dharma body (*dharmakaya*; *hosshin seppō* [法身說法]; see Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū Henshū Iinkai, 2000). It was argued that with the exoteric teachings, it was impossible to express the ultimate principles of reality in words. Though the esoteric teachings were understood to provide the words necessary to achieve this, these words transcended the ordinary vocabularies intelligible to laypeople.

The *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* preaches the mysterious inner purpose of esoteric Buddhism, the doctrine of achieving enlightenment in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*). This, like the Zen concept of sudden enlightenment (Chn. *dùnwù*; Jpn. *tongo* [頓悟]), meant a realization of the ultimate ideal state in this world and this lifetime. In Japan, it came to be a more widely diffused concept than that of sudden enlightenment. Kūkai explained *sokushin jōbutsu* through a system of six elements (Skt. *ṣaḍdhātu*; Jpn. *rokudai* [六大]; earth, water, fire, wind, void, and consciousness), four types of *maṇḍalas* (*shiman* [四曼]), and three mysteries (*sanmitsu* [三密]; those of body, speech, and mind; Shaner, 1985, 72–79). As all human beings possess the six elements that constitute the fundamental principles of existence, the principal constituent elements of human beings are the same as those of buddhas. Moving from this first principle through the *maṇḍalas* and the realization of the three mysteries, oneness with the buddhas was the goal to be achieved. In the *Hokkeshūku*, Saichō also preached a doctrine of *sokushin jōbutsu*. In the *Devadatta* (*Daibadattahon* [提婆達多品]) chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, an eight-year-old *nāga* princess becomes a buddha, demonstrating the possibility of achieving *sokushin jōbutsu* through the power of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Groner, 1989; 1992). This was *sokushin jōbutsu* within exoteric Buddhism; and thus, in that period, the doctrine of enlightenment in this very body was one that found expression in both esoteric and exoteric thought (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 315). The Hossō monk Tokuitsu criticized Kūkai's doctrine of *sokushin jōbutsu* in his collection of criticisms of esoteric teachings entitled *Shingonshū miketsumon* (真言宗未決文; Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 86–122). Two main aspects of his criticism are noteworthy. The first was that one lifetime was too short a space of time for Buddhist practice sufficient to attain buddhahood. The second was that the goal of achieving buddhahood for oneself lacked in the bodhisattva's compassionate saving of others. Thus *sokushin jōbutsu* became a major point of disputation during the first half of the 9th century. After this time, the doctrine of attaining buddhahood over three great eons (*sankō jōbutsu* [三劫成佛]), taught by the Hossō school, went into obsolescence, and Buddhist thought based on the *sokushin jōbutsu* paradigm became mainstream in Japan. In later years, due to the difficulty of actually achieving buddhahood in the present lifetime, the concept of attaining buddhahood after death developed and became influential (Takasaki Jikidō, 1995).

Kūkai is also known for bringing the *maṇḍalas* of the two divisions (*ryōbu mandara* [兩部曼荼羅], also called the dual *maṇḍala*, to Japan - the *mahākaruṇāgarbhamaṇḍala* (*daihitaizō* [大悲胎藏曼荼羅]; womb-of-great-compassion [*maṇḍala*]) and the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* (*kongōkaimandara* [金剛界曼荼羅]; diamond-realm *maṇḍala*). Though both these *maṇḍalas* were present in India, they were not used there as a set. It is thought to have been Kūkai's master Huiguo (Jpn. Keika [惠果]) who first did so, though it was in Japan that the use of the two *maṇḍalas* together became a significant and widespread aspect of Buddhist practice (for a full discussion of these two *maṇḍalas*, see Hatta Yukio, 1989, 31–36, 237–271; Snodgrass, 1988). According to the traditional interpretation, the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* expresses the masculine *yang* (Jpn. *yō* [陽]) principle of wisdom (Jpn. *chie* [智慧]), and the *mahākaruṇāgarbhamaṇḍala* expresses the feminine *yin* (Jpn. *in* [陰]) universal principle of reality (Jpn. *ri* [理]). Thus, this means of explaining reality is based in dualistic ideas that reflect the influence of Chinese divinatory thonght (Jpn. *eki* [易]) as found in the *Yijing* (易經; Book of Changes). In the years that followed, the thought represented by the dual *maṇḍalas* exerted an influence on Shintō and Shugendō in addition to Buddhism (Miyake Hitoshi, 1973, 21, 29–30; Morrell, 1985; Faure *et al.*, 2009; 2011). *Maṇḍalas* expressed in written characters alone were also produced; an example of such is the great *maṇḍala* (*daimandara* [大曼荼羅]) of Nichiren (日蓮; Dolce, 1999; 2002). Today's scholarship recognizes the importance of these visual and iconographic works.

After the time of Kūkai, the energy of Shingon in the pursuit of ideals decreased somewhat. Meanwhile, Tendai was enthusiastically engaged in introducing esoteric teachings. Ennin (圓仁) and Enchin (圓珍) entered Tang China in swift succes-

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sion to seek new esoteric teachings (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 283–315; Dolce, 2011). The monk Annen (安然) made a comprehensive survey of these teachings. Annen produced a great many works in addition to his compilation of Tendai esoteric thought, forming an oeuvre that became an ornament to the final stages of the first, formative period of Buddhist thought in Japan. His works, expressing the ultimate unity of all Buddhism through the esoteric teachings, express one of the key philosophical standpoints reached in Japanese Buddhist thought (Sueki Fumihiko, 1994, 69–86). Annen's early works, such as the *Sokushin jōbutsu shiki* (即身成佛私記) and *Shinjō sōmoku jōbutsu shiki* (斟定草木成佛私記), have, in comparison with his later works, a character that is somewhat less strikingly esoteric (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 377–408). The *Shinjō sōmoku jōbutsu shiki* adjusted and reformulated the early-Heian-period theory of the attainment of buddhahood by plants and trees (*sōmoku jōbutsu* [草木成佛]) and is recognized as having provided the basis for the later development of that theory (Sueki Fumihiko, 2001, 73–92). There had also been debate in China concerning the doctrine of the attainment of buddhahood by insentient beings (*hijō jōbutsu* [非情成佛] or *mujō jōbutsu* [無情成佛]). The key focus of these discussions remained, nevertheless, the practices of sentient beings. In the *Tōketsu* (唐決; The Tang Period Decisions), however, a work that records the doctrinal questions asked by early Japanese Tendai scholar monks of their Chinese Tiantai instructors, Japanese monks take up the question of the attainment of buddhahood by plants and trees with considerable zeal (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 397ff.). They ask whether it is possible for insentient plants and trees to themselves perform Buddhist practices and attain buddhahood. In the *Shinjō sōmoku jōbutsu shiki*, Annen succeeded to this dialectic; his presentation of arguments affirming the attainment of buddhahood by plants and trees was of considerable influence to following generations. Annen brought together accounts of the various doctrinal debates that had occurred among Buddhist schools, beginning in India, in works such as the *Gyōji jō* (教時諍) and *Gyōji jō ron* (教時諍論). The desire to integrate the diverse Buddhist teachings that were the subject of these debates was expressed in the *Shingonshū kyōji gi* (真言宗教時義), *Kyōji gi* (教時義), and *Kyōji mondo* (教時問答; Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 423ff., 436ff.; Dolce & Mano, 2011, 770). In these works, Annen set forth the system of doctrinal analysis known as the *shiichi kyōhan* (四一教判; the critical doctrinal taxonomy of the "four ones" – that is, all buddhas, times, places, and teachings were united within the one buddha (*ichibutsu* [一佛]), one time (*ichiji* [一時]), one place (*issho* [一處]), and one teaching (*ichigyō* [一教]) of Mahāvairocana (Jpn. *Dainichi nyōrai* [大日如來]). This was the formation of a grand system through which not only Śākyamuni but also all the buddhas of all regions of the universe were subsumed within a single buddha – Mahāvairocana. This oneness was supported by the Buddhist principle of "thusness" (Skt. *tattva*; Jpn. *shinnyo* [真如]), implying the absolute, the ultimate nature of all phenomena; it further strengthened the foundations of Annen's unitary system (Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 215–239).

In contrast to the Hossō school, which understood thusness to be eternal and unchanging, Annen gave weight to conditioned thusness (Jpn. *zuien shinnyo* [随縁真如]) – the aspect of the principle of thusness that was understandable as changing and developing in this world due to the influence of causal conditions (Skt. *pratyaya*; Jpn. *en* [縁]). Via a monistic understanding of conditioned thusness, everything in this existence might be valued as sacred. This concept became a part of the innate-enlightenment (*hongaku* [本覺]) thought of following periods (see below). Annen also produced the compilations of esoteric ritual *Kongō daihō taijuki* (金剛界大法對受記) and *Taizō daihō taijuki* (胎藏界大法對受記; Sueki Fumihiko, 1995, 215–239).

Toward a Philosophy of Practice from a Mind-Body Perspective

For a certain period of time following the late 9th century, when Annen was active, there were no noteworthy developments in Buddhist philosophy. This was the period of Fujiwara-dominated aristocratic government during which the official missions to Tang China were abolished and cultural tropes already established in Japan took precedence over new continental imports.

It was not until the second half of the 10th century that new forms of Buddhist thought took shape. The restoration of Mount Hiei (比叡) and its scholasticism by the monk Ryōgen (良源) was the catalyst for the sudden emergence of new developments in Buddhist theory and practice (Groner, 2002; Sueki Fumihiko, 2012, 233–238). The monk Genshin (源信) was at the center of these developments, raising the curtain on the period of practical philosophy that followed. His works *Daijō taikushashō* (大乗対倶舎鈔) and *Ichijō yōketsu* (一乗要決) summarized

Mahāyāna and one-vehicle Buddhist thought from Saichō onward, while his *Ōjōyōshū* (往生要集; Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land; 985 CE) provided logical groundwork for the Pure Land Buddhist thought that was rapidly gaining influence at the time (Sueki Fumihiko, 2012).

The *Ōjōyōshū* accepts the theory of transmigration through the six paths (*rokudō rinne setsu* [六道輪廻說]; see above) as a premise but places Sukhāvatī (*gokuraku* [極樂]), the Pure Land of the buddha Amitābha (Amida [阿彌陀]) in a position separate and superior to those six types of rebirth. In the Japanese Buddhist view of the world to come, there was also the possibility of rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven (*tosotsu ten* [兜率天]) of the bodhisattva Maitreya (*Miroku* [彌勒]). Though Tuṣita rebirth was an important focus for dogma and practice in certain periods and schools, particularly the Hossō, Sukhāvatī was on the whole the more influential concept (Ford, 2006, 81ff., 105ff.). The cult of Maitreya found expression either in practices relating to attaining rebirth in Tuṣita or in the belief that Maitreya would, in the distant future, appear in this world as the next buddha. The latter form of Maitreya worship was later to become the basis for eschatological messianism in certain new religions. A version of the Buddhist afterlife integrating the Amitābha and Maitreya faiths also emerged, in which one who had been born in Sukhāvatī might intend to return to this world once Maitreya had appeared there as a buddha (Mitsuhashi Tadashi, 2000, 448–457).

Genshin did not limit himself to written works. He was also the leader of the Nijūgo zanmaie (二十五三昧會; Society of 25 *Samādhi*), a group of 25 monks who sought Pure Land rebirth by maintaining the proper state of mindfulness at the moment of death (*rinjūshōnen* [臨終正念]). From this point on, this state of mind came to be practiced in a ritualized manner, and texts on rites for the end of life (*rinjū gyōgi* [臨終行儀]) emerged (Stone & Walter, 2008, 4, 85–86). The issue of how to approach the end of life soon came to be associated with the issue of how to deal with the bodies of the dead. The pure and clean state of the dead body was to now be maintained by those left behind, and this development invited the popularization of a mantra, the *kōmyō shingon* (光明真言; mantra of light), which had the power to lead the deceased to Sukhāvatī. Thus emerged, on the one hand, a definite and clearly apprehensible Buddhist practice centering on death rituals and, on the other hand, theories on the psychophysical mind-body nature of human beings (Stone & Walter, 2008, 254–255). These mind-body theories based on foundations provided by the theoretical principles established during the initial formation, were taken forward in esoteric traditions and systematized in the first half of the 12th century by the monk Kakuban (覺鑁; van der Veere, 2000, 57–103). Kakuban's magnum opus was the *Gorin kuji myō himitsu shaku* (五輪九字明秘密釋; Commentary on the Secrets of the Five Elements and Nine Syllables; T. 2514; van der Veere, 2000, 125–219). In it, he integrated the cult of Amitābha into his esoteric philosophy and asserted that Mahāvairocana and Amitābha were one.

The *gorin* (五輪) in Kakuban's *Gorin kuji myō himitsu shaku* are the five elements or *cakras* (Skt. *pañcadhātu*; Jpn. *godai* [五大]) thought to make up the world: earth, water, fire, wind, and void. Kūkai added a sixth element, the mind, in his interpretation of this concept, but the system of five elements remained the more common one (Nasu Seiryū, 1936, 332–351). The five elements are expressed in the Sanskrit Siddham characters *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, and *kha* and in the forms of the square, circle, triangle, half-moon, and oval jewel. The *gorintō* (五輪塔), a type of stūpa/reliquary/grave marker made of these five geometrical figures, is a vertical representation of the five elements. *Gorintōs* were constructed in Japan from around the mid-11th to the late 12th century. The five elements are also equated with the five *dhyānibuddhas* of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*: Akṣobhya (Ashuku [阿閦]), Amitābha, Ratnasaṃbhava (Hōshō [寶生]), Amoghasiddhi (Fukūjōju [不空成就]), and Mahāvairocana. Thus, essentially, the five elements indicate and express the world of the buddhas. According to Kakuban, the five elements were also equivalent to the five human viscera (*gozō* [五臟]): liver, lungs, heart, kidneys, and spleen. As such, they instantiate the essential cosmological unity between the buddhas and living beings. Kūkai's theory of *sokushin jōbutsu* (achieving buddhahood in this very body) thus far did not have a satisfactorily specific method of implementation. Kakuban established the theory that unification with the world of the buddha might be realized by psychophysical meditation. This theory was to be apprehended not only in terms of the internal life of humanity but also in externalized form via the five-elements stūpa. Stūpas were originally meant for housing the bodily remains of the Buddha and were thus regarded in the same manner as the Buddha himself. The *gorintō*, via the five elements, transformed the stūpa into a place where human body and the universe itself may be seen as one. The *Gorin kuji myō himitsu*

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*Gorintō*s were constructed in
e mid-11th to the late 12th cen-
s are also equated with the five
vajradhātumaṇḍala: Akṣobhya
tābha, Ratnasaṃbhava (Hōshō
dhi (Fukūjōju [不空成就]),
Thus, essentially, the five ele-
xpress the world of the bud-
kuban, the five elements were
five human viscera (*gozō* [五
, kidneys, and spleen. As such,
essential cosmological unity
and living beings. Kūkai's the-
u (achieving buddhahood in
r did not have a satisfactorily
lementation. Kakuban estab-
unification with the world of
realized by psychophysical
y was to be apprehended not
ernal life of humanity but also
via the five-elements stūpa.
meant for housing the bodily
ha and were thus regarded
as the Buddha himself. The
ments, transformed the stūpa
man body and the universe
e. The *Gorin kuji myō himitsu*

shaku contains many pictures, including pictures of *gorintō*, thus being a synthesis of written and visual and iconographic works.

The *kuji* (九字) in Kakuban's *Gorin kuji myō himitsu shaku* are the nine syllables *oṃ*, *a*, *mṛ*, *ta*, *te*, *je*, *ha*, *ra*, and *hūṃ*, which constitute Amitābha's *dhāraṇī*. The union of the nine syllables (*kuji*) and the five elements (*gorin*) asserts the union of Amitābha and Mahāvairocana. Kakuban's assimilation of Pure Land teachings relates to a wholly esoteric Buddhist concept of Amitābha, and in the final analysis, the Pure Land that he expounded is Mahāvairocana's Pure Land of mysterious adornment (*mitsugon jōdo* [密嚴淨土]). The identification of Mahāvairocana with Amitābha, nonetheless, effectively presents this life and the next in unity, and thus the five-elements theory came to involve the concept of the essential unity of the living and the dead. The monistic unification of the cosmos via the theories of Annen that marked the end of the initial period was now taken forward by Kakuban, who developed the doctrine of the realization of that unity through psychophysical (esp. physical) practices and the philosophy of the five elements. From this point onward, we may identify in the Buddhist philosophy of the second period a process of breaking up the unity and synthesis of various aspects of truth achieved thus far.

The viewpoint from which esoteric Buddhist theory sees humanity is that of the three modes of activity (Skt. *trikarman*; Jpn. *sangō* [三業]): action, speech, and thought. Of those three, we may understand a movement centered on speech to have become the *nenbutsu* (chanting Amida Buddha's name) ideology of Pure Land Buddhism, and a movement centered on action and thought to have become Zen. Just as the five-elements concept perceived the body as the five elements that have absolute power, Pure Land and Zen thought similarly conceived of the human body and mind as manifesting great power.

In the 13th century, the Ritsu school, which was greatly influenced by esotericism, gained extensive popularity through the efforts of Eison (叡尊; Quinter, 2006). It conceived that one could obtain powerful physical strength through receiving the Buddhist precepts. Having obtained power in both mind and body, Buddhist priests presumably became capable of healing the sick, performing effective memorial rites for the dead, and dealing with natural disasters. This caused the general populace to have great faith in them, leading to the spread of Buddhism.

In this way, the ideology of the second period attributed sacred merit to practical action via the three activities of human action, speech, and thought. This was a great change in relation to the basic system of Buddhist soteriology that asserts that one may achieve salvation from the suffering of this world of delusion through ascetic practices of renunciation. This change was to be taken to its furthest theoretical extent with the concept of "innate enlightenment" (*hongaku* [本覺]). *Hongaku* thought understood saṃsāra itself as the enlightened world of the buddhas, and in its more extreme expressions taught that ascetic practices were unnecessary (Stone, 1999, 3ff.). Many forms of this philosophical trend developed within the Tendai school and are thus referred to as Tendai *hongaku* thought (Stone, 1999, 155–194). The same trend, however, may be observed within esoteric thought. Furthermore, Zen and Pure Land movements that emphasized the power of realizing innate enlightenment were often criticized for antinomian tendencies, described as "licensed evil" (lit. unhindered wrongdoing; Skt. *apratighapāpacaryā*; Jpn. *zōaku muge* [造惡無礙]) or justification thereof (Rambelli, 2004).

As in esoteric Buddhism, the mode of instruction used in the transmission of *hongaku* notions was oral instruction from master to disciple. *Hongaku* material compiled in documentary form comprised collections of short fragmentary works that were originally transmitted in rites of oral instruction. As such, much of the background information to these texts, including authorship and circumstances leading to their codification, is often unknown. An example of this is the *Sanjūshika kotogaki* (三十四箇事書). Later, the *hongaku* theory was systematized in the manner of the *Sanjūshichika hōmon* (三重七箇法門) or took the form of extensive commentarial works such as the *Kankō ruiju* (漢光類聚; Sueki Fumihiko, 1993, 312–346).

Antinomian trends appear in a lineage called the Tachikawa-ryū (立川流), in later years regarded as heretical because it attributed the highest sacred significance to a secret sexual ceremony. Recent research, however, shows that the existence of a trend or movement called Tachikawa-ryū is debatable (Nobumi Iyanaga, 2010; 2011). Furthermore, explaining the union of the *kongō* (adamantine) and the *taizō* (womb) in terms of a sexual unification was to a certain degree widespread within the esoteric Buddhism of the time. For example, it can be seen in the esoteric Buddhist work *Ingoshū* (隠語集), written by Yōsai (榮西), who is known for bringing the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism to Japan (Sueki Fumihiko, 2006; Mano, 2011). Trends such as these, more than regarding sexual unity itself as important, focused on the process of a fetus growing within its mother's womb (the "five prenatal periods" identified in Buddhist thought; Jpn. *tainai goi* [胎内五位]) as the process of becoming a buddha. The birth of the child was associated with achieving nirvāṇa (Sanford, 1997; Dolce, 2006–2007; 2015). This view stands distinct within Buddhist thought, which generally takes a negative view of birth as a continuation of wandering in saṃsāra. Such a view is also present in the works of the Shoichi (聖一) school of Zen established by Enni Ben'en (圓爾辯圓; 1201–1280).

As far as Zen and Pure Land Buddhism becoming independent schools (*shū*) goes, it is generally accepted that Zen (Rinzai) Buddhism was established by Yōsai and Jōdo Buddhism by Hōnen in the second half of the 12th century. Later these two schools were counted alongside the eight existing schools as part of the ten schools of Buddhism. The establishment within Japanese Buddhism of these two new schools was proclaimed in the *Kōzen gokokuron* (興禅護國論) and the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū* (選擇本願念佛集; Kasahara, McCarthy & Sekimori, 2001, 159–160, 228). These two works are of the nature of apologia attempting to prove that Zen and Jōdo Buddhism have credentials equal to those of the other eight schools and are thus qualified to be officially recognized as schools in their own right. Though recognized as a proclamation of the founding of the Zen school in Japan, much of the *Kōzen gokokuron* is in fact concerned with asserting the importance of the Buddhist precepts and the connection of Zen to the revival thereof (Heine, 2012, 200–201). Yōsai's early writings concentrated on esoteric Buddhism. After introducing Zen from Song China, however, he intended to further the expansion of Japanese Buddhism as a whole, including Zen, Ritsu, and esoteric and Tendai schools. This ambition is evident in works such as his *Nippon buppō chūkō ganmon* (日本佛法中興願文). Yōsai is thus considered to have encouraged the development not of one specific school but of Buddhism as a whole (Sueki Fumihiko, 2008, 148–169).

Yōsai's idea of Buddhism also had an impact on Dōgen. His *Shōbōgenzō* (正法眼藏; Treasury of the True Dharma Eye) rejects sectarian specificity and aims to uncover the essence of Buddhism. There have been various editions of the *Shōbōgenzō*, which raises the textual problem of which edition to study. In recent years, however, the importance of the 12-volume edition expressing Dōgen's later philosophy has been recognized (Kagamishima Genryū & Suzuki Kakuzen, 1991). In these 12 volumes, Dōgen returns to the simplicity of early Buddhism, despite the fact that in Japan, early Buddhism had thus far generally been criticized as Hīnayāna Buddhism. Dōgen, in contrast, attempts to construct a practical philosophy from it (on the nature of the Buddhist path in the *Shōbōgenzō*, see Kagamishima Genryū & Suzuki Kakuzen, 1991, 447–453).

Compared with Yōsai, Hōnen's *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* is unambiguous in its preaching the "exclusive practice" (*senshū* [専修]) of chanting Amida's name. According to this work, Amitābha "chose" the chanting of Amida's name above all other practices. Hōnen goes on to identify arguments from the *sūtras* in order to demonstrate that Śākyamuni also approved of this choice (Sueki Fumihiko, 2008, 124–147). Through this, he aimed to establish the Pure Land as a school. Hōnen himself was known as a transmitter and upholder of the precepts. His followers were many and varied and produced diverse interpretations of the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (Sueki Fumihiko, 2008, 124–147).

Shinran was one such follower of Hōnen. An original manuscript (the Bantō-bon [坂東本] edition) of his major work, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (教行信証) is extant (Dobbins, 2002, 32ff.). Handwritten manuscripts of many of Shinran's other writings and letters also survive today (Kyōgaku Dendō Kenkyū Sentā, 2007; Hirota *et al.*, 1997). Many of Nichiren's manuscripts also survive today (Yampolsky, 1996). One reason for the survival of so many handwritten manuscripts is the development of sectarian worship of founding patriarchs. The founders of the various schools were venerated to an even greater degree than the buddhas, and thus the original versions of their writings were kept safe. Moreover, many of their letters (or epistolary discourses, *shōsoku* [消息]) are left to us. These are recognized as having been used as a means for propagating their philosophies. From ancient times, large temples retained many handwritten manuscripts, such as those of Sōshō (宗性; 1202–1278), a scholarly monk of the Kegon school, at the Tōdaiji (東大寺) Temple. During the 13th century, new Buddhist centers were created, such as the Kōzanji (高山寺) Temple established by Myōe (明恵; 1173–1232; Morrell, 1982, 172ff.), an esoteric Kegon monk. These temples collected many texts and became lively venues for learning and research. In contrast to this document-centered approach, there were also movements that rejected documentary texts. Zen Buddhism's concept of unwritten and unmediated transmission of enlightenment from mind to mind (*furyū monji* [不立文字]) was one such expression of this trend (Emmanuel,

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Interaction with other Philo
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2013, 249–351). Most prominent though, in this regard, was the Pure Land Buddhist thinker Ippen (一遍; 1239–1289). Near the time of his death, Ippen burned all of his books in a rigorous expression of his decision to cleave to *nenbutsu*-only practice (Hirota, 1997, 122). Through their unique wandering practice, Ippen's pupils gained a broad following. With the establishment of a fixed-residence society in Japan, this practice was viewed as threatening and abolished in the 17th century (regarding social changes in the 17th cent., see Hall *et al.*, 1991, 121–127, 478–485, 660–665).

Interaction with other Philosophies and Secularization

In the 13th century, new trends were introduced from Song China. Although the Song were in the process of establishing a Confucian-based system at this time, Japan's main intellectual import continued to be Buddhism (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 20). One reason may have been that Japanese social structures were too underdeveloped to accept Confucianism, in which secular ethics have a central role.

Buddhism's period as the dominant ideology lasted until the 16th century, but the 13th to 14th centuries saw Shintō gradually emerge within the framework of Buddhism as an independent ideology. This trend was strongly influenced by the concept of "original ground, manifest traces" (*honji suijaku* [本地垂迹]), which treats the *kami* as phenomenal manifestations of the buddhas, and by esoteric Buddhist thought, which recognizes the unity of *kami* and buddhas (Stone, 1999, 40–43). Independent Shintō thought developed in the 14th century via works produced by the Shintō thinkers Kitabatake Chikafusa (北畠親房; 1293–1354) and Jihen (慈遍; n.d.). The development of a Shintō-based historical perspective in Kitabatake Chikafusa's *Jinnō Shōtōki* (神皇正統記) is of particular interest; it is frequently compared with famous historian and head of Tendai school Jien's (慈圓; 1155–1225) early 13th-century writings on Buddhist historical philosophy in the *Gukanshō* (愚管抄; Sueki Fumihiko, 2006–2007).

Buddhism has a notion of time of circulation as an individual's saṃsāra. It is based on a circular conception of time in which the entire universe deteriorates and is extinguished, then reborn. A defining characteristic of Shintō doctrine is that it has a linear conception of time, with the prehistoric era of myth developing irreversibly into the historical era. Consequently, it emphasizes the notion that the world is an unrepeatable phenomenon (Mugikura Tatsuo, 1993). The view that the present world is a unique event flowing along a linear path is shared by Christianity, which entered Japan and spread rapidly in the 15th century. Given that it came to Japan via Europe, Christian thought would seem at first glance to be unrelated to the course of Buddhist thought in Japan, but it is in fact comparable to philosophical trends at the time. Despite being a monotheistic religion, Christianity was clearly relevant to Japanese philosophical trends of the same era, as is evident in the movement to find a highest *kami* in Shintō, the veneration of a single buddha (i.e. Amitābha) in Buddhism, and the establishment of the principle of oneness of mind in Zen.

Buddhism became sectarian during this period, and competition among schools became intense. Emerging schools based on simplified teachings, such as Zen, Pure Land, and Nichiren, gained great momentum, and the move toward secularism strengthened. The archetypal example is the development of the Jōdo Shinshū (浄土真宗) by Rennyo (蓮如; 1415–1499). The charisma that he possessed as a descendant of Shinran enabled him to greatly expand his order. It even developed into the grand-scale political movement known as the Ikkō-ikki (一向一揆), which became an armed religious uprising (see Tsang, 2007).

Following the establishment of Shintō as an independent doctrine and the introduction of Christianity, the intellectual development of Buddhism proceeded not only in the context of scholastic debates as before but also in the context of debate with and mutual influence from other philosophies. Of special note is the early 17th-century work *Myōtei Mondō* (妙貞問答) by Fabian (ハビアン; 1565–1621), which contains the first serious criticism of Buddhism by a Japanese Christian (Sueki Fumihiko, 2014c). Fabian later renounced his faith and went on to prompt criticism of Christianity with his work *Hadaiusu* (破提宇子). After this, political repression of Christianity intensified, and more Buddhist critiques of Christianity were written (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 73–76).

In the late 16th century, Buddhist temples came under large-scale attack by secular authorities, as exemplified by the burning of the Enryakuji (延暦寺) Temple by Oda Nobunaga (織田信長). Buddhism never recovered its constitutional authority as provider of a vital counterpart to kingly law in the form of Buddhist law (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 28–31). However, this is not to say that Buddhism was in decline. Formerly, it was thought that the Tokugawa period was an era of Confucianism during which Buddhism declined, but among today's scholars, the consensus is that this idea is mistaken. Rather, from the 17th century onward, Buddhism played a role in controlling the populace under the Tokugawa regime, the number of temples increased rapidly, and the religion expanded greatly (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 35–42). Certainly, Confucianism broadened in influence from the 17th century onward, secular ethics became an important issue for the philosophical world, and Buddhism was criticized by Confucianism for its disregard of secular matters. In reality however, secular ethics were disseminated more through Buddhism than through Confucianism. Buddhists held that their secular ethics would lead to the restoration of the Buddhist precepts and were compatible with Confucianism and Shintō (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 51–60). Representative of this idea are the "ten wholesome precepts" (*jū zenkai* [十善戒), the ten precepts to observed by the Buddhist laity as preached by Jiun Onkō (慈雲飲光; 1718–1804) in the *Jūzen hōgo* (十善法語; Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 132–133). Jiun Onkō also engaged in research on Sanskrit in his work *Bongaku Shinryō* (梵学津梁) and worked to elucidate the "true dharma" of Indian Buddhism (Hase Hōshū, 1997).

A characteristic of Buddhist philosophical texts from the 17th century onward was the change in their typical format from manuscript copy to printed book. Christianity brought with it new texts, and the published format of these Christian works was in some ways epoch making. Western print culture was introduced in Japan along with Christianity. The print culture of Korea was also influential, and in the early 17th century, Korean-influenced wooden movable-type printing was used for a time. Movable type failed to grow in popularity, however, and its use declined. Woodcut blocks carved one page at a time were used in place of movable type. The exquisite workmanship of woodcut printers led to the creation of a unique print culture in Japan. Of the many materials published, the majority were related to Buddhism, and Buddhist texts became widespread (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 77–85).

The bringing from China to Japan of the Ōbaku school by Ingen Ryūki (隱元隆琦; 1592–1673) was of great significance, especially the publication of the Ōbaku edition, which is a reproduction of the Kakō edition of the *Daizōkyō* (嘉興藏大藏經) in the Ming period by Ingen Ryūki's pupil Tetsugen Dōkō (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 77–85, 96–98). It brought about an unprecedentedly wide diffusion of the Buddhist canon in Japan (Yokote Yutaka, Sueki Fumihiko & Watanabe Mariko, 2010). This new status of published books also affected the circulation of Buddhist scriptures. Hand-copied texts circulate only within narrow, closed groups, potentially giving rise to systems resembling oral traditions. However, when texts are published and released, secretive oral traditions lose their meaning and objective debate can occur in public venues.

The emergence of criticism of "innate enlightenment" is closely related to this change in the circulation of ideas. The critical Tendai and Kegon examinations of scholarship by Hōtan (鳳潭) and Fujaku (普寂), and the argument in the *Shutsujō Gogo* (出定後語) of Tominaga Nakamoto (富永仲基) that Mahāyāna was not the Buddhism taught by the historical Buddha (*daijō hibussetsuron* [大乘非佛説論]), were all products of a climate in which public debate was possible (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 103–110). The growing trend toward secularization and rationalization in Buddhism from the 17th century onward actually to brought about philosophical limitation to the tradition, in that it led Buddhist thought to increasingly turn a blind eye to irrational aspects of humanity and the cosmos. This problem was addressed by the Shintō thinker Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤; 1776–1843), who, influenced by Christianity, moved toward establishing a new philosophy of the afterlife. Embracing both the rational and the irrational, Japan entered the modern era via the Meiji Restoration (Sueki Fumihiko, 2010, 185–191).

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FUMIHIKO SUEKI

Ritual Texts

Ritual Texts: South Asia

For most of its flourish in South Asia, Buddhism was not averse to rituals. In fact, in its highly successful esoteric manifestation, the prescriptive literature of which forms the focus of this entry, performance of rituals became the dominant feature of the religion. From relatively humble beginnings as short scriptures containing spells and their applications promising the fulfillment of a variety of worldly aims, ritual literature grew at a very fast pace, culminating in grand compendia of several hundreds of leaves with an ever-increasing palette of promised results, including liberation itself.

It is somewhat difficult to decide what can be regarded as ritual as generally understood, that is to say, external actions (*karma* or *kriyā*) involving objects, substances, perceivable incantation and movement, and what is strictly speaking a process of meditation (*dhyāna*), in other words, internal actions such as visualization (*bhāvanā*) or generating a certain mental attitude (*bhāva*). For in both exoteric and esoteric Buddhist ritual, external and internal actions almost invariably work in a mutually reinforcing tandem. Internal visualization can also act as a substitute for external objects or actions, for example in cases where an otherwise prescribed substance such as a precious gem is not available or when a certain action cannot be performed. Conversely, external objects or actions can act as a prop for developing the ritualist's meditative powers until they reach an ideal stage.

Scriptures and Manuals

Among surviving Indic (predominantly Sanskrit) manuscripts of esoteric Buddhist works, ritual texts are the most numerous. The existence of yet more can be ascertained through translations (primarily Chinese and Tibetan) and still more from quotations and references in extant works. Defining what exactly can be called a ritual text is again not an easy task, since very often scriptures contain little more than a frame to encase spells and ritual procedures – that is to say, in actual fact, they are ritual manuals of a scriptural status. This is especially the case for early esoteric texts, often called ritual procedures (*kalpa*) and spells (*dhāraṇī*), in which excepting the frame story of revelation – usually a situation of crisis: earthquake, snakebite, assault of demons, and so on – there is little else but the spell itself, its ritual application, and praises of its benefits. (For an example of this literature, see Hidas, 2012; for further applications based on the same text in ritual manuals, see Hidas, 2010.) Furthermore, ritual manuals not infrequently acquired scriptural status by being incorporated in part or in whole into newly fashioned scriptures (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 94–95, 172–177), or gained such prestige that they are referred to as if having scriptural authority. Commentarial works can also contain detailed descriptions of rituals, hence such passages can also be seen as mini-manuals embedded in exegesis.

However, for the most part, scriptures give only scattered instructions for or merely an outline of a ritual procedure, whereas the manuals, using the scriptural allusion or outline as a validation, spell out the procedure in greater detail. This is very similar to the case of kindred religious traditions, most importantly Śaivism, many rituals of which the Buddhists have adopted and adapted. Making allowance for the difference in terminology, the following quotation discussing descriptions of ritual practice in scriptures versus those in manuals can also be considered relevant in the case of Buddhism:

> [...] common sense and the character of the Indian Śaiva literature must alert us to the naïvety of assuming that these works can reveal more than the general parameters within which some elements of local practice would have operated. They are texts of scripture (*āgamaḥ, tantram, saṃhitā*) and as such were designed to be accepted as authorities by the widest possible constituency. To that end they tend to prescribe only the bare framework of practice, thereby allowing for the great variety on the level of detail and ancillary elaboration that can be observed in the practical manuals (Paddhatis) that guided the procedures followed by religious officiants in specific regions and lineages. (Sanderson, 2003–2004, 353)

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Titles and Format

Ritual manuals come under a variety of names, and there does not seem to be any strict delimitation of genres. With small exceptions, all such manuals have an author. If the name of the author is missing, there is still a silent consensus that it is the work of a human being, as practical manuals are not supposed to be superhuman revelation.

The standard Śaiva genre denomination, *paddhati* (guide), is used extremely rarely. The most common such term is *vidhi* or *vidhāna* (procedure), which is usually preceded by the type of ritual it describes. Thus an *arcanavidhi* or *pūjāvidhi* would be a manual of worship, *maṇḍalavidhi* or *abhiṣekavidhi* an initiation manual, *varṣāpaṇavidhi* a manual for making rain, and so on. A synonymous term is *upāyikā* (method), sometimes spelled *upayikā* or even *upaikā*. Thus a *sādhanopāyikā* (although in this case simply *sādhana* is more common) would be a manual for the visualization of a deity, a *maṇḍalopāyikā* an initiation manual, a *homopāyikā* a manual for oblation into fire. Slightly rarer terms include *krama* (procedural sequence), *prayoga* (procedure), and *upadeśa* (teaching). The type of ritual and the name of the genre are generally preceded by the name of the deity or the central deity of the pantheon involved or by the name of the tradition that the ritual is supposedly following. Thus, a *Tārāpūjāvidhi* would be a step-by-step instruction for the worship of the goddess Tārā and the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* an initiation manual based on the teachings of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. Works on a grander scale or deemed important by the author can also have a separate, "poetic" title. Thus the manual of Abhayākaragupta for oblation into fire is called the *Jyotirmañjarī* (A Bouquet of Light), the same author's grand compendium is titled *Vajrāvalī* (A String of *Vajras*), and Ānandagarbha's initiation manual is styled the *Sarvavajrodayā* (The Rise of All *Vajras*).

Since ritual manuals are often not very long, manuscripts containing such texts are typically of a smaller format, which made them easily portable and prevented waste of precious writing space on palm leaf or birchbark. More recent paper manuscripts usually retain this format. Nowadays in Nepal, manuals are also published as stitched printed booklets, although the concertina format was quite popular in the region in the late medieval period. An 11th-century Kashmiri birchbark manuscript (as was probably common with manuscripts from that region) containing ritual material is also bound (Kawasaki, 2004). Some manuals come with aiding illustrations; although this is more typical of recent manuscripts, some early samples are known to exist. Older ritual manuals retain the *scriptio continua*, but some more recent ones contain some formatting, such as highlighting the liturgical parts (the text to be recited such as mantras and hymns) or separating it by other visual means, thus making the manual more convenient to use. From a rather early date (c. 13th–14th cents.), there are some Nepalese bilingual manuals with the liturgical parts in Sanskrit and the instructions in Newar. This has become the standard among contemporary ritualists of Newar communities.

Initiation Manuals

The most operatic of all esoteric Buddhist rituals is undoubtedly that of initiation (*abhiṣeka*), the primary aim of which is for the candidate (*śiṣya*) to obtain the right, but also the duty (the word *adhikāra* entails both), to propitiate a deity-mantra. To this effect, the candidate is led in front of a particular cult's pantheon of deities represented by a diagram made of colored powders (*maṇḍala*), where he (very rarely: she) undergoes ritual transformation into a qualified worshipper. Several elements, including the terminology and choreography of the ritual, imitate the rite of Brahmanical royal consecration and resemble Śaiva *maṇḍala* initiation even more closely.

The following outline takes into account only the main rites, and it must be understood that there is great variety concerning which rites are performed, in what way, and in what order. Many of the rites for which the original terms are given below can form the subject of individual ritual manuals (except the *abhiṣekas*, which are always treated as a set).

Initiation proper is prefaced by a numerous sequence of preliminary rites. Prompted by an earnest request by a suitable candidate, a qualified officiant (*ācārya*), after having formally accepted the aspirant as a pupil (*śiṣyasaṃgraha*), first selects an appropriate site (*bhūmiparīkṣā*) and takes ritual control over it (*bhūmiparigraha*). He performs several rites to protect the site, including the installation of pegs around the territory in order to pin down possible obstacles (*vighnakīlana*). He then ritually makes fit (*adhivāsana*) the site (*vasundharā*); the utensils to be used, such as the flasks (*kalaśa*), the strings (*sūtra*) used to delineate the *maṇḍala*, and the colored powders (*rajas*); the initiand (*śiṣyādhivāsana*); and the deities that are to be invoked (*devatādhivāsana*).

He then delineates the diagram
(*maṇḍalasūtraṇa*) and fills up the deli
with colored powders (*rajaḥpātan*
maṇḍala is finished, the candidate a
admitted. He is then blindfolded and
in front of the *maṇḍala* (*śiṣyapraveś*
put into a state of possession (*āveśa*
cast a flower or a tooth stick on the
simulacrum thereof, whereby his affi
ticular set of deities is established. T
then removed, and he is led around t
be introduced to the deities. It is here
proper begins.

After being sworn to secrecy, th
first given a garland (*mālābhiṣeka*), is
consecrated water (*udakābhiṣeka*), an
a tiara (*mukuṭābhiṣeka*) and his m
ritual implements, the *vajra*-scepter
and the bell (*ghaṇṭābhiṣeka*). To signa
tity, he is given a new name (*nāmāb*
is determined by his affinity with a
Should he wish to become an officia
candidate undergoes a supplement
that of the officiant (*ācāryābhiṣeka*).

Later manuals sometimes treat th
a single initiation, collectively callin
flask(s) (*kalaśābhiṣeka*). From aroun
tury onward, this set came to be augm
"secret initiation" (*guhyābhiṣeka*), wh
devoid of antinomian elements but q
denote a rite in which the officiant c
consort and the initiand consumes th
Very soon after, yet another initiatio
edge-of-wisdom initiation" (*prajñāj*
was added. This is a mirror of the pre
the initiand copulates with another o
sort and again consumes the sexual fl
the so-called fourth initiation (*ca*
came to close the set, which in mo
a kind of oral explanation of what
previous sexual experiences refer to
future practice. (For a discussion o
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Isaacson, 2010.)

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all esoteric Buddhist rituals is
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s for the candidate (*śiṣya*) to
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s ritual transformation into a
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t be understood that there is
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ms are given below can form
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lways treated as a set).
s prefaced by a numerous
y rites. Prompted by an ear-
ble candidate, a qualified offi-
aving formally accepted the
yasaṃgraha), first selects an
iparīkṣā) and takes ritual con-
graha). He performs several
, including the installation of
y in order to pin down possi-
lana). He then ritually makes
(*vasundharā*); the utensils to
ks (*kalaśa*), the strings (*sūtra*)
maṇḍala, and the colored
itiand (*śiṣyādhivāsana*); and
invoked (*devatādhivāsana*).

He then delineates the diagram of the deities (*maṇḍalasūtraṇa*) and fills up the delineated spaces with colored powders (*rajaḥpātana*). When the *maṇḍala* is finished, the candidate again asks to be admitted. He is then blindfolded and made to enter in front of the *maṇḍala* (*śiṣyapraveśa*). There he is put into a state of possession (*āveśa*) and made to cast a flower or a tooth stick on the diagram or a simulacrum thereof, whereby his affinity with a particular set of deities is established. The blindfold is then removed, and he is led around the *maṇḍala* to be introduced to the deities. It is here that initiation proper begins.

After being sworn to secrecy, the candidate is first given a garland (*mālābhiṣeka*), is sprinkled with consecrated water (*udakābhiṣeka*), and then is given a tiara (*mukuṭābhiṣeka*) and his most important ritual implements, the *vajra*-scepter (*vajrābhiṣeka*) and the bell (*ghaṇṭābhiṣeka*). To signal his new identity, he is given a new name (*nāmābhiṣeka*), which is determined by his affinity with a set of deities. Should he wish to become an officiant himself, the candidate undergoes a supplementary initiation, that of the officiant (*ācāryābhiṣeka*).

Later manuals sometimes treat the above set as a single initiation, collectively calling it that of the flask(s) (*kalaśābhiṣeka*). From around the 9th century onward, this set came to be augmented with the "secret initiation" (*guhyābhiṣeka*), which was at first devoid of antinomian elements but quickly came to denote a rite in which the officiant copulates with a consort and the initiand consumes the sexual fluids. Very soon after, yet another initiation – the "knowledge-of-wisdom initiation" (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*) – was added. This is a mirror of the previous rite; here the initiand copulates with another or the same consort and again consumes the sexual fluids. Later still, the so-called fourth initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka*) came to close the set, which in most cases meant a kind of oral explanation of what the initiand's previous sexual experiences refer to in terms of his future practice. (For a discussion of some of the controversies concerning the latter initiations, see Isaacson, 2010.)

At the very end of initiation, there are several further, closing rites. The officiant predicts the enlightenment of the initiate (*vyākaraṇa*), formally allows the pupil to practice (*anujñā*), and provides him with encouragement (*āśvāsadāna*). He also informs the new initiate of his ritual duties and observances. Then the deities that were invoked into the diagram are respectfully dismissed (*visarjana*), the *maṇḍala* is destroyed, and the powders are cast into flowing water (*maṇḍalopasaṃhāra*). The initiation rite, which can last for several days, is then brought to a conclusion with the officiant's performing a fire oblation (*homa*) and a communal feast (*gaṇacakra*).

Several very important and influential initiation manuals survive in the original Sanskrit, although judging by the number of such works extant in Tibetan translation, this is a small proportion of what must have existed. Perhaps the earliest (9th cent.[?]), but certainly the most archaic among them, is the *Sarvavajrodayā* of Ānandagarbha. It describes initiation related to the *maṇḍala* of what may be termed the first truly esoteric Buddhist scripture, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, which very explicitly states that swift enlightenment is impossible without initiation. (For an edition of the manual, see Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai, 1986; 1987; Takahashi, 1990.)

For the first emphatically antinomian Buddhist scripture, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, at least two 9th-century manuals survive: the *Viṃśatividhi* of Nāgabuddhi (edition Tanaka, 2010, 629–716) and the *Maṇḍalavidhi* of Dīpaṃkarabhadra (edition Bahulkar, 2010). A very influential manual for the same cult, Vāgīśvarakīrti's *Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi*, dates from the early 11th century. Besides a succinct description of the initiation rite, this text also contains an important polemic passage (edited – and discussed in Japanese – by Sakurai, 1998, 407–426; the polemic section is reedited, translated, and discussed by Onians, 2002, 279–289). Yet another manual of this cult with significant influences from other traditions is Padmaśrīmitra's still unedited *Maṇḍalopāyikā* (late 11th or 12th cent.).

The cult of Saṃvara or Śaṃvara has at least one initiation manual extant in the original Sanskrit; this is Bhūvācārya's still unpublished *Saṃvarodayā nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* (before 1054 CE). A similar manual related to the cult of the deity Yamāri is the 10th-century *Yamārimaṇḍalavidhi* of Śrīdhara (Kuranishi, 2008, 195–238). The cycle centered on the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* also has an extant initiation manual, which has undergone several recensions and even succeeded in reforming the pantheon of the cult. This text is simply called the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* and is attributed either to (an) Āryadeva or one Caryāvratīpāda (Szántó, 2008; vol. I, 2012, 123–152, which also contains a synopsis of one recension). In spite of its overwhelming importance, the cult of Hevajra can boast only one, incomplete manual in the original – the anonymous *Sekaprakriyā* (edition and translation Finot, 1934, 19–48; a draft annotated reedition by A.G.J.S. Sanderson and H. Isaacson is in circulation). Further unpublished initiation manuals include the works of one Subhūtipālita for the cult of Bhūtaḍāmara (which are in a fragmentary state) and a manual called **Gurūpadeśa* for the cult of Mahāmāyā by *Vinayadatta.

What one might term a subgenre of initiation, or rather conversion, manuals are those for instructing beginners (*ādikarmika*). These manuals usually start with making a candidate take refuge (i.e. the standard Buddhist conversion rite) and instructing him in the duties of a lay follower, the worship of less esoteric deities such as Jambhala, and less elaborate rites such as fashioning simple reliquaries (*caitya*) or clay molds (*sañcaka*), offering a simulacrum in the shape of the universe to the master (*gurumaṇḍalaka*), and other kinds of worship.

One such work, the *Ādikarmapradīpa* of Anupamavajra (late 11th cent.) has been published twice (first by La Vallée Poussin, 1898, 162–232, which includes a discussion; reedition by Takahashi, 1993). The *Ādikarmāvatāra* of Mañjukīrti and the *Ādikarmavidhi* of Tatakaragupta remain unedited. (A study of this material in a dissertation by I. Sinclair is forthcoming.)

Manuals of Post-initiatory Practice

By far the most numerous among extant manuals are called *sādhana* (method of accomplishment), a term that covers a multiplicity of meditative rituals (*bhāvanā* or yoga) centered on a deity (*devatā*) or a main deity and his or her attendants. The practitioner (*sādhaka, yogin*, or *mantrin*) is supposed to perform such rites on a daily basis after initiation.

In more archaic *sādhanas*, the deities are visualized in front of the practitioner, and they are treated as high-ranking guests. Most typically they are summoned and worshipped with the appropriate offerings, mantras, and hand gestures (*mudrā*); praises (*stotra* or *stuti*) are recited to them, whereafter they are petitioned for a variety of goals. In later *sādhanas*, the practitioner seeks to gain identity with the deity and is even instructed to maintain this identity outside of meditation sessions.

A variety of preliminaries usher in the main part, which is usually the visualization of the deity. These preliminaries are suffused with standard Mahāyāna concepts, and they usually culminate in the contemplation of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). From emptiness the main seed-syllable (mantra or *bīja*) of the deity arises, which then instantly transforms into the deity itself. The descriptions of the forms of the deities can be very detailed and hence of value to art historians for the identification and understanding of iconic objects. The visualization is supposed to be complete and vivid. When the effort of visualization has tired the practitioner, he is instructed to repeatedly recite (*japa*) the longer mantra of the deity. Thus, the goddess Tārā would appear as a transformation of the seed-syllable *trāṃ*, but her mantra for recitation is *oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*. The recitation of mantras is of paramount importance, since it is often stated that the mantra and the deity are one and the same. One of the relevant rituals in this respect is that of "preliminary service" (*pūrvasevā*), the repetition of a mantra a given number of times (e.g. 100,000) in order to gain mastery over it.

The *sādhanas* of deities are transmitted individually, in collections of *sādhanas* centering on a single deity and its ectypes (for examples of such collections, see English, 2002; Isaacson, 2009), or in heterogeneous collections (manuscripts of several such collections were further compiled by Bhattacharya [1925–1928] under the title *Sādhanamālā*). This type of literature has been much better studied than the initiation manuals, although several fundamental texts have been edited only very recently (e.g. Sakurai, 1998; Isaacson, 2002; Luo & Tomabechi, 2009). Monographs on the topic include S. Beyer's (1978), which, although primarily dealing with Tibetan texts, is illuminating for Indic material as well; another in-depth study is by E. English (2002), on the goddess Vajrayoginī.

There is great variety in the length of *sādhanas*: some can contain only a few lines, but some cover dozens of leaves. More elaborate *sādhanas* can be called *abhisamaya* (practice), although this is not always the case. Besides the standard step-by-step instructions, authors of *sādhanas* sometimes cite varying viewpoints concerning the minutiae of ritual either approving them as suitable variations or refuting them.

Initiation entails at least two ritual actors, the officiant and the initiand, but very often more, such as the officiant's helpers, the consort or consorts, and sometimes the family and retinue of the initiand, who are allowed to view the *maṇḍala*. However, the practice described in *sādhanas* is a basically private affair (excepting cases in which the officiant is to have an assistant called the *uttarasādhaka*). Initiates of some of the later tantric revelations (from the 9th cent. onward) are also enjoined to periodically observe group worship. This rite, usually called *gaṇacakra*, is a reenactment of the *maṇḍala*, with the overseer (typically the *ācārya*) and his consort

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Manuals of Occasional Rites

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acting as the main deity pair. The community is to feast on nonvegetarian offerings and liquor. At least two complete manuals survive in Sanskrit (for a brief notice of the first, see Isaacson, 2009, 128; for the second, see Szántó, forthcoming), but the only monograph on the subject to this date (Shizuka, 2007; for an overview of this study in English, see Shizuka, 2008) does not take them into account.

Manuals of Occasional Rites

The rites thus far described concern initiates only, for whom they are obligatory. However, an initiate can also undertake per demand rituals for clients, who in most cases would be lay followers. Naturally, the initiate may perform these same rituals for himself if need be, in which case he is his own client, as it were.

One of the most common ways of fulfilling a variety of aims was oblation into fire (*homa*). By customizing various elements of the ritual, such as the size and shape of the firepit, the size of the firewood, and the articles offered into the flames, a specialist could seek to placate or avert (*śāntika*) malign events or influences, promote invigoration (*pauṣṭika*) of health and wealth, or aggressively attack and even kill (*abhicāra*) enemies. These three headings are later on complemented by others such as attracting (*ākarṣaṇa*) and gaining control over others (*vaśya*), commonly for sexual purposes, creating dissent (*vidveṣaṇa*), driving away (*uccāṭana*), paralyzing (*stambhana*) an enemy's body or speech, and others. (For an edition of a very influential *homa* manual, the already mentioned *Jyotirmañjarī*, see Okuyama, 1983; 1986.) Similar results can be obtained with other rituals (typically styled *prayogas*), such as the use of amulets. Such *prayogas* are also often employed toward gaining mastery over magical accomplishments (*siddhi*), sometimes styled "minor" (*kṣudrasiddhi*), such as obtaining command over a resuscitated corpse (*vetālasiddhi*), gaining magical slippers (the relative of seven-league boots [*pādukāsiddhi*]), and the ability to fly with a magical sword (*khaḍgasiddhi*).

One very important but rather understudied civic rite is weather control, typically rainmaking (*varṣāpaṇa*), which was understandably in high demand in agrarian societies. Several such – as yet unedited – texts survive (see Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 235–241). A better-studied group of texts are those on consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*). In the earlier period, such rituals were designed to make sacred images (statues, scroll paintings) fit for worship, but as Buddhist ritualists increasingly moved into the civic sphere, they also composed rituals to consecrate monastic and civic structures – such as groves and water tanks – as well as rituals for their renovation (*jīrṇoddhāra*) when such an occasion arose (Bentor, 1996; Tanemura, 2004).

A large textual body of protective rites suggests that officiants were also seen as specialists of crisis and averting crisis. Many of these are general rituals for protection (*rakṣā*), but some are very specialized. Two such categories deserve special mention: the treatment of poisons (*viṣākarṣaṇa*), typically that of snakes, and combatting omens of death, also called "cheating death" (*mṛtyuvañcana*). (For an edition, translation, and discussion of one such text from the latter category, see Schneider, 2010.)

The wholesale adoption of life-cycle rituals was a relatively late development in esoteric Buddhism, and it most likely occurred among the Newars of Nepal in the 12th century. (A contemporary manual reflecting still existing practice is Kaji & Bajracharya, 2010. There are also several – as yet unedited – works surviving in palm-leaf manuscripts on the topic.) The earliest such ritual with apparently pan-Indic currency was the funerary rite for a departed officiant (for an introductory study to one such manual, see Tanemura, 2007; edition with notes in Japanese in Tanemura, 2013).

Compendia

With so many disparate rituals on offer, it was a natural development to create longer, systematized, and convenient compendia. One such early type of compendium discusses "ten fundamentals" (*daśatattva*) in which an officiant should be proficient, although the actual contents fluctuated somewhat. (The trope of classifying the principal rituals to be performed by an officiant into ten "fundamentals" is studied, with an edition of one surviving Sanskrit source, in Klein-Schwind, 2012.)

The first truly mature compilation is the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta (for a full edition and introductory study, see Mori, 2009), an influential though not always very original scholar of the Pāla Empire active in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. The author organized his grand compendium under 50 headings, most of which deal with consecration and initiation. This work was followed very closely by the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of the Nepalese Jagaddarpaṇa (also known as Darpaṇācārya; before 1305 CE), a work that is still influential among the Newars. Among his 64 headings, the ones that do not correspond to the *Vajrāvalī* can be suspected to describe rites of local importance. A somewhat earlier, also Nepalese work is the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta (for an analysis and abridgment, see Skorupski, 1998; 2002; partial edition, translation, and discussion Tanemura, 2004).

Scholarly Study of Buddhist Rituals

Until recently, scholarly studies of Buddhism, including its esoteric aspect, tended to focus on philosophical and mystical matters to the detriment of ritual texts, which are arguably among the best witnesses for exploring realia in the South Asian Buddhist world. Of course, whether such manuals were "models of" or "models for" – in other words, whether they described current practice thereby codifying it in writing or prescribed the ideal model for the performance of a ritual – is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, their very survival means that at least at some point, somebody considered a particular manual important enough to be copied.

The only region to have preserved Buddhist ritual in which at least the liturgical language is Sanskrit is Nepal, which is practically synonymous with the Buddhist Newar communities of the Kathmandu Valley. The most valuable anthropological works in this respect are the ones that also take into account textual evidence (a paradigmatic example is Gellner, 1992). However, numerous aspects of contemporary Nepalese Buddhism and the body of ritual texts surviving since the medieval period are still unexplored.

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PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ

Ritual Texts: Tibet: New Tantras (Gsar ma)

The "new" (*gsar ma*) tantric ritual literature was the product of the translation activity of the "latter transmission" (*phyi dar*) of Buddhist teachings to Tibet, which began in the late 10th century and concluded circa the 14th century, when the flow of texts and practices between Tibet and India was reduced to a trickle. It includes translations of Indian Buddhist works as well as Tibetan ritual literature composed by scholars in the "new" schools of Tibetan Buddhism that were established on the basis of the new textual, ritual, and meditative traditions that were transmitted to Tibet during this period.

The imperially sponsored transmission and translation of Buddhist works from India to Tibet ended in the mid-9th century with the collapse of the Tibetan Empire following the assassination of Lang dar ma (r. 838–841 CE). This is usually understood to represent the conclusion of the era of the "early transmission" (*snga dar*) of the Buddhist teachings and practices to Tibet. The intervening period, that is, 841–975 CE, saw the rise of new practice traditions in India. These were associated with new genres of Vajrayāna scriptures, the *mahāyogatantra*s and *yoginītantra*s, which are most commonly called the "father *tantras*" (*pha rgyud*) and "mother *tantra*s" (*ma rgyud*) in Tibet. While large-scale transmission and translation of these works occurred during the latter transmission period, there is evidence of continued transmission of texts and practices into Tibet throughout the 9th and 10th centuries (Kapstein, 2006), suggesting that the collapse of the empire at most slowed, but did not stop, this transmission. The early and latter transmission periods appear to be a convenient but ultimately misleading historical simplification, as communication between Buddhists in India and Tibet never entirely ceased during the 150 years that separate these eras (Cantwell & Mayer, 2012, 6–9).

The development of these practice traditions actually began prior to the early transmission period; both the *Guhyasamājatantra*, a well-known *mahāyogatantra*, and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, an early *yoginītantra*, were composed during the first half of the 8th century (Gray, 2007, 12–13; Matsunaga, 1978, xxvi). The fact that works such as these were circulating in Tibet during the early transmission period is suggested by the apparent attempt to prohibit the translation of these works at this time.

According to the 14th-century Tibetan historian Bu ston Rin chen grub in his *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyud sde rin po che'i mdzes rgyan zhes bya ba*, during the late 8th and early 9th centuries,

> Tibet's king and high-ranking ministers observed that dishonest sentient beings of the future would not understand the profound intentional import [of the texts] and would consider the literal sense authoritative. Without even the slightest unification of art and wisdom, they would be educated in the mantras without being bound to even a single commitment concerning [what behaviors are] to be avoided or cultivated. These practitioners of the immodest, deviant, semblant *tantras* of the heretics would denigrate the teachings of the Buddha and engage in a method of destroying both self and other. Hence it was decided through royal proclamation that there was to be no translation of the *mahāyogatantras* except when permission is granted. (Lokesh Chandra, 1966, 127; trans. by author)

Indeed, the emperor Khri Lde srong btsan (776–815 CE) is reputed to have declared the following in his introduction to the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Two-Fascicle Lexicon), an early 9th-century work:

> The tantras of secret mantra, according to the texts, are to be kept secret. It is also not appropriate to explain and teach them to the unqualified. Still, in the meantime, though it has been permitted to translate and practice them, there have been those who have not deciphered what is expounded allusively, and seizing upon literal understanding have practiced perversely. It is stipulated that, among the tantras of mantra, there have also been some haphazardly translated into the Tibetan language. This being so, hereafter it is not permitted to translate haphazardly the tantras of mantra and the mantra terms except for those *dhāraṇīmantras* and tantras whose translations are enjoined on order from above. (Kapstein, 2000, 231n60)

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Despite the attempts to regulate the translation and transmission of *mahāyogatantras* and *yoginītantras*, it is clear that some of these works were translated into Tibetan prior to the late 10th century, when the latter transmission period began. Among the Tibetan texts preserved at Dunhuang, dating to the 10th century, are a number of *mahāyoga* ritual treatises (see Dalton & van Schaik, 2006), and both the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* are included in the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*, which apparently preserves older translations of these works that very well may have been made during the Imperial Period or shortly thereafter, that is, at some point from the late 8th to the early 10th century (Gray, 2009, 20). C. Cantwell and R. Mayer (2012, 8) have noted the preponderance of "*kāpālika*- style" charnel-ground imagery, which is characteristic of the *mahāyogatantras* and *yoginītantras*, in the Dunhuang *mahāyoga* literature, and they have argued that at least one of these texts, a *mahāyogatantra* entitled *'Phags pa thabs kyi zhags pa padma 'phreng gi don bsdus pa* (A Noble Noose of Methods, the Lotus Garland Synopsis) was likely initially translated into Tibetan during the Imperial Period or shortly thereafter, that is, circa the 9th century (2012, 11).

The descriptions of violent and erotic practices to which some Buddhists objected were not only present in the *mahāyogatantras* and *yoginītantras* but also evident in the earliest strata of tantric literature (Gray, 2011a, 434–461), and the early transmission, as reflected by the older strata of rNying ma literature, is likewise replete with violent and erotic imagery (Cantwell, 1997; Dalton, 2011). However, violent and erotic ritual practices are even more prominent in the *mahāyogatantras* and *yoginītantras*. They feature a series of "consecration" (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Tib. *dbang*) initiation rituals that, if literally undertaken, involve sexual union (Gray, 2013). They contain descriptions of a number of ritual practices that either involve sacrificial ritual violence (Gray, 2005a) or were to be undertaken for the purpose of destroying enemies (Sinclair, 2014). This led some Buddhists to view them with suspicion.

There were reports of unorthodox teachers in Western Tibet during the 10th century, most notably the notorious "red *ācārya*" (*atsarya dmar po*), named Prajñāgupta, who were disseminating "unorthodox" practices involving sexual union and violent sacrifice (Seyfort Ruegg, 1984, 377; Karmay, 1997, 29–30). In 985 CE Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od wrote an ordinance criticizing these practices as well as the "[h]eretical tantras, pretending to be Buddhist" (Karmay, 1980, 154) that advocate them. The king reportedly sent 21 Tibetan monks, including Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), to India precisely "to find out whether these practices were correct at all" (Karmay, 1980, 151).

When Rin chen bzang po arrived in Kashmir circa 975 CE, he soon discovered that these scriptures were not deemed heretical by the Buddhists that he met there, but that they were rather considered to be among the "highest" teachings. With the help of several Kashmiri Buddhist scholars, he translated a number of tantric works into Tibetan, including the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, which is probably one of the Buddhist *tantras* most open to the charge of being a "heretical tantra, pretending to be Buddhist" (Gray, 2005a). This assessment of authenticity was confirmed several decades later by the great Indian scholar Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (982–1054), who journeyed to Tibet at the invitation of the king of Western Tibet, conveyed in this case by the monk Nag tsho lo tsā ba ("Naktso the Translator"; 1011–1064), who was sent to study at the monastery of Vikramaśīla in Bihar (Decleer, 1997).

From the mid-11th century onward, the authenticity of the "new" *tantras* and associated ritual literature were not seriously challenged in Tibet. They were considered to be "unexcelled *tantras*" (*bla na med pa'i rgyud*), the highest category of Buddhist teaching. Their high status was due to the fact that many of the them (all of them, if creative commentarial strategies are employed) teach "perfection-stage" (or "completion-stage"; Skt. *niṣpannakrama*; Tib. *rdzogs rim*) yogic practices involving manipulation of the "channels, winds, and drops" (Skt. *nāḍī*, *prāṇa*, and *bindu*; Tib. *rtsa*, *rlung*, and *thig le*), the network of subtle channels and the energy centers (Skt. *cakra*; Tib. *'khor lo*) that house the "wind" or vital energy and "drops" of subtle consciousness. Collectively these constitute what was known as the "subtle body" (Skt. *sūkṣmadeha*; Tib. *lus phra ba*). Advocates of the new Tibetan traditions based on these scriptures claimed that yogic practices involving the manipulation of the subtle body were requisites to complete awakening. It appears that these sorts of practices did not develop until relatively late, perhaps as late as the 9th century, which is likely why these practices are largely absent from the texts and practice traditions of the early transmission period.

The "new" schools that developed in Tibet beginning in the 11th century were largely based on these "highest- *tantra*" (*bla med rnal 'byor*) scriptures, also known as *mahāyogatantras* and *yoginītantras*, and the exegetical and ritual literature associated with them. They include the Kadam (Bka' gdams), Kagyü (Bka' brgyud), Sakya (Sa skya), Jonang (Jo nang), and Geluk (Dge lugs pa) traditions, which were established between the 11th and 14th century.

The translators associated with these traditions translated a large amount of Indian Buddhist ritual literature, which include the *tantras* themselves and a wide array of ritual texts associated with their practice traditions. These, in turn, served as the paradigms that later Tibetan masters followed when they composed new ritual manuals for their developing practice traditions.

Genres of New Ritual Literature

As tantric literature is overwhelmingly ritual in its focus, the issue of the performance of these rituals is obviously a key concern. In tantric Buddhist traditions, however, the need to clearly describe how rituals are performed was counterbalanced by a perceived need to preserve the secrecy of these practice traditions. The duties of performing these rituals and teaching them to qualified students was the role of the "adamantine master" (Skt. *vajrācārya*; Tib. *rdo rje slob dpon*).

Esotericism has characterized tantric Buddhism since its inception, as R. Davidson (2006) has argued. Ritual literature was thus typically held to be secret teaching that was only cautiously and reluctantly put down into writing. H. Isaacson (2001, 460–461) has noted that the Indian scholar Vanaratna, who visited Tibet during the 15th century, apparently either brought to Tibet or put down into writing there a compendium of 42 ritual texts that was preserved at Ngor Monastery. The manuscript contains an apology for the transgression of putting secret teachings down into writing, in which the scribe writes that he has "written this special teaching so that I may not forget it; may the ḍākas, ḍākinīs etc., [and] all the wrathful deities forgive [me for putting so secret a teaching down in writing]" (Isaacson, 2001, 460n10). Despite this apparent reluctance, the history of tantric literature is basically the history of the disclosure of secrets, although the exact nature of these secrets was always contestable and contested and changed over time as newer, deeper secrets were revealed (Gray, 2005b).

Tantric ritual literature is an extremely rich field with a great deal of diversity. However, if one looks broadly across this literature, there are three main subgenres that cover the five main types of tantric Buddhist ritual. These include, above all, (1) the *tantras* themselves and their commentaries, (2) "oral-transmission" texts that claim to record secret instructions for ritual and meditative practices, and (3) ritual manuals (Skt. *vidhi*; Tib. *cho ga*) and collections (*saṃgraha*).

The *Tantras* and Commentaries

The content of the *tantras* vary, with some containing narrative text, such as the opening "context" (*nidāna*) passages found at the opening *sūtras* as well as many of the *tantras*. These passages typically relate the context in which the teaching preserved in the work was originally taught, typically a teaching given by a buddha to a select audience at a certain place and time. Many *tantras*, such as the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*, preserve a dialogical structure that reflects the initial context passage, with each chapter opening with an interlocutor asking a question, with the remainder of the chapter largely dedicated to the answer. In the case of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*, it is the "Lady" Vajradhātvīśvarī posing questions to the "Lord" Vajrasattva (George, 1974).

The remaining content of the *tantras*, which is typically the vast majority of their content, is dedicated to descriptions of ritual and meditative practices. However, this content is usually related in an obscure fashion. That is, the *tantras* typically do not provide complete accounts of the entire ritual procedure being described. This is due to the deliberate esotericism of these traditions.

One of the responses to this problem was the composition of auxiliary works associated with the major *tantras*. These include "appendices" (Skt. *uttaratantra*; Tib. *rgyud bla ma*), such as the well-known text simply given this title associated with the *Guhyāsamājatantra*, as well "explanatory *tantras*" (Skt. *vyākhyātantra*; Tib. *bshad rgyud*). These works treat in much more depth topics that were either cryptically covered or neglected entirely in the main "root *tantra*" (Skt. *mūlatantra*; Tib. *rtsa rgyud*), the core scripture of the practice tradition. Not surprisingly, these works tend to focus almost entirely on ritual and meditative practices.

While the appendices and explanatory *tantras* purport to be revealed scriptures taught by an awakened being, the Indian Buddhist tradition also produced a number of commentaries on the *tantras* that are often attributed to accomplished masters, or *siddhas*, such as Kāṇha and Kambala. The commentaries also typically explain ritual practices in greater depth. One of these works, the

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Sādhananidhi (The Treasury of Means of Achievement; P1401/D rgyud 'grel vol. ba, 1b–78a) commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, attributed to the *siddha* Kambala, lives up to its name by providing what is basically a compilation of short ritual and meditative manuals for the practices to which the root text alludes. Many great Tibetan masters, such as Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158), Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), Tsong Kha pa (1359–1419), and Tāranātha (1575–1634), followed in the footsteps of their Indian predecessors and composed commentaries that were more accessible to their students than the Tibetan translations of the Indian commentaries, which are often rendered in a stilted "translationese" style.

The *tantras*, and thus the commentarial works associated with them, contain descriptions of all of the major types of rituals that are described below. However, some *tantras* also contain descriptions of rituals that are not found elsewhere. These include macabre rituals such as the rite for identifying those people who have been reborn as men seven times, whose bodies contain a special substance, a bezoar (*rocanā*), that supposedly confers magical powers if consumed (see Gray 2005a). The lack of ritual manuals describing such practices in detail is presumably due to the fact that these rituals are fortunately rarely or never practiced.

A number of *tantras*, such as the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and *Abhidhānottaratantra* (D 369), feature chapters that present the mantras for the primary deities in coded form. This typically involves coding for the mantras' vowels and consonants using a system in which the letters of the alphabet are mapped out on a grid and numerically coded. Several of the works that do this prescribe a ritual practice called "mantra selection" (*mantroddhara*), which involves establishing a consecrated space as one does when creating a *maṇḍala*, drawing the chart, and then ritually selecting the mantra's phonemes (Tomabechi, 2007; Gray, 2007, 131–136).

Oral-Transmission Texts

Another important genre of tantric literature is the so-called oral-transmission teachings that were passed down from a master to a disciple following the latter's initiation. These teachings are known as *upadeśa*, *āmnāya*, and *āgama* in Sanskrit and *gdams ngag*, *man ngag*, and *lung* in Tibetan, respectively. These are written works that purport to contain the oral-practice instructions given by great masters. They were considered to be esoteric teachings intended only for qualified – that is, initiated – practitioners (Kapstein, 1996, 275). As such, they typically describe practices in far greater detail.

An example of a very influential text in this genre is the *Mukhāgama* (Oral Transmission; P 1854/D rgyud 'grel vol. di, 17b–28b) of Buddhaśrījñāna, the founder of the Jñānapāda school of *Guhyasamāja* exegesis who was active during the 8th century. This text relates a number of important details concerning ritual practices and was so influential that some of these details, such as his analysis of the different types of fire sacrifice, were incorporated into *tantras* composed during the 9th and 10th centuries, such as the *Vajramālātantra*, *Vajraḍākatantra*, and *Mahāmudrātilakatantra*, as well as later ritual manuals (Gray, forthcoming).

Oral-instruction texts were also important in Tibet, most notably in the Bka' brgyud traditions, which preserve esoteric instruction texts known as "aural transmissions" (*snyan brgyud*), one of the most important being the *Aural Transmission of Saṃvara* (*Bde mchog snyan brgyud*), a collection of texts that preserve oral instructions that are believed to have been transmitted from the founder of the school, the great saint Milarepa (1052–1135), to his disciple Ras chung Rdo rje grags pa (1084–1161). As M. Sernesi has observed,

> This esoteric cycle is based on the *Saṃvara-tantra* and plays a central role in the spiritual practice of the bKa'-brgyud-pa: it includes some of the main teachings of the school and the *sādhanas* (*sgrub thabs*) devoted to Cakrasaṃvara and Vajrayoginī. (Sernesi, 2004, 251–252)

One of the great masters in the Bka' brgyud traditions, Padma Dkar po (1527–1592), wrote a well-known work on practice in this tradition called the *Snyan rgyud yid bzhin gyi nor bu'i bskyed pa'i rim pa rgyas pa 'dod pa'i re skong* (The Fulfillment of the Hope that Aspires for the Extensive Creation Stage that is the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel of the Aural Transmission; see TBRC website W10736). This was a very influential work that in turn inspired a number of commentaries by later Bka' brgyud authors.

Another well-known practice tradition that originated in oral instruction texts is the "path-and-fruit" (*lam 'bras*) tradition of practice preserved by the Sa skya tradition. This is a tradition of advanced tantric practice based on the *Hevajratantra* and its scriptural tradition. This tradition is reputed to have originated in a succinct teaching revealed by the goddess Nairātmyā, the chief goddess of the *Hevajratantra*'s *maṇḍala*, to the accomplished master Vīrupa, who formulated her teaching into a song known as the *Rdo rje tshig rkang* (Adamantine Verses). The song describes the entire tantric path of practice (Stearns, 2001, 9). Vīrupa orally transmitted it to his student Kāṇha and, through a lineage of students, up to the Tibetan translator 'Brog mi (993–1077), who likewise memorized the song and transmitted to his Tibetan students. The Sa skya master Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, who played a major role in the development of Sa skya teachings, put it down in writing in the process of teaching it to his students (Stearns, 2001, 10–11). As in the case of the bKa' brgyud "aural-transmission" teachings, as the "path-and-fruit" tradition developed, great Sa skya masters such as Sa chen Kun dga' snying po and Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365–1448) composed a number of ritual manuals for the various rituals that practitioners would need to undertake.

There is no doubt that the oral-transmission genre played a major role in the development of Indian and Tibetan Buddhist practice traditions. Often they are the source of the ritual manuals later composed by Tibetan masters for practitioners of these traditions.

Ritual Manuals

While every sort of tantric ritual is addressed in the *tantra*s, and explained in the exegetical literature (including the "oral-transmission" texts), it is obviously not felicitous for a ritual master to face such a textual morass to gain access to the details concerning rituals that he or she needs to perform. The solution to this problem is the genre of ritual manuals. This is a tertiary genre, deriving from the ritual instructions preserved both in the canonical scriptures and in the teachings of great masters.

These works are short, typically ranging in length from one to ten folios in Tibetan translation. They contain step-by-step instructions, oriented toward ritualists who already know the basic tantric ritual techniques. These works are usually given the title of *vidhi*, meaning rule, ordinance, formula, or direction, with each type of ritual having its own subgenre of ritual literature. Hence the guidebooks for creating *maṇḍalas* are typically called *maṇḍalavidhi*, and the rites for performing initiations therein are labeled *abhiṣekavidhi*, and so on.

All of the living tantric practice traditions have preserved a wide range of ritual literature of this sort. Very often these works are attributed to the masters who are believed to have founded the tradition, who often are counted among the 84 greatly accomplished masters (*mahāsiddha*) of the Indian tantric Buddhist traditions. Hence the Jñānapāda school of *Guhyasamāja* practice and exegesis attributes many of its ritual texts to Buddhaśrījñāna, while the Ārya school attributes many of its ritual works to Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

In some cases ritual practices for a particular tradition were compiled into a single volume. One example of a work that does this is the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (Commentary that Brings together the Ritual Practices). It is a work composed in the 12th century by the Nepali master Kuladatta, and it brings together a number of rituals associated with the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* practice tradition (Tanemura, 2004, 5–12). Works such as this would have been particularly useful for those *vajrācārya*s who teach and practice in this tradition.

The ritual works attributed to accomplished masters are sometimes key works for practice traditions that link scripture, commentary, and practice traditions, past and present. For example, one of the most prominent *sādhana*s in the *Cakrasaṃvara* practice tradition is the *Cakrasaṃvarābhisamaya* (Realization of Cakrasaṃvara; P 1427/D rgyud 'grel vol. wa, 186b–193a), a work attributed to the accomplished master Lūipa, who is reputed to have been one of the two people to whom the root scripture of this tradition was revealed. This work draws on *sādhana*-like passages contained in two of the Cakrasaṃvara explanatory *tantra*s, the *Abhidhānottara* and the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*. This text was very popular in India, as the Tibetan canon contains a dozen translations of commentaries on this *sādhana*. One of them was composed by Atiśa. Tsong Khapa (1357–1419) likewise wrote a commentary on it, thus enshrining it as one of the major Cakrasaṃvara practice traditions for the Geluk tradition. Contemporary Geluk Buddhists do not use the translation of Lūipa's work for their meditation, but they do use *sādhana*s composed by more contemporary Geluk masters who follow the exegetical tradition established by Atiśa and Tsong Khapa (Gray, 2011b).

Each of the major Tibetan practice traditions developed its own sets of ritual manuals. While typically based on Indian precursors, these works were, at the very least, more readily understood by Tibetan practitioners. But the Tibetans also introduced a number of innovations, and created in the process new genres of ritual texts, which are discussed below.

Types of Tantric Ritual

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However, many of these ritual forms
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The majority of ritual texts prese
Buddhist communities fall into five
rituals:

1. meditation manuals;
2. consecratory rituals;
3. rituals focusing on worship and
4. rituals focusing on the co
*maṇḍala*s; and
5. the initiatory rituals perform
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These are actually overlapping categ
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Meditation Manuals

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The overall number of different tantric Buddhist rituals is not easy to ascertain; to do this it would not be sufficient to simply look at the titles in works preserved in archives of Sanskrit manuscript, the Tibetan canons, or in the collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of great Tibetan masters. One would also need to read through the *tantras*, their commentaries, and the ritual compilations. Doing this would give us a good sense of the types of rituals for which there are dedicated stand-alone manuals. The total number of the overall types of ritual described in this literature must amount to scores if not hundreds. However, many of these ritual forms are of historical significance only, since living practice traditions have not preserved them.

The majority of ritual texts preserved by tantric Buddhist communities fall into five main types of rituals:

1. meditation manuals;
2. consecratory rituals;
3. rituals focusing on worship and offerings;
4. rituals focusing on the construction of *maṇḍalas*; and
5. the initiatory rituals performed within the constructed *maṇḍalas*.

These are actually overlapping categories; the practice of worship (Skt. *pūjā*; Tib. *mchod pa*) is one of the basic elements of tantric Buddhist ritual, and it is thus found in all of the ritual types listed above. So the third category indicates those rituals in which worship and the giving of offerings in worship are the primary foci of the ritual and not an ancillary element in a larger ritual procedure.

Meditation Manuals

The term *sādhana* (Tib. *sgrub thabs*), which eventually came to designate meditation manuals, literally stands for means of achievement, and it accordingly designates any procedure for achieving a desired end. The term is mainly used, however, for works whose goal is the supreme accomplishment of awakening, rather than mundane goals. It is precisely works that have this lofty aim that function as meditation manuals. Moreover, the *sādhana* qua "meditation manuals" typically exhibit the basic structure of tantric Buddhist ritual that is also found, with some variation, in most other ritual procedures.

Sādhanas are the textual basis for the practice of deity yoga, uniting oneself with one's chosen deity (Skt. *iṣṭadevatā*; Tib. *yi dam*), a practice that one typically pledges to undertake on a regular basis once one has been initiated by one's guru. This practice typically involves preliminary practices as well as the "creation-stage" (Skt. *utpattikrama*; Tib. *bskyed rim*) practice of visualizing oneself as the deity. Some *sādhanas* also contain instructions for advanced perfection-stage practices involving the manipulation of "winds" and "drops" in the network of channels and energy centers that constitutes the subtle body. These works are liturgies that are recited in conjunction (ideally) with visualization practices. Many *sādhanas* contain not only text to be recited but also instructions for what is to be visualized in conjunction with these recitations. For *sādhanas* that lack such instruction, it is necessary that one receive oral instructions on how to do the practice from one's guru. Many older *sādhanas* contain only the text to be recited; this is the reason why many of the famous Indian works had commentaries composed for them. But newer *sādhanas* composed by Tibetan masters typically contain these instructions embedded within them. Regarding the preliminary practices, many *sādhanas* begin with the sevenfold supplication that derives from far older Mahāyāna rituals. This involves the following:

1. paying homage to the central deity or deities;
2. making offerings to them;
3. confessing one's misdeeds;
4. expressing admiration for others' good deeds;
5. requesting that the deities teach;
6. asking the deities to remain in the world to do so; and
7. dedicating one's merits to others (Cozort, 1996, 336).

One then engages in the creation-stage process of visualizing the deity. In many of the early *tantras*, one generates the deity in front of oneself (*mdun skyed*), typically in the object being consecrated. But in the so-called higher yoga *tantra* practice, *sādhanas* typically call on one to visualize oneself as the deity and to generate it as oneself (*bdag skyed*), with the aim of transforming and purifying one's self-understanding and one's environment as the sacred environment of the deity's *maṇḍala*.

The practice typically begins with contemplation of oneself dissolving into emptiness. Then from the realm of emptiness, one visualizes a protected space, beginning with the "adamantine ground" (Skt. *vajrabhūmi*; Tib. *rdo rje sa*) that is established by visualizing that a massive crossed *vajra* underlies the ritual space, serving as its foundation. This space is surrounded by a flaming wall of *vajras* and protected from above by an arrow net canopy. It is described as follows in the *Abhidhānottaratantra*:

> The adamantine ground is established,
> As well as the arrow net canopy,
> Outside one should lay down from a distance,
> The adamantine fence of blazing fire.
> (D 369, rgyud ’bum ka, 254b3)

One visualizes the divine mansion of the deity within this sacred enclosure, namely the *maṇḍala* in its "actual" three-dimensional form. In its midst is a lunar disk atop a lotus, on which one typically visualizes the deity's seed syllable, which radiates light throughout the cosmos, which when recollected transforms into oneself as the deity. This visualized image is termed the "symbolic being" (Skt. *samayasattva*; Tib. *dam tshig sems dpa’*); one then invites the "gnostic being" (Skt. *jñānasattva*; Tib. *ye shes sems dpa’*) to enter one and visualizes its dissolution into the visualized image, effecting one's transformation into the deity (Beyer, 1973, 105–106).

Some *sādhanas* add further steps, such as the "purification" (*viśuddhi*) process, in which one visualizes that aggregates, elements, and sense powers are deities (Sferra, 1999; Gray, 2011b). An even more advanced practice, found in some tantric traditions, is the "body-*maṇḍala*" practice, in which one visualizes one's body as the *maṇḍala*, the abode of all the tradition's deities (Gray, 2007, 54–64). There are also *sādhanas* that add perfection-stage contemplations involving meditation on the channels, winds, and drops of the subtle body, but these are uncommon, given the great secrecy surrounding these advanced practices (Cozort, 1996, 337).

Many Tibetan traditions treat *sādhanas* as secret texts that should only be made accessible to initiated students. This is particularly the case with *sādhanas* that feature any sort of advanced yogic practices. But *sādhanas* that only feature creation-stage visualizations of oneself as the deity are sometimes made publically available. For example, the Geluk tradition in India has assembled a collection of meditation texts designed for beginner students that has been published in a volume that is readily accessible in Tibetan bookstores in India. It is entitled *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang yi dam khag gi bdag bskyed sogs zhal 'don gces btus* (The Essential Liturgical Selection for Guru Yoga, Self-Generation as Meditation Deities, Etc.). It is an important purchase for novice students who have received initiation and need to begin undertaking basic meditation practices of this sort.

Consecratory Rituals

Tantric traditions also developed a considerable number of consecratory rituals (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*; Tib. *rab gnas*), in which a master consecrates an object, such as a painting or a sculpture. Many *tantras* contain descriptions of consecratory rituals, but in Tibet the premier scriptural authority on this topic is the *Rab tu gnas pa mdor bsdus pa'i rgyud* (Consecration Summary *Tantra*), a hybrid work found only in Tibetan translation that excerpts the consecratory ritual passages found in a number of other *tantras* (Bentor, 1996, 299).

Consecratory rituals focus on an object to be consecrated such as a painting, sculpture, or stūpa. But the ritual proceeds in a very similar manner to a *sādhana* visualization, the main difference being that the deity is visualized in or as the consecrated object, which is known as "the receptacle" (*rten*) in this literature. These visualizations typically have five steps:

1. the master performing the ritual meditates on emptiness and imagines that the object to be consecrated dissolves into emptiness;
2. the practitioner generates the receptacle by visualizing it as the symbolic being of the deity;
3. the gnostic being of the deity is then invited into the receptacle;
4. the receptacle is visualized in its conventional form as the painting, and so forth; and
5. the gnostic being is requested to remain in the receptacle for as long as saṃsāra lasts (Bentor, 1996, 291–292).

Given the fact that tantric masters are frequently called on to perform consecratory rituals, this is a very important genre of tantric literature. Every major practice tradition has preserved ritual manuals for the performance of the consecration of sacred objects. South Asian Buddhist traditions produced a number of ritual manuals for consecration rites, particularly for the consecration of stūpas, which traditionally are major ritual foci in both Indian and Tibetan Buddhist traditions (Handurukande, 2000).

Worship Rituals

The rite of *pūjā* is one of the fundamental rituals found in all of the South Asian religious traditions. These rituals treat deities as honored "guests" who are treated to a variety of offerings in the course of the ritual (Makransky, 1996, 313–314). Variants of the *pūjā* ritual are found in all Buddhist traditions, and this ritual certainly preceded the rise of tantric Buddhism by many centuries.

In the context of tantric rituals, worship is divided into four types:

1. outer worship (Skt. *bāhyapūjā*; Tib. *phyi mchod*);
2. inner worship (Skt. *antarapūjā*; Tib. *nang mchod*);

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3. secret worship (Skt. *gu*
mchod); and
4. reality worship (Skt. *tatt*
nyid mchod).

The first, outer worship, invol
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3. secret worship (Skt. *guhyapūjā*; Tib. *gsang mchod*); and
4. reality worship (Skt. *tattvapūjā*; Tib. *de kho na nyid mchod*).

The first, outer worship, involves offerings of tangible things such as water, food, incense, and so forth (Beyer, 1973, 148–157), while inner worship involves visualized offerings of either the five meats (Skt. *pañcamāṃsa*; Tib. *ro lnga*) or five bodily substances known as the ambrosias (Skt. *pañcāmṛta*; Tib. *bdud rtsi lnga*) to gratify the five senses (Beyer, 1973, 157–159). These pentads represent foul, "impure" offerings that are transformed into ambrosia (Skt. *amṛta*; Tib. *bdud rtsi*) in the "alchemy" of tantric ritual. In the Tibetan traditions, these offerings are visualized and are also depicted in ritual art such as *thangka* paintings and the "offering cakes" (Skt. *bali*; Tib. *gtor ma*), and hence are only symbolically transgressive. One of the purposes of the inner offering is the development of nondual gnosis (Skt. *advayajñāna*; Tib. *gnyis med ye shes*) that is free of any discrimination or discursive thought. The secret worship is a visualized presentation of divine consort goddesses, who represent the sensual pleasures to the deity; the deity unites with them generating great bliss, while "reality worship" is the offering of great bliss itself to the deity (Beyer, 1973, 159–165). It should be noted that only the first type is a ritual conducted in the usual sense of the word, in the external world with actual ritual accoutrements; the remaining three types are visualized. But tantric ritual in general typically involves both an outer "actual" and an inner visualized component.

Most tantric Buddhist rituals involve one or more of these forms of worship, but there are also many rituals that simply involve worship and offering to one or more deities. One of the most important types of rituals involving worship and offerings are fire-sacrifice (Skt. *homa*; Tib. *sbyin sreg*) rituals, in which offerings to a deity are made into a specially consecrated fire. Originally adapted from the ancient vedic Hindu ceremony of the same name, it became a standard tantric ritual; most major tantric traditions preserve some sort of *homa* rituals (Payne & Witzel, forthcoming).

Homa rituals are traditionally classified, by authors such as Buddhaśrījñāna, into three categories, "outer," "inner," and "secret," corresponding to actual outer offerings into the fire, visualized inner offerings, and "secret" visualizations in terms of sexual union. They are also classified in accordance with their objectives into rites designed to pacify (*śāntika*), enrich (*pauṣṭika*), control (*vaśya*), or destroy (*abhicāraka*), to give just a few examples (Gray, forthcoming). These derive from the categories of Indian sorcery, and in accordance with this tradition, different applications have different correspondences that must be implemented in the rituals. Hence rituals for pacification employ white-colored substances (wood, offering substances, etc.) and are conducted during the day at auspicious sites, while rituals for destruction employ black-colored substances and must be conducted during the night at inauspicious locales (Türstig, 1985).

Maṇḍala-Creation Rituals

One of the most important types of rituals performed by tantric masters is the ritual sequence leading to the creation of *maṇḍalas*. *Maṇḍalas* are essential for the rites that ensure the survival of the practice traditions by enabling the initiation of new practitioners. Most major tantric rituals likewise require the creation of the *maṇḍala* to establish the sacred space in which the rituals are conducted. *Maṇḍala* rituals are also very complex, so it is one of the areas in which written guides are indispensible. And as all of the major tantric traditions feature at least one *maṇḍala*, the *maṇḍalavidhi*-type manuals are ubiquitous features of practice-related literature.

These guides typically begin with the process of establishing a consecrated space for the creation of a *maṇḍala*. This typically involves finding the right sort of space, leveling it so it has a suitable surface for making a *maṇḍala* image with colored sand or powder and consecrating it. The consecration rituals may involve anointing the space with auspicious substances such as the "cow products," dairy products and/or urine and dung (Tanemura, 2004, 213–222). It may also involve exorcistic rituals to cast out evil influences and "stake out" a sacred space that they cannot enter. This step typically involves ritual practices closely connected with visualizations, usually involving the visualization of the protective circle as performed in *sādhana* rituals.

This is followed by the much more complicated ritual process of outlining the *maṇḍala* using chalk lines and then filling it in with colored powders (Tanemura, 2004, 237–254). Once the *maṇḍala* is established, it then becomes of the focus of rites of worship and consecration, as R. Kohn (2001) has discussed in depth.

Initiatory Rituals

Once a *maṇḍala* is established, the initiatory rites, or rites of "consecration," can be performed. As the name implies, these rites are adapted from coronation rituals used in medieval India. The earliest *tantras* contain initiation rituals, as do several "proto-tantric" ritual texts that preceded the development of tantric Buddhism circa the 7th century (Davidson, 2011, 71–74). These earlier rites were systematized in the "highest *tantra*" that were composed starting in the 8th century. These works added a sexual dimension to the initiatory rites for these traditions. They took the various initiation rituals developed in the earlier *tantras* and labeled them the "master consecration" (Skt. *ācāryābhiṣeka*; Tib. *bslob dpon dbang*).

They added the three so-called higher consecrations, two of which featured sexual ritual practices (Snellgrove, 2002, 213–277). The second consecration was called the "secret consecration" (Skt. *guhyābhiṣeka*; Tib. *gsang dbang*). It required that the disciple being initiated offer to the master a specially prepared consort, with whom the master would have sex. The mixed sexual fluids produced from this union would then be used to consecrate the disciple.

This is followed by the third consecration, called "the gnosis of the consort" (Skt. *prajñājñānābhiṣeka*; Tib. *shes rab ye shes dbang*), in which the consort is returned to the disciple, and he is instructed in sexual union with her; this was understood as an initiation into the sexual yogic practices of the perfection stage of practice, the most advanced and highly secret level of yogic and meditative practice for these traditions. During or immediately following this union, the disciple would be given advanced instructions concerning the nature of mind and/or reality. This is the fourth consecration, which was likewise considered extremely secret.

This was one of the most controversial developments in tantric ritual. It raised considerable concern in Indian Buddhist circles, and the erotic nature of this ritual (and the *tantras* that describe it) may have led to the censorship of these *tantras* in Tibet during the early transmission period, when translation was conducted with imperial sponsorship and oversight, and also in China, where it was likely subject to oversight and censorship (Davidson, 2011, 75; Gray, 2014). The sexual content of the new initiatory rituals was likewise one of the issues that raised the concerns of Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od in Tibet.

Atiśa wrote about this issue in his *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Light on the Path to Awakening). Atiśa commented that only the laity should take the third and fourth consecrations, since they entail a violation of the monastic vows of celibacy (Sherburne, 2000, 301). This resolved the understandable concern that these practices might lead monks and nuns to break their vows. But it created the uncomfortable consequence of the monastic community – ordinarily the leaders of Buddhist communities – being barred from participation in the "highest" traditions of tantric practice. The masters of these traditions would thus have to be laypeople shifting authority from the monastic to the lay community. Shortly after the composition of these *tantras*, there was an understandable rise in laymen or noncelibate monks serving as tantric masters (*vajrācārya*), but this position was wrested from them by more orthodox monks during the 10th century (Szántó, 2010). The Tibetans, following suit, adapted the initiatory rituals so that the sexual union was only enacted symbolically, allowing celibate monks to maintain their status as spiritual leaders of their communities (Gray, 2007, 127n333).

Given the importance of the rite of initiation, all living tantric traditions practice versions of this rite and have thus produced ritual manuals for its practice. Most *tantras* describe the rite with varying degrees of clarity. A particularly famous text on this rite is the *Sekoddeśa* (Explanation of Consecration), a fragment of the *Ādībuddha* root *tantra* of the Kālacakra tradition. A commentary on this work, the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, is attributed to Nāropā, who is probably along with Padmasambhava one of the most famous of the 84 realized adepts, from the Tibetan perspective at least (see Sferra & Merzagora, 2006).

While the ritual works and commentaries attributed to the great saints of India were and are revered by Tibetans, every Tibetan practice tradition has developed its own ritual manuals based in part on works such as these. For example, the Sa skya "path-and-fruit" tradition preserves an array of ritual manuals for the practice of the various rites of initiation. These works were composed by the great masters of this tradition, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po and Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Sobisch, 2008, 92–93).

Tibetan Developments

It should not be thought that the Tibetans were slavish followers of Indian Buddhist scriptural precedents. While Tibetan Buddhists, generally speaking, venerate the vast corpus of Indian works translated in collections such as the Kanjur, Tanjur, and the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*, these works, which typically grace the altars or textual collections of Tibetan Buddhist temples and monasteries, are very rarely consulted by contemporary practitioners.

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This is because each of the major Tibetan traditions, typically within several generations following their establishment, has given rise to great masters who were learned in the translated Indian works that formed the scriptural core of their traditions, and who then composed new works that helped clarify these often obscure works for their Tibetan students.

These include scholars such as Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, Bu ston Rin chen grub, Tsong Khapa, Padma dKar po, and Tāranātha. All of these authors wrote commentaries on the *tantra*s and Indian ritual manuals that were important for their traditions, and they either composed new ritual manuals or inspired their successors to do so.

Tibetan authors in the *gsar ma* schools not only built on the foundations of the textual and practice traditions that they inherited from India but also innovated and created new ritual genres that either filled gaps in the traditions received from India or addressed uniquely Tibetan concerns. One of these genres is preliminary-practice (*sngon 'gro*) texts that describe the practices that novice students are to undertake. This was a real lacuna in the transmission of texts from India. There is, of course, no doubt that Indian Buddhist communities developed systems of preparatory practice for neophytes, and some Indian authors comment generally that initiates should be "well-educated in mantra and *tantra*" (*mantratantrasuśikṣita*; see Gray, 2011a, 456). However, the Tibetan canon contains no translated texts detailing this practice.

The Tibetans filled this gap, likely on the basis of both oral teachings and innovation on their part. The end result of this process was the now ubiquitous tradition of novices needing to complete four sets of practices 100,000 times each. Tibetan Buddhist authors divide preliminary practices into two types, outer and inner. Outer preliminaries consist of contemplating topics such as the preciousness of human birth, karma, suffering, and impermanence, topics that are covered by "stages-of-the-path" (*lam rim*) literature. The inner preliminaries usually consist of performing 100,000 repetitions of prostrations, recitations of Vajrasattva's hundred-syllable mantra, *maṇḍala* offerings, and guru yoga visualizations.

The Tibetan practice of having novice students engage in preliminary practices developed gradually. Each tradition gradually developed systems of practice for all levels of practitioners. The Sa skya "fruit-and-path" tradition developed practice manuals for the recitation of Vajrasattva's hundred-syllable mantra (Sobisch, 2008, 93). And while prostrations and *maṇḍala* offerings were well-known practices in India, Tibetans developed guidebooks for these practices as well.

The practice of guru yoga appears to be a Tibetan innovation. South Asian tantric Buddhist traditions generally encouraged devotion to one's guru. Many *tantra*s prescribe a devotional attitude, and this is discussed at length in a late Indian Buddhist work, the *Gurupañcāśikā* (The 50 Stanzas on the Guru; see Sparham, 1999). However, it appears that Tibetans developed the practice of guru yoga, which is a variant of deity yoga practice in which one visualizes one's guru in front of or above oneself as a deity and unites oneself with the guru. It is a devotional practice that is also a preparation for the more complex deity yoga visualizations. While it is possible that Indian Buddhists developed this practice, there is no textual record that this is the case, so it appears that it was the Tibetans who developed this genre of ritual literature. The first Tibetan to compose a guru yoga work was Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251). Shortly after he assumed the position of leadership in the Sa skya school in 1216, he composed a work entitled *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor* (Guru Yoga: The Profound Path; see TBRC website W2DB4570). It was among a number of short works for the guidance of his students (Rhoton, 2002, 14).

Eventually Tibetan authors developed the system of fourfold preliminary practices. It appears that one of the first authors to advance this way of doing preliminary practices was the eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod Rdo rje (1507–1554; see Khenpo Karthar Rinpoche, 2012). His successor, the ninth Karmapa Dbang phyug rdo rje (1556–1603), wrote both the liturgy on fourfold preliminary practice that is still used in the Karma Bka' brgyud tradition, entitled the *'Phags lam bgrod pa'i shint rta* (Chariot for Traveling the Noble Path), and a commentary on the practice, entitled *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor khrid* (Instructions for Spontaneous Union with the Great Seal; for both, see TBRC website W3JT13314). However, the best-known commentary on the practice is the *Nges don sgron me* (The Torch of Certainty), which was composed by the 19th-century master 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros Mtha' yas pa (1813–1899; see Jamgon Kongtrul, 2000).

There are many other Tibetan developments as well. The female Tibetan master Ma gcig Lab sgron (1055–1149) developed the contemplative practice, and ritual manuals describing it, of "cutting" (*gcod*), which involves visualizing the offering of one's body to the hungry sentient beings of the cosmos (Edou, 1996). Tibetans Buddhists also worship a large number of indigenous Tibetan deities as "dharma protectors" (*chos skyong*) and thus composed a large number of uniquely Tibetan ritual manuals detailing the worship of these deities (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, 398–408). Tibetans developed many other ritual practices and associated ritual literature for purposes such as oracles and their divinatory trance rituals, other divination rituals, weather-making rituals, and offensive and defensive war magic rituals (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, 409–537), which are beyond the scope of this entry. These rituals are products of the centuries-long adaptation of Buddhism to Tibet, a process that involves the transformation of many indigenous ritual practices into "Buddhist" rites, often via the application of a very thin Buddhist ritual veneer.

This points to the dynamic nature of tantric Buddhist traditions, which have throughout their history changed over time to adapt to new circumstances. Tantric rituals, as practiced today, are the end result of centuries of development, and this process is ongoing. These traditions will continue to change as they adapt to the very different circumstances of today's globalized, interconnected world.

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Ritual Texts: Korea

Buddhist ritual refers to the diverse ceremonial practices performed by the Buddhist community, and in the case of Korea, it encompasses the regulations governing the lives of Buddhists in Korean society and their essential features. Buddhist ritual texts denote the manuals that prescribe the rules and formalities of the liturgical proceedings for Buddhist rituals.

Publication of Buddhist Ritual Texts in Korea

In Korea, all surviving Buddhist ritual texts are from the Chosŏn (朝鮮) period (1392–1910; for a compilation of Buddhist texts published in the Chosŏn period, see Pak, 1993). The establishment of Buddhist orders immediately followed the transmission of Buddhism and its official adoption as the state ideology during the 4th–6th centuries CE in the three kingdoms of Korea. Along with the institutionalization of Buddhism, its ceremonial practices were also systematized, and they were frequently enacted to wish for the prosperity of the state as well as the welfare of individuals. The *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事; Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), a major source for ancient Korean history compiled by the monk Iryŏn (一然; 1206–1289) in 1281, reports on various Buddhist ritual practices during the Three Kingdoms (1st cent. BCE–668 CE) and the Unified Silla (統一新羅; 668–935 CE) periods. For instance, the monk Myŏngnang (明朗) conducted an esoteric Buddhist ritual called *mundurubŏp* (文豆婁法; method of *mudrā*) based on the *Guanding fumo fengyin dashenzhou jing* (灌頂伏魔封印大神呪經; *Sūtra* on the *Mūdra* and Mantra of Defeating Māra by *Abhiṣeka*; T. 1331.7) in 671 CE in order to subdue the Tang (唐) troops that had invaded the Silla Kingdom (*Samguk yusa* 5: *Myŏngnag sinin* [明朗神印]; The Numinous *Mūdra* of Myŏngnang). It also records that in 760 CE another Silla monk, Wŏlmyŏng (月明), performed a Buddhist ritual to resolve the mishap of having two suns in the sky for more than ten days (*Samguk yusa* 5; *Wŏlmyŏngsa Tosolga* [月明師兜率歌]; The Song of Tuṣita of the Master Wŏlmyŏng). These anecdotes, however, deliver only brief accounts of the incidents without further records of details of the rituals and their procedures, and our knowledge about them remains sparse.

More proper information about Buddhist rituals became available later, beginning with the Koryŏ (高麗) period (918–1392), the "era of rituals." This period saw a great increase of Buddhist rituals in both frequency and variety. Particularly, state-sponsored comprehensive Buddhist rituals such as *palgwanhoe* (八關會; eight-vows festival) and *yŏndŭnghoe* (燃燈會; lantern festival) were actively performed (An, 2011, 6–11). The rituals consequently became standardized for regular performance, and some of them were even absorbed into the secular custom of the society. The *Koryŏsa* (高麗史; History of Koryŏ; 23.11) records the occasions of various Buddhist rituals. In addition, diverse Buddhist scriptures including those associated with the Hwaŏm (Chn. Huayan [華嚴]) school as well as esotericism, the principal sources of Buddhist rituals, were published during the Koryŏ period. The catalogue of the Buddhist canon (*Taejanggyŏng mongnok* [大藏經目錄]) compiled by the monk Sugi (守其) around 1251 records 191 texts in 356 volumes classifiable as "pure esoteric," including the *Dapilu zhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* (大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經; *Sūtra* on the Transference from the Miracle of the Enlightenment of Mahāvairocana; 7 vols.; K 427/T. 848), the *Jingangding jing* (金剛頂經; The Diamond Pinnacle *Sūtra*; 3´vols.; K 1274/T. 865), and the *Wunengsheng damingxin tuoluoni jing* (無能勝大明心陀羅尼經; *Sūtra* on the *Dhāraṇi* of the Wisdom King Ajita; 1 vol.; K 1301/T. 1233). Additionally, esoteric ritual manuals comprise 20 texts in 21 volumes including the *Darijing lüeshe niansong suixingfa* (大日經略攝念誦隨行法; The Method of Practicing Invocation Excerpted from the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*; 1 vol.; K 1362/T. 857), the *Jingangding yujia humo yi* (金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀; The Method of Yoga *Homa* of the Diamond Pinnacle *Sūtra*; 1 vol.; K 1335/T. 908), and the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui* (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌; Ritual Manual of Invoking the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhārāṇi*; 1 vol.; K 1314/T. 972; Sŏ, 1997, 279). On the basis of diverse texts recorded in this

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list, it is possible to assume that, indeed, an ample number of ritual texts must have been published in the Koryŏ period, but none is extant today.

In the following Chosŏn period (1392–1910), the invention of the Korean alphabet, Han'gŭl, under King Sejong (世宗; r. 1418–1450) led to the Korean translation of Buddhist scriptures from Chinese (Eda, 1936, 10–36) and allowed the general public to easily read the scriptures. During the reign of King Sejong, the Kan'gyŏng togam (刊經都監), a government office for publishing Buddhist scriptures, was installed mainly to supervise the Korean translation of Buddhist texts. After the Kan'gyŏng togam was abolished in 1471, as a result of Confucian scholars' hostility against Buddhism, the state-sponsored publication of Buddhist scriptures no longer remained in operation. Instead, the scriptures began to be published extensively by Buddhist temples throughout the country. Popular texts used in Buddhist rituals such as mantra collections and ritual manuals were also produced in Korean translations. Since the purpose of publishing scriptures in Korean was primarily to make them available to the common populace, it generated an environment for Korean Buddhism to advance into a different spectrum in faith and social characteristics from the preceding era, thus reflecting a greater popularization of Buddhism in society (Ch'oe, 1993, 219–226).

Ritual Texts

Buddhist ritual texts currently surviving in Korea can be divided into two types. The first type stipulates the procedure of worship services and ceremonies that accommodate the participation of lay believers. Lay Buddhist devotees wishing to achieve prosperity in their present life as well as to pray for a favorable rebirth of deceased kin took an active role in various rituals held at Buddhist temples. Each ritual involved a specified purpose and procedure and thus necessitated a proper ritual text. The ritual texts classified into this type include the following:

1. those related to the ceremonies performed particularly for deceased souls, for example *suryukchae* (水陸齋; ritual of water and land), *yesujae* (預修齋; ritual of advanced practice), and *yŏngsanjae* (靈山齋; ritual of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa);
2. those for various other worship services; and
3. those for rituals concerning the creation of Buddhist statues or paintings.

The second type of texts concerns the daily ritual practices of Buddhist monks. Buddhist monks routinely performed rituals in accordance with the level of their monastic practice. To guide the individual practitioner, the monasteries published ritual texts with appropriate contents and procedures. Therefore, these publications were restricted to those who entered the Buddhist priesthood (Nam, 2012, 16).

Texts Associated with the Rituals of Guiding the Deceased

The ritual texts on *suryukchae* constitute the majority of the publications associated with the rituals of guiding the deceased (*ch'ŏndojae* [薦度齋]). *Suryukchae* refers to the Buddhist ceremony of preaching and food offering to appease restless souls wandering in the water and land. The tradition of *suryukchae* is known to have been initiated by Emperor Wu (武; 464–549 CE) of Liang (梁) in China. In Korea, the earliest account of its performance is dated to 970 CE, and the *Koryŏsa* confirms that the practice continued until the end of the Koryŏ period. *Suryukchae* was held as a grand state-sponsored ceremony especially during the early Chosŏn period, despite the fact that by this time Confucian rituals replaced those of Buddhists owing to the official policy of the suppression of Buddhism. The general objectives of performing *suryukchae* are rooted in the people's aspiration to extinguish natural disasters, receive good fortune, guide the deceased souls into paradise, and be cured from sicknesses. The ceremony was held not to benefit an individual but often for the good of the general public (Kim, 2001, 27–75). The Chosŏn people believed that all sort of calamities harmful to living beings occurred because of restless souls who died in unfortunate circumstances, thus wandering in the water and land. The people evidently demanded the state to hold *suryukchae* when they were confronted with natural disasters or epidemics. Such a conceptualization derives to some extent from belief in the shamanistic practice of necromancy, serving to placate the resentment of deceased souls. *Suryukchae* was enthusiastically espoused in the process of the Buddhist community embracing some shamanistic functions.

In the early 16th century, however, *suryukchae* was abolished owing to the strong opposition of Confucian scholars, and thereafter it was no longer performed as an official state ceremony. *Yŏje*

(Chn. *liji* [厲祭]), the Confucian counterpart, eventually replaced *suryukchae*, though without much enthusiasm from the public, who were more attached to *suryukchae*. The abolition of *suryukchae* was ultimately an act of obstructing the passage through which the public's anxiety is conciliated and of blatantly imposing the ideology of the king and the ruling Confucian scholars without heeding the needs of the common people. In fact, the ancestral rites of Confucianism functioned only as an implement subordinate to the political order and did not derive from the devotional needs of the people. Furthermore, because Buddhist-style commemorative rites for ancestors were predominant among common people, *suryukchae* continued to be performed even after its official abolition. Consequently, the publication of ritual texts related to *suryukchae* uninterruptedly thrived in the 16th to the 17th centuries across the country.

The most widely used ritual texts of *suryukchae* are the *Suryuk much'a p'yŏngdŭng chaeŭi ch'walyo* (水陸無遮平等齋儀撮要; Compendium on the Indiscriminating Ritual of the *Suryukchae*; Pak, vol. I, 1993, 621–650) and the *Ch'ŏnjimyŏngyang suryukchaeŭi ch'anyo* (天地冥陽水陸齋儀纂要; Compendium of the *Suryukchae* for the Souls in Heaven and Earth and This World and the Next; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 215–250).

The *Suryuk much'a p'yŏngdŭng chaeŭi ch'walyo*'s earliest surviving copy was printed in 1470, but its original compiler is unknown. The text, which comprises 30 chapters, begins by addressing its intent and continues to elucidate the inviting of the deceased souls and the burning of incense to greet the messengers from the netherworld. The messengers from the netherworld are presented with food and prayers and sent away. The ritual space is purified, and offerings are given to the three treasures (Buddha, the law of Buddha, and a Buddhist monk). Then, the heavenly spirits are invited and also given offerings. The ritual proceeds with calling on the deceased souls. Before they are presented to the Buddha and bodhisattvas, the rituals of bathing the deceased souls and of dressing them with new clothes are performed. The prayer to supplicate their salvation is offered to the buddhas and bodhisattvas, and food is offered to the deceased souls. Lastly, the participants in the ritual repent their own wrongdoings and recite the four great vows. And at this moment, the deceased souls receive the blessing of the buddhas and bodhisattvas and become the Buddha's disciples, thus attaining salvation.

The *Ch'ŏnjimyŏngyang suryukchaeŭi ch'anyo* is a compilation of 54 chapters selected from various versions of *suryukchae* ritual texts; its compiler and original publication date are unknown. The extant edition was printed in 1694 and includes a postscript written by the monk Wanwŏl Ch'ŏhwi (翫月處輝) who administered the printing and who explicates that though there are 67 kinds of ritual texts incorporated on *suryukchae*, the *Chungnyemun* (中禮文) and the *Kyŏlsumun* (結手文) are the most prevalent since they surpass other texts in their organization of the content. The current edition was produced because other earlier editions that the Haeinsa Monastery used to own had long been lost. This account allows us to assume that the text was adapted from the *Chungnyemun* and the *Kyŏlsumun* into a more comprehensible form. Its content is largely similar to the *Suryuk much'ap'yŏngdŭng chaeŭi ch'walyo*.

Furthermore, the *Ch'ŏnjimyŏngyang suryukchaeŭi pŏmŭm sanbojip* (天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音刪補集; Supplement on the Sanskrit Chanting in the *Suryukchae* for the Souls in Heaven and Earth and This World and the Next; Pak, vol. III, 1993, 1–184) is a later text on *suryukchae* published in the 18th century, of which several copies are extant, including those printed in 1709, 1721, and 1739. The monk Chihwan (智還), who was mainly active in Mount Chirisan (智異山), compiled this text consisting of 96 pieces. The information about Chihwan is scarce, but he seems to have been a pupil of Paegam Sŏngch'ong (栢庵性聰; 1631–1700), who was the third-generation disciple of Puhyu Sŏnsu (浮休善修; 1543–1615), a renowned monk of the mid-Chosŏn period. The preface, written by Chihwan's dharma brothers Myŏngan (明眼) and Suyŏn (秀演), both disciples of Paegam Sŏngch'ong, informs about the purpose and the process of its publication. It begins with the statement that Chihwan compiled the text out of deep concern for Buddhist chant losing its true nature, along with a brief account of the history of Buddhist chant (*pŏmp'ae* [梵唄]). It goes on to state that the *Ch'ŏnjimyŏngyang suryukchaeŭi pŏmŭm sanbojip* is based on the following five kinds of texts on Buddhist chant (*pŏmŭmjip* [梵音集]):

1. *Soryemun* (*Xiaoliwen* [小禮文]);
2. *Taeryemun* (*Daliwen* [大禮文]);
3. *Yesumun* (*Yuxiuwen* [預修文]);
4. *Chibanmun* (*Zhipanwen* [志磐文]); and
5. *Chagimun* (*Zikuiwen* [仔夔文]).

Chihwan carefully selected and rearranged the ritual proceedings from these five texts into a single compilation in three chapters. While more than

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Another text associated with
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60 ritual texts related to *suryukchae* were transmitted from China to Korea, only these five were in particular favored in Chosŏn, and Chihwan conveniently compiled excerpts from these five into a single volume. This development is closely tied to the general trend of Buddhist rituals being gradually refashioned as a form of performing art after the 18th century (Nam, 2004, 66–71).

The ritual texts mentioned above were produced by editing and reorganizing parts selected from several ritual texts related to *suryukchae*. There is another type, which was created through editing a single text; the *Chagi sanbomun* (仔夔刪補文; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 251–426) and the *Pŏpkye sŏngbŏm suryuksŭnghoe sujae ŭikwe* (法界聖凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌; Ritual manual on Performing the *Suryukchae* for Holy and Lay People of the *Dharmadhātu*; Pak, vol. I, 1993, 573–620) belong to this type. The *Chagi sanbomun* is a reedited version of the *Chagimun*, one of the five texts of Buddhist chant popularly used in Chosŏn (see above). Its earliest surviving edition is a woodblock print made in 1568. Adjustments appropriate to the situation of Chosŏn were made to this text, as the Chinese original *Zikuiwen* was considered too complex. Nonetheless, the use of the *Chagi sanbomun* on the occasion of *suryukchae* may have been limited, considering the fact that it was not printed in substantial numbers, in contrast to the two abovementioned ritual texts. When performing *suryukchae*, the populace probably favored a simpler form of the ritual rather than a complex one. Another notable text in this group is the *Pŏpkye sŏngbŏm suryuk sŭnghoe sujae ŭikwe*, a reedited version of the *Chibanmun*/*Zhipanwen* by the Chinese Zhipan. Its earliest surviving edition is dated to 1470.

Another text associated with the rituals of guiding the deceased is the *Yesu siwangsaeng ch'iljaeŭi ch'anyo* in 31 chapters (預修十王生七齋儀纂要; Compendium of the Seven Rituals of Advance Offering to the Ten Kings of Hells; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 65–126), which contains the ritual proceedings of *yesujae*. It was written by the Sŏn (Chan [禪]) monk Taeu (大愚), but the precise date of its publication is unknown. The currently remaining two versions are printed in 1576 and 1680. *Yesujae* is a Buddhist ritual performed to accumulate merit while living in order to secure a favorable rebirth after one's death. For this meritorious act, one aims to receive recognition from the Ten Kings of hell, by whom a deceased soul will be judged, and to attain rebirth in Kŭngnak (極樂; Skt. Sukhāvatī).

After the 16th century, as popular demand for rituals guiding the deceased increased, providing ritual services for the dead became an important part of the Buddhist community's activity. In tandem with this growing tendency, the necessity of organizing a ritual for the dead was recognized, even within the Sŏn school known for its emphasis on the attainment of enlightenment through meditation. The key issue was how to incorporate this ritual that emphasizes reciting mantras, a strong esoteric element within Sŏn practice – ordinarily not compatible. The ritual text *Unsudan* (雲水壇; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 47–64), compiled by Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng (淸虛 休靜; 1520–1604), a prominent Sŏn monk of the mid-Chosŏn period, demonstrates how Sŏn responded to this problem. Currently only a woodblock print produced in 1607 remains, along with a number of later editions. The text details the procedures of giving offerings to the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the high-status realm, the heavenly beings of the middle-status realm, and the spirits of the low-status realm, according to the distinctive classification of the three-status rituals of the Chosŏn period. The proceedings are as follows:

1. a prefatory procedure prior to the actual offering, which involves cleansing the ritual precinct and chanting mantras of purifying the participant's heart;
2. the incantation of mantras and *gāthā*s of receiving buddhas and bodhisattvas of the high-status realm and giving offerings;
3. the incantation of mantras and *gāthā*s of receiving heavenly deities of the middle-status realm and giving offerings; and
4. the incantation of mantras and *gāthā*s of receiving the spirits of the low-status realm and giving offerings, and of the wishes to guide them into paradise.

Here, the offering ritual addressed to the middle-status group particularly reveals that the text was edited in the stance of Sŏn practice. The features distinctive of the Sŏn tradition are integrated in the offerings of incense (*haet'alhyang* [解脫香]), lanterns (*panyadŭng* [般若燈]), flowers (*manhaenghwa* [萬行花]), and tea (*kamnoch'a* [甘露茶]).

Ritual Texts on Other Worship Services

Apart from texts on the rituals of guiding the deceased, some were produced for the purpose of other worship services. Two notable examples are the *Yenyŏm Mit'a toryang ch'ambŏp* (禮念彌陀道場懺法; The Method of Penitence in the Ritual of Reverent Invocation of Amitābha: Pak, vol. I, 1993, 245–260) and the *Yenyŏm wangsaengmun* (禮念往生文; The Reverent Invocation for Rebirth; Pak, vol. IV, 1993, 197–252), and both involve the ritual of the invocation of Amitābha. These two texts indicate that the Pure Land convention of invoking Amitābha developed as a separate ritual practice.

The *Yenyŏm Mit'a toryang ch'ambŏp* concerns the ritual regulation of repenting one's wrongdoings (*ch'ambŏp*) with prayers (e.g. the *Amit'agyŏng* [阿彌陀經]), the dedicatory writing concerning the wish to gain enlightenment, and the importance of invocation and repentance. It comprises 13 chapters entirely written in Chinese without mantras. It was initially compiled by Wang Zicheng (王子成) in 1213 during the Jin dynasty, transmitted to Korea during the Koryŏ period, and widely used in the Chosŏn period. The earliest extant edition is dated to 1474 and was republished several times.

The *Yenyŏm wangsaengmun* is also a text used in the invocation ritual addressed to Amitābha. The colophon is now lost, and thus the publication details, including the name of the compiler and the year of the first publication, are not known. However, the fact that the transcription is executed in a combination of Chinese and Korean characters, or partly Korean, only suggests that the text was most likely compiled after the mid-Chosŏn period. A more precise dating of the 18th century may be deduced from the *Wŏlchŏdang taesajip* (月渚堂大師集; 1717), a collection of literary works of Wŏlchŏ Toan (月渚道安; 1638–1715), which encourages alms from people to fund the printing of a thousand copies of the *Yenyŏm wangsaengmun*. The presence of the above two texts indicates that the Pure Land convention of invoking Amitābha developed as a separate ritual practice.

Another ritual text related to the Pure Land school with an esoteric Buddhist character is the *Hyŏnhaeng pŏphoe yech'am ŭisik* (現行法會禮懺儀式; The Ritual of Reverent Penitence in a Service for Rebirth from the Present Life; D 4349; currently in the Dongguk University Library). This text, compiled by the monk Myŏngan (明眼) in 1709 as an appendix to the Pure Land text *Hyŏnhaeng sŏbanggyŏng* (現行西方經; The *Sūtra* of Rebirth in the Western Pure Land from the Present Life), contains prayers for the attainment of rebirth in the western Pure Land. The *Hyŏnhaeng sŏbanggyŏng*, written by the monk Wŏnch'am (元昆) in 1298, is a scripture related to the Pure Land faith; it elucidates the practice of predicting the place of one's rebirth in the afterlife by casting sticks and the practice of repentance as a method to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land.

The *Hyŏnhaeng pŏphoe yech'am ŭisik* begins with a *gāthā* of inviting the three treasures and giving offerings, and the description of a ritual of lay people receiving the eight precepts. Next, it proceeds to stipulate the procedure of holding the service dedicated to the buddhas and bodhisattvas and gives the prayers of repentance and mantras. The following part concerns a ritual of "burning of the arm" (*yŏnbi* [燃臂]) and prayers and ends with food offerings. The text stresses the immediate efficacy of the merit that is obtained through this ritual by emphasizing that no calamity may penetrate the space where the ritual is performed and that whoever performs the ritual shall accomplish "right conduct" (*jŏngŏp* [淨業]) within a day.

In addition, there is the *Sŏlsŏnŭi* (說禪儀; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 29–46), authored by the monk Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng and printed in 1634. It is a text dealing with the ritual proceedings of *sŏlsŏn pŏphoe* (說禪法會), the service aiming to prompt enlightenment after listening to the preaching of Sŏn monks. Chosŏn, as opposed to the Koryŏ period, saw a decline of the Buddhist doctrinal school due to the official oppression of Buddhism. Since only the Sŏn school maintained the strand of its tradition, the popular service of Sŏn teachings (*sŏlsŏn* [說禪]) flourished. It was authored by the monk Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng and was printed in 1634. The *sŏlsŏn ŭisik* is a ritual of the Sŏn school performed to explicate the principle of its doctrine, adopting the form of Śākyamuni offering sermons to the assembly. The *Sŏlsŏnŭi* includes ritual procedures and *gāthās* as well as details on the ways in which the ritual space ought to be adorned, even to the positioning of the participants. It is a manual for the *sŏlsŏn pŏphoe* ceremony of the Sŏn school in which both monastics and lay believers engaged. The author of this text, Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng, previously reedited the proceedings of the existing offer rituals to compile the *Unsudan* (see above) and the *Sŏlsŏnŭi* in a way suited to the Sŏn school while incorporating mantras, thus initiating the Sŏn rituals to foster the traits of the esoteric school. The synthesis of Sŏn and esotericism is also seen in the incorporation of the *Nŭngŏmju* (楞嚴呪), a body of mantras excerpted from the *Nŭngŏmgyŏng* (*Lengyanjing* [楞嚴經]; *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*), one of the principal Sŏn scriptures incorporated into various esoteric rituals (Sŏ, 1983, 140). The *Sŏlsŏnŭi* contains two supplements, the *Tongguk chesan sŏndŭng chikchŏmdan* (東國諸山禪燈直點壇) and the *Sŏnwang sŏnhu chojong yŏlwidan* (先王先后祖宗列位壇). The

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Institute of Korean Studies of Seoul
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Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ, vols. VII-
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former involves calling on the spirits of eminent monks and serving offerings, and the latter also stages a similar ritual to the kings and queens of past generations of the dynasty. The inclusion of these two books indicates that monks, and kings and queens, also received offerings in the Sŏn rituals.

The *Taejang illamgyŏng chosang p'um(-siboch'ik)* (大藏一覽經造像品[十五則]; [The 15 Rules in] the Chapters on Making Images from the Great Collection of *Sūtras*; acc. no. *ko* 1730–31 in the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies of Seoul National University) is a text that contains the mantras and the ritual procedures involved with the enshrinement of various objects (such as scriptures) inside the abdomen of the statue of a buddha or a bodhisattva. The text was originally a part of the *Dazang yilan jing* (大藏一覽經) compiled by Chen Shi (陳實) of Ming China; its chapter on the production of visual images was produced as a separate text. The text is suffused with distinct esoteric features, as a substantial part of its content consists of mantras. A woodblock print from 1824 is extant.

Apart from the aforementioned texts, more publications relating to various ritual services were possibly circulated, but surviving materials are not substantial. The genre called *so* (疏; annotations), compiled in literary works of monks of the Chosŏn dynasty, though limited, serves as a source to learn more about the Buddhist rituals performed in the period; the writings of this genre usually provide general information about the ceremony and also reserve space for dedicatory writings, often to encourage lay believers' participation. These writings are mostly concerned with wishes for the rebirth of the dedicators' deceased parents or teachers in paradise or for their own fortune and the accumulation of merits in the present life (writings on rituals by monastics are compiled in *Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ*, vols. VII–X). The *so* texts also include annotations for worship services, such as the *Yaksahoe-so* (藥師會疏; Commentary on the Service for Bhaiṣajyaguru), *Mit'adoryang-so* (彌陀道場疏; Commentary on the Service for Amitābha), *Sojaedoryang-so* (消災道場疏; Commentary on the Service for Removing Calamities), *Chijangdoryang-so* (地藏道場疏; Commentary on the Service for Kṣitigarbha), *Nahandoryang-so* (羅漢道場疏; Commentary on the Service for Arhats), and *Kwanŭmdoryang-so* (觀音道場疏; Commentary on the service for Avalokiteśvara), indicating that these rituals were performed during the Chosŏn period. However, they are merely mentioned in the encyclopedic ritual manuals used today; due to a lack of related sources, it is not quite certain whether a separate text existed for each ritual.

Ritual Text on Daily Monastic Practice

A text with a description of the daily rituals of Buddhist monastics is the *Sŭngga iryong siksi mugŏn chakpŏp* (僧伽日用食時默言作法; The Method of Practicing Silence during Monastic Meals; Pak, vol. III, 1993, 519–568). It was compiled by the monk Chŏnghaeng (井行; dates unknown) and published in 1869. The author states that it was published to aid monks to obstruct sexual desire and be vigilant against malicious habits. It lays down the ritual proceedings and the mantras or *gāthās* to be memorized and recited during the daily rituals of meditation, worship, and invocation. The text thus is a guidebook for maintaining the monastic life of monks.

Ritual Texts on Monastic Funerals

Another type of ritual text used by Buddhist monastics involves monastic funerals, and four examples are extant:

1. *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch'o* (釋門喪儀抄; Compendium for the Buddhist Funeral Rite; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 453–472);
2. *Sŏngmun karye ch'o* (釋門家禮抄; Compendium for Buddhist Rites; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 155–178);
3. *Sŭngga yeŭi mun* (僧伽禮儀文; Writing on Buddhist Rites; Pak, vol. II, 1993, 427–436); and
4. *Tabimun* (茶毘文; Writing on Cremation; acc. no. *kyu* 5396 in the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies of Seoul National University).

The *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch'o*, compiled by Pyŏgam Kaksŏng (碧巖 覺性; 1575–1660), has two chapters. The preface begins with regrets for the absence of standard formalities and rules of monastic funeral, for example, in funeral orations and attires, and substantiates the reason for its publication. Pyŏgam Kaksŏng explains that although Chinese practices on monastic rites are prescribed in detail in the *Chanyuan qinggui* (禪院淸規) by Cijue (慈覺), the *Wushanji* (五杉集) by Yingzhi(應之; dates unknown), and the *Shishi yaolan* (釋氏要覽) by Daocheng(道誠; dates unknown), they do not fit the decorum of Chosŏn. He thus reasons for the compilation of the *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch'o* conforming to contemporary circumstances, while consulting preexisting Chinese texts. The text's chapter 1 contains illustrations of the *obokche* (五服制; five-attire regulation) of the monastics. This five-attire regulation originally refers to the Confucian system of five types of mourning attire, determined by the degree of kinship of the mourner to the departed, and can be seen as a part of the Buddhist community's attempt to diminish the gap between Buddhism and Confucianism. The chapter proceeds to explain the steps of selecting the burial site and coordinating the funeral procession. Chapter 2 elucidates the procedure of placing cremated remains inside a stūpa and the method of writing a eulogy appropriate to the status of the dead as well as the style of funeral orations.

The *Sŏngmun karye ch'o* is a ritual text for the funeral rites of Buddhist monastics compiled by Naam Chinil (懶庵眞一), a disciple of Pyŏgam Kaksŏng; a copy published in 1660 is extant. It, too, contains illustrations of the five-attire regulation of monastics. For instance, when the founder of the order (*chosa* [祖師]) passes away, one would wear the mourning dress for nine months, for one's parents three years, for one's training teacher (*suŏpsa* [受業師]) three years, for one's nurturing teacher (*yangyuksa* [養育師]) three years, for one's disciple (*ch'injeja* [親弟子]) one year, for one's disciples of the dharma lineage (*ch'inbŏpson* [親法孫]) nine months, and for one's ordination teacher (*chŭnggyesa* [證戒師]) nine months. Moreover, it includes two illustrations of the five-attire regulation of the Confucian system – *ponjongobokchido* (本宗五服之圖; The Illustration of the Five Funeral Attires according to the Degree of Kinship) and *ponjongobokch'onsudo* (本宗五服寸數圖; The Illustration of the Size of the Five Funeral Attires). The *myŏngjŏng sŏgyu* (銘旌書規; the rule for writing a banner used in a funeral rite on which the name and the position of the dead is written) details the method of inscribing on the spirit tablet of the dead classified into the following categories: great teacher (*taejongsa* [大宗師]), invoker of the Buddha's name (*yŏmburin* [念佛人]), meditator (*ch'amsŏnin* [參禪人]), administrative superintendent (*p'ansain* [判事人]), scholarly follower (*haktoin* [學道人]), and administrative commoner (*p'yŏngsangin* [平常人]). The content of chapter 2 is almost identical to that of the *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch'o* except for several additional eulogies. On the basis of the *Sŏngmun sangŭi ch'o* compiled by his teacher Pyŏgam Kaksŏng, Naam Chinil added in the *Sŏngmun karye ch'o* a detailed description of the ritual proceedings of the five-attire regulation, guidelines for the lighting of the fire for the cremation, and guidelines for the customary breaking of the cremated remains.

The *Sŭngga yeŭi mun*, consisting of 16 chapters, was written by Hŏbaek Myŏngjo (虛白明照; 1593–1661), a pupil of Sa'myŏng Yujŏng (四溟惟政; 1544–1610), who was a renowned master of the mid-Chosŏn period. It was published in 1669. Its content is similar to the *Sŏngmun karye ch'o*, except for minor differences in the description of the five-attire regulation, the subheadings, and the order of the proceedings. The rule for the monk's funeral rite in this text is particularly notable. When a monk passes away, the chief priest should be notified, who sends word to the main monastery and the branch monasteries. Then the participants would position Buddhist scriptures such as the *Gŭmganggyŏng* (金剛經; Diamond *Sūtra*) and the *Pohyŏn haengwŏn p'um* (普賢行願品; the *Bhadracaryā* chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*), food, drink, and rice cake and chant the scriptures to assist the dead to be reborn in paradise. After the *Sŏngmun karye ch'o* was published in 1660, other ritual texts with similar contents appeared. During the Chosŏn period, there were unceasing disputes over the protocols of Confucian funeral rites, generating constant adjustments, for example, in the duration of wearing the mourning dress. Complying with these changes, the Buddhist community must also have felt the need to emend their own rituals, which led to the production of revised versions of ritual texts on monastic funerals.

The *Tabimun* was written by Ch'udam Chŏnghaeng (秋淡 井行; dates unknown) in 1882. It includes ritual procedures from the deceased monk's cremation to the scattering of the ashes. Although the text is similar to the three earlier publications, it surpasses the others in its organization and in addition contains *dhāraṇī*s and *gāthā*s. To sum up, these ritual texts reveal that the funeral ceremonies of Buddhist monastics were indeed orchestrated with the stimulation of the Confucian system of funeral rites such as the *zhuzi jiali* (朱子家禮; the family rites of Zhu Xi, a Neoconfucian scholar from the Song China) during the time when Neo-Confucian liturgical texts were extensively published, influencing every social stratum of Chosŏn society (Chŏng, 1998, 130).

Encyclopedic Buddhist Ritual Texts

The *Chakpŏp kwigam* (作法龜鑑; The Exemplar of Performing Rituals; Pak, vol. III, 1993, 371–470), compiled in the early 19th century, comprehensively explicates various Buddhist rituals. It not only describes the proceedings of the rituals of guiding the deceased such as *suryukchae* but also extensively

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treats other ritual procedures including *chŏmansik* (點眼式; the ritual of dotting the eyes of the Buddha in a painting or a statue), *iunsik* (移運式; the ritual performed when a painting, statue, or stūpa is transported to the place of its enshrinement), and *tabisik* (茶毘式; the cremation ritual of Buddhist monastics). It was compiled by Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn (白坡 亘璇; 1767–1852), who is also the author of a handbook of the Sŏn school, the *Sŏnmun sugyŏng* (禪門手經), in 1826. The intention of Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn, an influential Sŏn monk, to publish such a comprehensive ritual text is expressed in the preface that he personally wrote. He explains that although the texts specifying the ritual proceedings are not scarce, it is difficult to judge which is accurate and which is not, since each text contains varying contents and procedures.

Before proceeding to the main body, Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn added explanatory notes to assist with the pronunciation of the Chinese characters. On the four corners of each letter, the four tones of the Chinese characters are punctuated with a dot. In writing characters of the Siddham script commonly used for Sanskrit words in East Asia, including Korea, punctuation marks are attached on the left to help pronounce exact tones. Such attention to the correct pronunciation of characters pertains to the religious objective of amplifying the spirituality in chanting during a ritual.

The first volume of the *Chakpŏp kwigam* is divided into the following three parts:

1. the offering ritual directed to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, miscellaneous Buddhist divinities, and deities of the popular faith such as the mountain god;
2. the inviting of the deceased souls to serve food offerings; and
3. the ordination ceremony of monks and nuns.

Except for the third part, the text generally comprises detailed accounts of the ritual procedures and the *gāthās* and *dhāraṇīs* that are associated with the rituals of guiding the deceased to paradise. The second volume deals with various individual rituals such as *chŏmansik*, *iunsik*, and *tabisik* (see above). The two volumes exhaustively treat Buddhist rituals, categorized according to the typological details.

Another notable example of an encyclopedic ritual text is the *Sŏngmun ŭibŏm* (釋門儀範; The Paragon of Buddhist Rituals) compiled by Sŏkch'an (錫贊; dates unknown) in 1935 and still widely used in the Buddhist community of Korea today. The first volume comprises 5 chapters: chapter 1 contains *yegyŏngmun* (禮敬文; words of homage toward the offering altars); chapter 2 consists of *koyumun* (告由文; words informing the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and miscellaneous Buddhist divinities) and *ch'ugwŏnmum* (祝願文; prayers); chapter 3 includes the *gāthās* and mantras recited in various rituals; chapter 4 delineates the proceedings of the offering rituals performed in various worship services and the ritual of guiding the deceased; and chapter 5 consists of *somun* (疏文; words announcing the reason for installing each altar and the opening of the ceremony). As such, the first volume reorganizes the contents of various existing ritual texts categorically. In the second volume, Sŏkch'an made new additions according to the demands of modern times. He particularly asserts the need for advancement in the method of proselytization and the modernization of Buddhist rituals; the proposition includes the publication of Buddhist journals, the translation of scriptures into Korean, the improvement on the structure of worship services, the simplification of funeral rites, and the promotion of a Buddhist-style wedding ceremony.

Furthermore, there is the *Ilp'anjip* (一判集; n.d.; anonymous; Pak, vol. IV, 1993, 121–158) in 25 chapters, presumably produced in the late Chosŏn period, and the *Ch'ŏngmun yojip* (請文要集; The Essentials of Invocation Prayers; Pak, vol. IV, 1993, 579–652), transcribed by Haeun (海運; dates unknown), which is a collection of 63 ritual proceedings used in various rituals frequently performed in the late Chosŏn period.

Mantra Collections

The mantras or *dhāraṇīs* (Kor. *chinŏn* [眞言]) recited in Buddhist rituals are often separately assembled into booklets called *chinŏnjip*. These collections can be considered a type of ritual text.

Among these mantra/*dhāraṇī* collections, the earliest surviving example is the *Odae chinŏn* (五大眞言; Five Great *Dhārāṇis*; Pak, vol. I, 1993, 135–192), published by the order of Queen Dowager Insu (仁粹大妃) in 1485. It is a compilation of five types of *dhāraṇī* most popularly recited in Chosŏn:

1. *taebisim-darani* (大悲心陀羅尼; *dhārāṇi* of great compassionate mind);
2. *sugujŭktŭk-darani* (隨求卽得陀羅尼; *dhārāṇi* of the instant fulfilling of wishes);
3. *taebuljŏng-darani* (大佛頂陀羅尼; *dhārāṇi* of the great *uṣṇīṣa* of Buddha);

4. *puljŏngjonsŭng-darani* (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼; *dhārāṇi* of the triumph of *uṣṇīṣa*); and
5. *kwanseŭmbosalsasibisu-jinŏn* (觀世音菩薩四十二手眞言; *dhārāṇi* of 42 hands of Avalokiteśvara).

At the end of the *Odae chinŏn*, the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o* (靈驗略抄; Summary of Miraculous Experiences) is appended, explaining the miraculous power of each of the five types of *dhāraṇī* with actual instances. The mantras are written in Siddham characters, Korean transliterations, and Chinese transliterations in order to facilitate recitation – this transcribing system first appeared in the Chosŏn period with the publication of this text. The *kwanseŭmbosalsasipisu-jinŏn* is accompanied by illustrations of the hand gestures (*mudrā*) assumed during the practice, corresponding to the meaning of each mantra. The *taebisim-darani*, also known as *sinmyojanggu-darani* (神妙章句陀羅尼), also constitutes the main body of the *Ch'ŏnsugyŏng* (千手經; Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara *Sūtra*), the scripture most widely recited in present-day Korea. It expresses the belief in the possible attainment of enlightenment and miraculous responses by virtue of the benevolence of Avalokiteśvara. The *sugujŭktŭk-darani* was also popularly recited for its exceptional power to immediately realize one's wishes when hearing its incantation. A fair part of the *Odae chinŏn* is concerned with the aspiration for the miraculous power of Avalokiteśvara, which suggests that, in tandem with the popularization of Buddhism in the Chosŏn period, Avalokiteśvara became the most favored Buddhist deity. As with the *Odae chinŏn*, the practice of compiling several popular *dhāraṇī* texts into a single volume was widespread until the late Chosŏn period.

Another 15th-century collection of mantras/*dhāraṇīs* is the *Chinŏn kwŏn'gong* (眞言勸供; *Dhārāṇi* Invocation; Pak, vol. I, 1993, 435–498). Queen Dowager Insu sponsored its publication in 1496 to wish for the peaceful repose of the deceased king Sŏngjong. The Korean master Hakcho (學祖; dates unknown) was appointed to translate the text into Korean, thus the mantras recited in various rituals are written in both Chinese and Korean characters. The ritual text called *Samdan sisik mun* (三壇施食文; Writing on the Food-offering Ritual of Three Altars) is appended at the end. This is an example that alludes to the practice of combining the mantra/*dhāraṇī* collection and the ritual text into a single volume and evidence for their intimate association.

Another type of the mantra/*dhāraṇī* collection borrows its subheadings from the specific names of the ritual texts of *suryukchae*, such as *Kyŏlsumun*, *Chibanmun*, *Chagimun*, and *Chŏmanmun*, with mantras selected from these *suryukchae* texts and *dhāraṇī* s from other *dhāraṇī sūtras* incorporated. The earliest surviving text is the *Chinŏnjip* dated to 1569. It begins with the *Puljŏngsim-darani*, *Hongmuun jamojido* (洪武韻字母之圖; The Illustration of Consonants and Vowels according to the Correct Rhymes of the Hongwu Reign), *Ŏnbon simyukchamo* (諺本十六字母; Sixteen consonants and Vowels of the Korean Alphabet), *Pŏmbon oshipchamosildamjang* (梵本五十字母悉曇章; The Chapter on Fifty Characters of the Siddham Script) and *Sugu-darani* (隨求陀羅尼; *Dhārāṇi* Pursuing Wishes), then proceeds to the *Kyŏlsumum*, *Chibanmun*, *Chagimun*, and *Chŏmanmun*, followed by the *Jŏngbon nŭngŏmju* (正本楞嚴呪; Correct Version of *Dhārāṇis* of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*), *Puljŏngsim Kwanseŭmbosalmo-darani* (佛頂心觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼; *Dhārāṇi* of the Mother of Avalokiteśvara of the Mind of the Buddha's *Uṣṇīṣa*), *Yongsibosal-darani* (勇施菩薩陀羅尼; *Dhārāṇi* of the Bodhisattva Demonstrating Courage), and *Chegyŏng chinŏn* (諸經眞言; *Dhārāṇi* of Diverse *Sūtras*). These collections containing only mantras/*dhāraṇīs* were especially produced to help laypeople during the ritual ceremony to easily follow the mantras written in Siddham characters (Nam, 2000, 67–105).

Despite the minute differences in their contents and types, the style of the diverse editions of these mantra/*dhāraṇī* collections is generally identical. Yet variations are discernible in their method of transcription: some are transcribed in a combination of Siddham characters and Korean and Chinese transliterations, and others only in Korean or Chinese characters; at times, a single volume adopts varying transcriptions depending on the type of mantras/*dhāraṇī*. Indeed, Siddham characters were employed presumably to amplify the mystical nature of the mantra/*dhāraṇī*, while the Korean alphabets allowed anyone to easily read and practice incantations. This development reflects the tendency of its promulgation to be directed principally to the general public who were illiterate in Chinese characters (Hong, 1986, 425).

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Heesook Nam

Tantric Ritual Manuals in East Asia

Ritual in the form of simple acts of ritualized behavior – for example circumambulation of a *stūpa* or offerings of flowers – has a long history in Buddhism. While this form of ritualized behavior was also performed by practitioners of esoteric or Tantric Buddhism, ritual as one of the hallmarks of esoteric Buddhism refers not so much to such single acts of ritualized behavior as to a systematically organized and structured set of activities that has been regularized to some degree. The majority of works of esoteric Buddhism deal in some way or another with this kind of ritual practice, but some of these works – for example *sūtras* and *tantras* – are not normally classified as ritual "manuals" since the rites are embedded in a scriptural framework. In fact, it is quite difficult to determine what exactly is to be regarded as a ritual manual.

Ritual, in the sense of a set of ritualized actions, evolved by combining discrete acts of ritualized behavior into a meaningful whole. It is sometimes possible to trace in Chinese translations the process whereby a particular ritual became increasingly complex and the instructions increasingly detailed through the incorporation of an ever-greater number and variety of liturgical procedures into the ritual process in a manner similar to the embedding or nesting of independent rites in a larger ritual structure as described by F. Staal with reference to Vedic ritual. For example, simple ritual practices involving the offering of flowers and candles before a Buddha image and the reciting of incantations (*dhāraṇī*) are already recorded in the *Puṣpakūṭadhāraṇī* (T. 1356), first translated in the first half of the 3rd century, and it is possible to trace in subsequent translations of this work (T. 1357–1359), the last produced in 988, how the instructions for image worship became increasingly detailed. But in this case, as in many other examples of so-called *dhāraṇī* scriptures (see Copp, 2011), the ritual directives are embedded within the traditional framework of a *sūtra*, and despite the presence of ritual instructions such works can hardly be regarded as ritual manuals.

The present survey therefore, for the sake of simplicity, by and large excludes works possessing some of the formal characteristics of a scripture, focusing instead on works pertaining to esoteric Buddhist ritual practice that give sequential instructions, in varying degrees of detail, intended to guide a practitioner in the actual performance of a rite, and that were translated into Chinese, or occasionally composed by Chinese authors, from about the 6th to the 11th century. Thus some works that, judging from their titles alone, might be assumed to be ritual manuals, as well as compendia of sundry mantras, have been left out of consideration. Likewise, manuals for rites that, though based on esoteric scriptures, are exoteric in character have also been omitted.

General Manuals

Perhaps the earliest work that might be properly described as a ritual manual is the **Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* [陀羅尼集經]; T. 901; see van Gulik, 1935, 56–75; Smet, 1989; Strickmann, 1996, 133–136, 146–163; Davidson, 2012; Shinohara, 2014, 28–88, 205–225), a collection of rituals compiled and translated by Atikūṭa in 653–654. Prior to this, we find several anthologies of *dhāraṇī* scriptures (T. 1331–1337) from about the late 4th century to the first half of the 6th century that describe simple, protective, therapeutic, and apotropaic rites involving chiefly, but not exclusively, the recitation of spells, which often consist simply of the names of spirits. (On T. 1331, the *Guanding jing* [灌頂經], see Strickmann, 1990; 1996, 78–87, 114–123, 330–336; 2002, 113–119, 132–140; 2005, 58–75; on T. 1332, the *Qifo bapusa suoshuo datuoluoni shenzhou jing* [七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神呪經], see Strickmann, 1996, 73–76; Silk, 2008, 376–378; Shinohara, 2014, 4–14; and on T. 1336, the *Tuoluoni zaji* [陀羅尼雜集], see Strickmann, 1996, 76–78, 141–142; 2002, 106–107; Silk, 2008; Shinohara, 2014, 4–14.) However, the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* was the first such compendium to describe rites, dedicated to a variety of deities, that integrated in a more systematic fashion the standard elements of esoteric practice: hand gestures (*mudrā*), mantras, fire offerings (*homa*), *maṇḍalas*, and so on.

In addition to compendia of miscellaneous rites such as the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*, more general works describing rites that could be adapted to different situations were also produced. One of these,

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taking a scriptural format, is the S
(*Suxidijieluo jing* [蘇悉地羯囉經
Mikkyō-bu 5; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu
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taking a scriptural format, is the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (*Suxidijieluo jing* [蘇悉地羯囉經]; T. 893; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 5; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 2), translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṃha (Shanwuwei [善無畏]) in 726 (for an English translation, see Giebel, 2001). In India and Tibet, this work later came to be classified as a general *tantra*, and it provides perhaps the most comprehensive description of the basic ritual practices associated with early esoteric Buddhism.

The word *susiddhikara* means "good at producing success," and the *Susiddhikarasūtra* could be said to set forth the general rules for creating conditions conducive to success (*siddhi*). These rules range from guidelines for choosing one's teacher or disciples, the ritual site, and propitious times for performing different rites to detailed lists of offerings and ritual directions for bathing, reciting mantras, making offerings, performing *homa*, invoking and worshipping deities, ritually empowering certain objects, and constructing a *maṇḍala*. A salient feature of the *Susiddhikarasūtra*, reflecting the fact that it is classified as a general *tantra*, is that it is underpinned by the ternary system characteristic of early esoteric Buddhism. Thus not only are deities divided into the three *buddha*, *padma*, and *vajra* families, but rites are also broadly divided into three standard types (*śāntika*, for alleviating calamities and misfortunes; *pauṣṭika*, for increasing health and prosperity; and *ābhicāruka* [or *abhicāraka*] for overcoming adversaries). Likewise success is measured in terms of three grades (higher, middling, and lower), with each grade being subdivided into three further grades. The three families of deities and three types of rites are sometimes similarly ranked in three grades. In line with the generic character of the *Susiddhikarasūtra*, for some rites separate mantras are given for each of the three families of deities, the one to be used in a particular situation being determined by the affiliation of the deity being invoked at the time.

It is thus clear that the *Susiddhikarasūtra* was intended as only a general guide. Perhaps for this reason, the need arose for a manual that arranged the directions scattered across the many chapters of the *Susiddhikarasūtra* into a coherent ritual program that could be easily followed by a practitioner. One such manual is the *Susiddhikarasādhanasaṃgraha*, attributed to the 8th-century Varabodhi and preserved in Tibetan (*Legs par grub par byed pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs bsdus pa*; D 3066/P 3890), while in Chinese there is the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* (蘇悉地羯羅供養法; *Susiddhikara* Worship Method; T. 894), a more comprehensive ritual manual that was translated or possibly composed by Śubhākarasiṃha. It provides full details for the performance of deity worship, starting with preparation of the site, and adds ritual actions not mentioned in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* as well as including descriptions of the *mudrās* to be employed, which are missing in the *Susiddhikarasūtra*.

Mention may also be made of the *Yaoshi yigui yiju* (藥師儀軌一具; Complete Ritual Manual for Bhaiṣajyaguru; T. 924C), which, according to the colophon, was brought to Japan by the Tendai master Saichō (最澄) in 805, although the historicity of this claim has been questioned. It is ostensibly a manual for a rite dedicated to Bhaiṣajyaguru, but as it makes no mention of Bhaiṣajyaguru and draws extensively on the *Susiddhikarasūtra* and *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa*, it is best regarded as a more general ritual manual incorporating elements from the *Susiddhikara* cycle.

Another work that covers similar ground to the *Susiddhikarasūtra* is the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (*Tantra* of the Questions of Subāhu), translated twice into Chinese, first in 726 by Śubhākarasiṃha as the *Supohu tongzi qingwen jing* (蘇婆呼童子請問經; T. 895; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 2; Bonneux, 1991) and again in 987 by Fatian (法天) as the *Miaobi pusa suowen jing* (妙臂菩薩所問經; T. 896). As is suggested by the title, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* takes the form of a dialogue in which Vajrapāṇi replies to questions posed by Subāhu about various aspects of ritual practice. Some of the more unusual topics dealt with in this work include cemetery-based *vetāla* ("vampire") practices, the ritual use of corpses, and oracular possession employing child mediums (see Strickmann, 2002, 211–218). In contrast to the three families of deities in the *Susiddhikarasūtra*, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* mentions four: the *padma*, *vajra*, *maṇi*, and *pāñcika* families (the last being associated with the *yakṣa* general Pāñcika).

A shorter work dealing with several aspects of ritual practice is the **Vinayasūtra* (*Pinaye jing* [毘奈耶經]; *Sūtra* of Monastic Rules; T. 898; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2), predating 805 CE, when it was first brought to Japan by Saichō. As is suggested by the title, there is an emphasis on the inner and outer purity of the practitioner, and in addition to instructions for worshipping one's mantra deity, considerable space is devoted to oneiromancy (interpretation of dreams) as well as the dangers posed by *vināyakas* (a type of demon that can obstruct the efficacious performance of a ritual) and how to avert them (see Strickmann, 1996, 311–316).

Whereas the *Susiddhikarasūtra*, *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, and **Vinayasūtra* all have the basic format of a *sūtra*, a manual in the true sense of the term, its title notwithstanding, is the *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhiguhyatantra* (Secret *Tantra* of Rules Common to All *Maṇḍalas*), called simply in the Chinese translation attributed to Amoghavajra (Bukong [不空]) the *Ruixiye jing* (蕤呬耶經; *Guhyasūtra* [Secret *Sūtra*]; T. 897; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 7). The Chinese translation is divided into 11 chapters and is written entirely in prose, whereas the Tibetan translation (*Dkyil 'khor thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga gsang ba'i rgyud*; D 806/P 429) is in verse and has no chapter divisions. As is implied by its title preserved in the Tibetan translation, it sets out "rules common to all *maṇḍalas* (*sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhi*)," specifically the rites for constructing an initiation *maṇḍala* over a period of seven days and for initiating a disciple into the *maṇḍala* once it has been constructed (see Shinohara, 2014, 148–154). Apart from the actual construction of the *maṇḍala* and initiation rites, it also covers matters such as the attributes of an *ācārya*, the qualifications of an initiand, and the selection of the proper site and time for constructing a *maṇḍala*. While the *Susiddhikarasūtra* described several smaller *maṇḍalas*, the *maṇḍala* described in the *Guhyasūtra*/*Guhyatantra* is of a comparatively large scale, although there are some differences between the Chinese and Tibetan translations regarding its composition (see Takata, 1970).

Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra and Associated Manuals

The most important text in the entire canon of East Asian esoteric Buddhism in terms of its overall influence was probably the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* (*Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* [大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經]; T. 848; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 1; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 1), translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and his Chinese disciple Yixing (一行; 683–727) in 724–725 (for an English translation, see Giebel, 2005). The Chinese translation consists of 36 chapters, with the final five chapters constituting a worship manual (*pūjāvidhi*) that is preserved as a separate work in the Tibetan canon (*Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhisaṃbaddhapūjāvidhi* [*Rnam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par byang chub par gtogs pa'i rgyud kyi mchod pa'i cho ga*]; D 2664/P 3488).

For the most part, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* takes the form of a dialogue between Vajrapāṇi and the buddha Vairocana, and broadly speaking it can be divided into an introductory chapter, dealing chiefly with matters of doctrine, and the remaining chapters, describing in detail a variety of practices, including the construction of a *maṇḍala*, initiation rites, mantra recitation, *mudrās*, visualization techniques, and various attainments (*siddhi*). However, there are inconsistencies and duplication in the content of some of the chapters, and the instructions for ritual procedures are scattered across various chapters and have not been arranged in a manner suitable for their application to actual practice. This shortcoming is partly compensated for by the five-chapter worship manual appended to the Chinese translation.

In addition, ritual programs based on this text are presented more systematically in four lengthy ritual manuals, two attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha (T. 850, 851) and two composed by Faquan (法全) in the mid-9th century (T. 852, 853; see Hunter, 2001). Furthermore, the meditation on the letter *A* and the other letters of the Sanskrit syllabary and their allocation to different parts of the body, described with extreme succinctness in chapters 16 and 17 of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, are elaborated on in the *Dapiluzhena jing asheli zhenshizhi pin zhong asheli zhu azi guanmen* (大毘盧遮那經阿闍梨真實智品中阿闍梨住阿字觀門; Method of Visualization whereby the *Ācārya* Abides in the Letter *A* in the Chapter "True Knowledge of the *Ācārya*" of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*; T. 863) composed in 836 by Weijin (惟謹) with reference to Yixing's commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* (T. 1796).

The Taishō canon contains several other manuals associated with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, some of which are preserved only in Japanese manuscripts, and their provenance is therefore uncertain. The *Dapiluzhenafo shuo yaolüe niansong jing* (大毘盧遮那佛說要略念誦經; Abridged Recitation *Sūtra* Expounded by the Buddha Mahāvairocana; T. 849; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 7), thought to have been translated probably in the late 8th to early 9th century, is similar in content to the worship manual constituting the final five chapters of the Chinese translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, while the *Dari jing chisong cidi yigui* (大日經持誦次第儀軌; Ritual Manual of Sequential Procedures for

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T. 856; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2) and the
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the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*; T. 857), b
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and brought to Japan by the Tendai
Ennin (圓仁) in 847, describes a rite
union with Vairocana.

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃg Associated Manuals

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Recitation in the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*; T. 860) is similar in content to the final four chapters. The *Qinglongsi gui ji* (青龍寺軌記; Notes on the Qinglong Temple Manual; T. 855) lists, with some comments, the ritual procedures for a rite based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, but despite its title, it does not appear to be based on Faquan's abovementioned manual (T. 853; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 3), commonly known as the *Qinglong Temple Ritual Manual* (*Qinglongsi yigui* [青龍寺儀軌]). The *Gongyang yishi* (供養儀式; Worship Ritual; T. 859) presents a set of instructions for worship, starting with the selection of a site, and includes illustrations of the *mudrās* to be employed. Two shorter manuals, the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lüeshi qizhi niansong suixing fa* (大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法; Adaptable Method of Seven-Limbed Recitation Abridged from the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānasūtra*; T. 856; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2) and the *Dari jing lüeshe niansong suixing fa* (大日經略攝念誦隨行法; Adaptable Method of Recitation Abridged from the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*; T. 857), both said to have been translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra and brought to Japan by the Shingon patriarch Kūkai (空海) in 806, describe "seven-limbed" and "five-limbed" recitation respectively, and the *Piluzhena wuzi zhenyan xiuxi yigui* (毘盧遮那五字眞言修習儀軌; Ritual Manual for Practicing the Five-Syllable Mantra of Vairocana; T. 861), also attributed to Amoghavajra and brought to Japan by the Tendai pilgrim-scholar Ennin (圓仁) in 847, describes a rite of deity yoga for union with Vairocana.

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha and Associated Manuals

While the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* was of paramount importance in East Asian esoteric Buddhism, of far greater importance in the history of Indian and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism was the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, a voluminous work that describes a total of 28 *maṇḍalas* and various associated rites. Chapter 1 of part 1 was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in circa 754 (T. 865; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 4; for an English translation, see Giebel, 2001), while a full translation by Dānapāla was completed only in 1015 (T. 882). However, its ritual cycle was first introduced to China by Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi [金剛智]) in the form of the *Jingangding yuqie zhong lüechu niansong jing* (金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經; Recitation *Sūtra* Excerpted from the Yoga of the *Vajraśekhara*; T. 866; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 1), translated in circa 723. Rather than being a translation from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* as it is known today, it appears to be a manual based on part 1, and in content it covers propaedeutics for initiation, details of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, initiation, *homa*, and so on. Vajrabodhi also translated the *Jingangding jing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* (金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘盧遮那三摩地法; Ritual for Practicing the *Samādhi* of Vairocana in the Yoga of the *Vajraśekharasūtra*; T. 876; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 6), a more compact manual for a meditative ritual based on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, much of which is reprised in the latter part of the *Niansong jiehu fa putong zhubu* (念誦結護法普通諸部; Method of Recitation and Protection, Common to All Divisions; T. 904; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2). Said to have been conferred by Vajrabodhi on initiated disciples and brought to Japan in 839 by Kūkai's disciple Engyō (圓行; 799–852), this compendium begins with a ritual program for performing mantra recitation, and touches on general rules of conduct as well as giving instructions for constructing and visualizing a *maṇḍala*. A fuller, systematically arranged ritual program of post-initiatory practice based on part 1 of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is provided by two similar works translated by Amoghavajra (T. 873, 874 [SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 7]), the latter of which shows evidence of some augmentation when compared with the former. The existence of a ritual tradition slightly different from that transmitted by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra is suggested by the mantras given in the *Jingangding jing Piluzhena yibaiba zun fashen qiyin* (金剛頂經毘盧遮那一百八尊法身契印; *Mudrās* of the *Dharmakāya* [Vairocana and 108 Deities] of the *Vajraśekharasūtra*; T. 877), the translation of which is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing and which must predate 806, when it was brought to Japan by Kūkai.

Apart from these ritual texts intended to provide guidelines for the actual performance of rites based directly on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, many of the meditational liturgies, or *sādhanas*, produced by Amoghavajra and his heirs incorporate and adapt ritual elements from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, sometimes combining them with elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, resulting in what some Japanese scholars refer to as ritual manuals of combined practice (*gōgyō giki* [合行儀軌]). The process of adaptation can be seen perhaps most clearly in the way in which the *pañcākārābhisaṃbodhikrama*, the five-stage process whereby the bodhisattva

Sarvārthasiddhi attains awakening at the start of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, was adapted in about 20 *sādhanas* purportedly translated primarily by Amoghavajra, but also by Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, with the mantras and visualizations being modified to match the deity with whom the practitioner is meant to achieve ritual identification – for example Lokeśvararāja (T. 931, 932), Avalokiteśvara (T. 1030, 1031, 1056), Tārā (T. 1102), Hayagrīva (T. 1072), Cakravarticintāmaṇi (T. 1086, 1087), and Mañjuśrī (T. 1171, 1173–1175).

Although the *Guhyasamājatantra* and several other scriptures of later Tantric Buddhism were transmitted to China during the Song dynasty, very few ritual manuals reflecting post-*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* developments seem to have been translated. A rare example of such a manual is the *Miaojixiang pingdeng yuqie mimi guanshen chengfo yigui* (妙吉祥平等瑜伽祕密觀身成佛儀軌; Ritual Manual for Secret Self-Visualization and Attainment of Buddhahood in Mañjuśrī's Yoga of Sameness; T. 1193), a manual for a meditative ritual translated by Cixian (慈賢; 10th cent.) that is based on the *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing* (妙吉祥平等祕密最上觀門大敎王經; *Sūtra* of the Secret and Supreme Method of Visualization in the Sameness of Mañjuśrī, Being the Great King of Teachings; T. 1192), also translated by Cixian, and belongs to the Guhyasamāja cycle.

Initiation Manuals

The most dramaturgic of all esoteric Buddhist rituals is probably that of initiation (*abhiṣeka*), a rite of passage that was required of a prospective practitioner in order to be authorized to perform the ritual practices of a particular esoteric tradition. The rites of initiation, usually involving induction into a *maṇḍala*, are described in detail in texts such as the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, *Guhyatantra*, and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, but very few initiation manuals per se are found in the Chinese Buddhist canon.

The selection of a suitable site and the construction of the *maṇḍala* are dealt with in the *Jianli mantuluo ji jianze ji fa* (建立曼荼羅及揀擇地法; Method for Constructing a *Maṇḍala* and Selecting a Site; T. 911; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 3), compiled by Huilin (慧琳; 737–820) and largely based on the *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, *Susiddhikarasūtra*, *Guhyatantra*, and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*. Another work, the *Fantian zedi fa* (梵天擇地法; Brahmā's Method for Selecting Sites; T. 910), describes 42 kinds of sites suitable not only for constructing a *maṇḍala* but also for undertaking other types of practice. Purportedly based on the *Dafantianwang nei mimi jing* (大梵天王内祕密經; *Sūtra* of the Inner Secrets of Mahābrahmarāja), it must predate 805, when it was brought to Japan by Saichō. The *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* (建立曼荼羅護摩儀軌; Ritual Manual for Constructing a *Maṇḍala* and [Performing] *Homa*; T. 912; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2), said to have been compiled by Faquan, briefly describes the construction of a *maṇḍala* over seven days and then deals in detail with various aspects of *homa*, including the distinction between inner and outer *homa*, four kinds of *homa*, and signs of success in achieving the objectives of the *homa* rite.

There are also manuals for *maṇḍala* rites associated with specific deities or texts, including the *Dinglunwang damantuluo guanding yigui* (頂輪王大曼荼羅灌頂儀軌; Ritual Manual for Initiation into the Great *Maṇḍala* of Cakravartin; T. 959), apparently composed by the Javanese monk Bianhong (辯弘; *fl.* late 8th cent.), and the *Dasheng guanxiang mannaluo jing chu'equ jing* (大乘觀想曼拏羅淨諸惡趣經; Mahāyāna *Sūtra* for Visualizing the *Maṇḍala* and Purifying Evil Destinies; T. 939), translated by Faxian in 996. The latter is a translation of Ānandagarbha's *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanamaṇḍalavidhi* (*Ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*; D 2635/P 3460; see Inui 1989), a manual for *maṇḍala* rites associated with the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (which was not translated into Chinese).

Not only did *homa* usually form part of an initiation rite, but it was also performed separately for a variety of purposes, and several *homa* manuals are preserved in the Chinese canon. Two translated by Amoghavajra bear the same title *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* (金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌; *Homa* Manual of the Yoga of the *Vajraśekhara*; T. 908 [KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2], 909) but differ slightly in content, and the opening sections of both tally with a passage in the second half of the *Vajraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra* preserved in Tibetan translation (*Gsang ba rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud rdo rje rtse mo*; D 480/P 113). These two manuals differentiate five kinds of *homa* rites – *śāntika, pauṣṭika, abhicāraka, ākarṣaṇa* (for attracting others), and *vaśīkaraṇa* (for gaining control over others) – and in these and other manuals various elements of the ritual, such as the size and shape of the fire pit, the types and length of the firewood, the colors of sundry accoutrements, and the articles (oil, ghee, grains, fruit, incense, etc.) offered

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into the fire, are customized accordi
homa manual is the *Huohong go*
(火吽供養儀軌; *Homa* Worship Ma
attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and
It mentions four kinds of *homa* – *śān*
abhicāraka, and *piṅgala* – the last o
sponds to *vaśīkaraṇa*. Of uncertain
the *Huohong gui bielu* (火吽軌別錄;
the *Homa* Manual; T. 914), which pu
supplement to the *Huohong gongyan*
miscellany of ritual instructions, not
directly related to *homa*, and also in
on a number of terms appearing in
gongyang yigui. In addition, there ar
for *homa* rites associated with the cult
per (*beidou* [北斗]; T. 1306 [Orzech &
393–395], 1310). An example of a *ho*
later times is one translated by Cixian
affiliated to the Guhyasamāja cycle, w
four kinds of *homa* rites, namely *śān*
vaśīkaraṇa, and *abhicāraka*.

During the course of initiation
receives the precepts, and this phas
rites is covered in three texts (T. 915–
detailed of these is the *Wuwei san*
(無畏三藏禪要; Trepiṭaka Śubhākara
tials of Meditation; T. 917; KYIK, Mikky
Mikkyō-bu 7), a record, edited in two
of some discussions that Śubhākaras
the Chan monk Jingxian (敬賢) som
716 and 735 (for an English translati
1945; for a Dutch translation, see Pi
first half deals with the precepts to
an initiand, while the second half pr
instructions on meditation practic
visualization of a lunar disk (*ca*
based on the *Sarvatathāgatatattva*
Shou putixin jie yi (受菩提心戒儀; Ri
the *Bodhicitta* Precepts; T. 915; KYI
SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 4), supposedly
Amoghavajra, and the *Shou wujie*
戒八戒文; Text for Receiving the Fiv
Eight Precepts; T. 916) must both pre
they were brought back to Japan by
these texts give the words (and man
of the former) to be recited by an
receiving the precepts; the final thi
overlaps with part of the *Wuwei sa*
and appears to have been added aft
tial translation.

An initiation rite for being install
is described in the *Asheli daman*

; T. 910), describes 42 kinds of
nly for constructing a *maṇḍala*
rtaking other types of practice.
on the *Dafantianwang nei mimi*
密經; *Sūtra* of the Inner Secrets
a), it must predate 805, when it
an by Saichō. The *Jianli mantuluo*
荼羅護摩儀軌; Ritual Manual for
aṇḍala and [Performing] *Homa*;
yō-bu 2), said to have been com-
riefly describes the construction
r seven days and then deals in
s aspects of *homa*, including the
en inner and outer *homa*, four
l signs of success in achieving the
ma rite.

manuals for *maṇḍala* rites asso-
ic deities or texts, including the
antuluo guanding yigui (頂輪王
; Ritual Manual for Initiation
aṇḍala of Cakravartin; T. 959),
osed by the Javanese monk
. late 8th cent.), and the *Dasheng*
luo jing chu'equ jing (大乘觀想曼
Mahāyāna *Sūtra* for Visualizing
Purifying Evil Destinies; T. 939),
ian in 996. The latter is a transla-
rbha's *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-*
an song thams cad yongs su sbyong
cho ga; D 2635/P 3460; see Inui
or *maṇḍala* rites associated with
ariśodhanatantra (which was not
inese).

ma usually form part of an initia-
s also performed separately for a
es, and several *homa* manuals are
hinese canon. Two translated by
r the same title *Jingangding yuqie*
頂瑜伽護摩儀軌; *Homa* Manual of
raśekhara; T. 908 [KYIK, Mikkyō-bu
slightly in content, and the open-
th tally with a passage in the sec-
jraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra
etan translation (*Gsang ba rnal*
yud rdo rje rtse mo; D 480/P 113).
ls differentiate five kinds of *homa*
uṣṭika, abhicāraka, ākarṣaṇa (for
, and *vaśīkaraṇa* (for gaining con-
– and in these and other manuals
of the ritual, such as the size and
it, the types and length of the fire-
of sundry accoutrements, and the
, grains, fruit, incense, etc.) offered

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into the fire, are customized accordingly. Another *homa* manual is the *Huohong gongyang yigui* (火吽供養儀軌; *Homa* Worship Manual; T. 913), attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and predating 806. It mentions four kinds of *homa* – *śāntika, pauṣṭika, abhicāraka*, and *piṅgala* – the last of which corresponds to *vaśīkaraṇa*. Of uncertain provenance is the *Huohong gui bielu* (火吽軌別錄; Supplement to the *Homa* Manual; T. 914), which purports to be a supplement to the *Huohong gongyang yigui*. It is a miscellany of ritual instructions, not all of which are directly related to *homa*, and also includes glosses on a number of terms appearing in the *Huohong gongyang yigui*. In addition, there are two manuals for *homa* rites associated with the cult of the Big Dipper (*beidou* [北斗]; T. 1306 [Orzech & Sanford, 2000, 393–395], 1310). An example of a *homa* manual of later times is one translated by Cixian (T. 1194), again affiliated to the Guhyasamāja cycle, which describes four kinds of *homa* rites, namely *śāntika, pauṣṭika, vaśīkaraṇa*, and *abhicāraka*.

During the course of initiation, the initiand receives the precepts, and this phase of initiation rites is covered in three texts (T. 915–917). The most detailed of these is the *Wuwei sanzang chanyao* (無畏三藏禪要; Trepiṭaka Śubhākarasiṃha's Essentials of Meditation; T. 917; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 3; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 7), a record, edited in two stages, of part of some discussions that Śubhākarasiṃha had with the Chan monk Jingxian (敬賢) sometime between 716 and 735 (for an English translation, see Bagchi, 1945; for a Dutch translation, see Pinte, 2004). The first half deals with the precepts to be received by an initiand, while the second half provides detailed instructions on meditation practices centered on visualization of a lunar disk (*candramaṇḍala*), based on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The *Shou putixin jie yi* (受菩提心戒儀; Rite for Receiving the *Bodhicitta* Precepts; T. 915; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 3; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 4), supposedly translated by Amoghavajra, and the *Shou wujie bajie wen* (受五戒八戒文; Text for Receiving the Five Precepts and Eight Precepts; T. 916) must both predate 806, when they were brought back to Japan by Kūkai. Both of these texts give the words (and mantras in the case of the former) to be recited by an initiand when receiving the precepts; the final third of the former overlaps with part of the *Wuwei sanzang chanyao* and appears to have been added after the text's initial translation.

An initiation rite for being installed as an *ācārya* is described in the *Asheli damantuluo guanding yigui* (阿闍梨大曼荼攞灌頂儀軌; Ritual Manual for Initiation of an *Ācārya* in the Great *Maṇḍala*; T. 862; KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 2). Two passages seem to have been quoted from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, while the greater part is drawn from the aforementioned *Jingangding yuqie zhong lüechu niansong jing* (T. 866), translated by Vajrabodhi. Since there is no mention of it in either Chinese catalogues or early Japanese catalogues, there is a possibility that it was compiled in Japan.

Other Ritual Manuals

The most numerous among the various kinds of ritual manuals preserved in Chinese are those that give instructions for the meditative rituals (*sādhanas*) to be performed by a practitioner, usually on a daily basis, once he has been initiated. These manuals vary considerably both in the complexity of the ritual described and in the amount of detail provided to guide the practitioner in its performance. Examples of generic ritual programs for this purpose are found in some of the works mentioned above, but there are also many texts that provide instructions for ritualized meditation centered on a particular deity or group of deities. The basic structure of such rites is often explained in terms of a guest-host paradigm in which the practitioner, acting as host, treats the deity as an honored guest whom he petitions for a variety of goals or with whom he seeks to gain ritual identification. A template for such ritual practice is provided by the *Shiba qiyin* (十八契印; Eighteen *Mudrās*; T. 900), a work of uncertain authorship and provenance that has been traditionally attributed to Kūkai's teacher Huiguo (惠果; 746–805) and has become the basis of ritual practice in the Shingon school of Japan; it gives detailed instructions for 18 basic ritual procedures, covering the *mudrā*, visualization, and mantra for each (see Payne, 1991, 207–227; Sharf, 2003).

This sequence of 18 ritual procedures seems to represent a systemization of a ritual pattern found in several ritual manuals purportedly translated by Amoghavajra, in particular the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* (無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌; Ritual Manual for Visualization Practice and Worship of Tathāgata Amitāyus; T. 930) and the *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* (觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌; Recitation Manual for the Bodhisattva Cakravarticintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara; T. 1085; see Shinohara, 2014, 168–193). A similar sequence of rites can be seen in many other *sādhanas*, albeit in forms that have been modified to suit the purpose of the rite, and, as already mentioned, some manuals follow templates that are more closely based on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* or combine elements from both the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Manuals for such meditational liturgies have been preserved for a great variety of deities, including, in addition to the above two, Akṣobhya (T. 921); Lokeśvararāja (T. 931, 932); Bhaiṣajyaguru (T. 922, 923, 928); Avalokiteśvara and the *padma* family (T. 1030–1032, 1041); Sahasrabhujasahasranetra Avalokiteśvara (T. 1056, 1066); Tārā (T. 1102); Nīlakaṇṭha (T. 1112); Cakravarticintāmaṇi (T. 1086, 1087); Mañjuśrī (T. 1174, 1175); Vajrasattva/Samantabhadra (T. 1119 [see Astley-Kristensen, 1988], 1120–1124, 1125 [SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 6]); Vajrarāja (T. 1132); Ākāśagarbha (T. 1146); Prajñāpāramitā (T. 1151); Cakravartin (T. 948); Ekākṣaracakravartin/Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣacakravartin (T. 949, 957 [KYIK, Mikkyō-bu 5; SKYDK, Mikkyōbu 6]); Sitātapatra (T. 975); Trailokyavijaya (T. 1209); Amṛtakuṇḍalin (T. 1211); Yamāntaka (T. 1219); Vajrakumāra (T. 1223, 1224); Ucchuṣma (T. 1225); Mahācakravajra (T. 1231); Padanikṣepa (T. 1232); Vaiśravaṇa (T. 1249); Mārīcī (T. 1258, 1259); Gaṇeśa (T. 1266 [Sanford, 1991, 291–293], 1270, 1272–1275 [the last of which is translated in Duquenne, 1988, 346–352]); Yama (T. 1290); the ten *rākṣasīs* of the *Lotus Sūtra* (T. 1292); and the eight, ten, and twelve *lokapālas* (T. 1295, 1296, 1298). In addition, there are also manuals for rites dedicated to a particular text rather than a deity; texts treated in this manner include the *Lotus Sūtra* (T. 1000; SKYDK, Mikkyō-bu 6), *Renwang jing* (仁王經; T. 994, 995 [see Orzech, 1998, 176–191]), *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* (T. 1010), and *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* (T. 972).

Most of the above texts may be regarded as *sādhanas* in a broad sense of the term, but there are also manuals describing a more extensive range of rites centered on a particular deity. Examples of this type of more comprehensive ritual manual include manuals for rites associated with Maitreya (T. 1141), Cakravarticintāmaṇi (T. 1089), Acalanātha (T. 1202), Vaiśravaṇa (T. 1246), and Jambhala (T. 1284).

In addition to the rites covered in the manuals described so far, rites were also performed for more secular purposes as the occasion demanded. The aims of these rites are broadly hinted at by the names of the various categories into which rites were traditionally classified, such as *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *abhicāraka*. Instructions for performing such rites can be found in many texts of esoteric Buddhism, but manuals dealing with specific rites of this type are relatively few in number in the Chinese canon. They include a manual for a rainmaking rite based on the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (T. 990), a manual for achieving invisibility (*antardhāna*; T. 955), a manual on Gāruḍa medicine, specifically the treatment of snakebites (T. 1278), and manuals for the ghost-feeding rites performed during the Chinese ghost festival (*yulanpen* [盂蘭盆]; T. 1315, 1320; see Orzech, 1994).

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Rolf Giebel

Chan Literature

Defining the Category

It is reasonable to reserve the designation "Chan literature" for literary genres that were unique to, or at least invented by and characteristic of, the Chan (禪) school of Buddhism in China. That definition is scarcely controversial, and precedents for it can be found in Chinese historical records dating from as far back as the 9th century. However, there is no consensus among modern scholars as to what kind of movement the Chan school was when it first took shape in China, or which writings satisfy the aforementioned criteria for classification as Chan texts, and such disagreement itself has a long history. This first section is dedicated, therefore, to: (1) a survey of past and present ideas about the scope of Chan literature; and (2) an explanation of the definition and typology of Chan literature employed in the present article.

Conceptions of Chan Literature, Past, and Present

By the 5th century CE at least, Chinese Buddhists had come to use the expression "*dhyāna* scriptures" (*chanjing* [禪經]) to refer to what they believed to be a distinct class of texts, compiled in India, that focused specifically on meditation and contained detailed instructions for its practice. The idea that *dhyāna* scriptures constituted a genre of works either preached by the Buddha himself or compiled by Indian commentators in the centuries after his death was widespread in China by that time, although it did not have any clear precedent in the Buddhism of India or Central Asia (Greene, 2012, 30–40).

> Despite the apparent absence of an Indic Buddhist parallel for it, the notion of a genre of canonical or near-canonical texts devoted to *chan* captured the Chinese imagination from an early date, and in addition to "*chan* scriptures" (*chanjing* [禪經] we find related terms such as "the *chan* canonical texts" (*chandian* [禪典]), and the "basket [pertaining to] meditation" (*dingzang* [定藏]). (Greene, 2012, 32–33)

Texts that were typically categorized as *dhyāna* scriptures included works said to have been translated by An Shigao (安世高; *fl.* 2nd cent.), such as the *Anban shouyi jing* (大安般守意經; *Sūtra* on Mental Restraint through Mindfulness of Breathing; T. 602) and the *Chanxing faxiang jing* (禪行法想經; *Sūtra* on Dharmas for Contemplation in *Dhyāna* Practice; T. 605); works purportedly translated by Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshe [鳩摩羅什]; 344–413 CE), such as the *Chanfa yaojie* (禪法要解; Explanations of *Dhyāna* Procedures; T.616), the *Zuochan sanmei jing* (坐禪三昧經; *Sūtra* on Seated *Dhyāna Samādhi*; T. 614), and the *Chan miyaofa jing* (禪祕要法經; *Sūtra* of the Secret and Essential Methods of *Dhyāna*; T. 613); and the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (達摩多羅禪經; *Dhyāna Sūtra* of *Dharmatrāta*; T. 618), said to have been translated by Buddhabhadra (Fotuobatuoluo [佛馱跋陀羅]; 350–429 CE), whose sobriquet was Tianzhu chanshi (天竺禪師]; *Dhyāna* Master fom India).

Monks in China who distinguished themselves in the theory or practice of meditation were categorized as "practitioners of *dhyāna*" (*xichan* [習禪]) in the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* (梁高僧傳; Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks; T. 2059), compiled by Huijiao (慧皎; 497–554 CE), and in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳; Additional Biographies of Eminent Monks; T. 2060) compiled by Daoxuan (道宣; 596–667 CE). In those works, such meditation specialists were variously depicted as experts in the translation, interpretation, or practical application of the aforementioned class of *dhyāna* scriptures. They were also referred to, individually and collectively, as "*dhyāna* masters" (*chanshi* [禪師]), "*dhyāna* monks" (*chanseng* [禪僧]), "those who take the *dhyāna* approach" (*chanmenzhe* [禪門者]), and "followers of the *dhyāna* tradition" (*chanzong* [禪宗]).

Three centuries later, however, many of the aforementioned labels that begin with the modifier "*chan*" had come to mean something entirely different than what they did in Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan*. From the advent of the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward, the name *chanzong* (禪宗) referred exclusively to an elite "Chan Lineage" of ancestral teachers (*zushi* [祖師]) that had purportedly been

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created in India by the Buddha Śā
established in China by a "primal an
[初祖]) named Bodhidharma (*Putida*
or 菩提達摩]). The Chan Lineage was
mit the very awakening of Śākyamuni
"buddha mind" (*foxin* [佛心]) or "
(*xinfa* [心法]), as opposed to his verb
(*jiao* [教]) that had been handed dow
commentarial literature.

Bodhidharma was further said t
mind to transmit mind" (*yixin chuanx*
in what was a "separate transmission
teachings" (*jiao wai biechuan* [教外別
name "Chan Lineage" came to be use
the Song as a synonym for the "Line
dharma" (*Damozong* [達磨宗]), which
the "Buddha Mind Lineage" (*Foxinzon*

A "Chan master" (*chanshi* [禪師]
and following Yuan dynasty (1271–136
who had "inherited the dharma" (*sifa*
some previously recognized dhar
[法嗣]) in the lineage of Bodhidharm
necessarily someone who specialize
tice of meditation (Skt. *dhyāna*; Ch
Foulk, 1993, 160–167). A "Chan mona
[禪寺] or *chanyuan* [禪苑]) was a pu
monastery which the abbacy was re
eminent monk in the Chan Lineag
school" (*Chanmen* [禪門] or *Chanjia*
sisted of living Chan masters – a re
a cadre of eminent monks who serv
and a much wider group of monk an
who also believed in and promoted
of the Chan Lineage. "Chan monks"
僧]) were those who belonged to the
either as the disciples of a Chan mas
masters themselves; they did not nec
time practicing meditation. No leade
lineage (*Tiantai zong* [天臺宗]) in the
called a Chan master, despite the fa
monasteries had far more elaborat
meditation practice than Chan mona

Followers of the Chan school in
later equated Chan literature almo
with what they took to be historical
sayings and doings of ancestral teach
Lineage. They criticized the ancie
Daoxuan for wrongly classifying Bo
a "practitioner of *dhyāna*," as if the la
ment had consisted of bringing me
techniques to China, when what h
transmitted was the awakening of th

typically categorized as *dhyāna*
d works said to have been trans-
(安世高; *fl.* 2nd cent.), such as the
(大安般守意經; *Sūtra* on Mental
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han jing (達摩多羅禪經; *Dhyāna*
rāta; T. 618), said to have been
habhadra (Fotuobatuoluo [佛陀
E), whose sobriquet was Tianzhu
]; *Dhyāna* Master fom India).

who distinguished themselves
ractice of meditation were cat-
itioners of *dhyāna*" (*xichan* [習
aoseng zhuan (梁高僧傳; Liang
minent Monks; T. 2059), com-
慧皎; 497–554 CE), and in the *Xu*
高僧傳; Additional Biographies
; T. 2060) compiled by Daoxuan
). In those works, such medita-
re variously depicted as experts
nterpretation, or practical appli-
mentioned class of *dhyāna* scrip-
lso referred to, individually and
yāna masters" (*chanshi* [禪師]),
chanseng [禪僧]), "those who
proach" (*chanmenzhe* [禪門者]),
he *dhyāna* tradition" (*chanzong*

later, however, many of the
bels that begin with the modifier
o mean something entirely dif-
ey did in Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng*
dvent of the Song dynasty (960–
name *chanzong* (禪宗) referred
ite "Chan Lineage" of ancestral
師]) that had purportedly been

created in India by the Buddha Śākyamuni and established in China by a "primal ancestor" (*chuzu* [初祖]) named Bodhidharma (*Putidamo* [菩提達磨 or 菩提達摩]). The Chan Lineage was said to transmit the very awakening of Śākyamuni: his so-called "buddha mind" (*foxin* [佛心]) or "mind dharma" (*xinfa* [心法]), as opposed to his verbal "teachings" (*jiao* [教]) that had been handed down in *sūtras* and commentarial literature.

Bodhidharma was further said to have "used mind to transmit mind" (*yixin chuanxin* [以心傳心]) in what was a "separate transmission apart from the teachings" (*jiao wai biechuan* [教外別傳]). Thus, the name "Chan Lineage" came to be used narrowly in the Song as a synonym for the "Lineage of Bodhidharma" (*Damozong* [達磨宗]), which was also called the "Buddha Mind Lineage" (*Foxinzong* [佛心宗]).

A "Chan master" (*chanshi* [禪師]) in the Song and following Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) was a monk who had "inherited the dharma" (*sifa* [嗣法]) from some previously recognized dharma heir (*fasi* [法嗣]) in the lineage of Bodhidharma; he was not necessarily someone who specialized in the practice of meditation (Skt. *dhyāna*; Chn. *chan* [禪]; Foulk, 1993, 160–167). A "Chan monastery" (*chansi* [禪寺] or *chanyuan* [禪苑]) was a public Buddhist monastery which the abbacy was reserved for an eminent monk in the Chan Lineage. The "Chan school" (*Chanmen* [禪門] or *Chanjia* [禪家]) consisted of living Chan masters – a relatively small a cadre of eminent monks who served as leaders, and a much wider group of monk and lay followers who also believed in and promoted the mythology of the Chan Lineage. "Chan monks" (*chanseng* [禪僧]) were those who belonged to the Chan school, either as the disciples of a Chan master or as Chan masters themselves; they did not necessarily spend time practicing meditation. No leader of the Tiantai lineage (*Tiantai zong* [天臺宗]) in the Song was ever called a Chan master, despite the fact that Tiantai monasteries had far more elaborate facilities for meditation practice than Chan monasteries.

Followers of the Chan school in the Song and later equated Chan literature almost exclusively with what they took to be historical records of the sayings and doings of ancestral teachers in the Chan Lineage. They criticized the ancient biographer Daoxuan for wrongly classifying Bodhidharma as a "practitioner of *dhyāna*," as if the latter's achievement had consisted of bringing mere meditation techniques to China, when what he had actually transmitted was the awakening of the Buddha. The common quarters (*zhongliao* [衆寮]) in Chan monasteries, a building in which monks were allowed to read at their individual seats on the platforms, had separate bookshelves for "Chan records" (*chanlu* [禪録]) and *sūtra* literature. Nobody thought that the class of *dhyāna* scriptures translated down through the 5th century CE had anything to do with Bodhidharma's Chan, so if those works were available at all, they would have been shelved with the *sūtras*.

The modern field of Zen studies (Jpn. *Zengaku* [禪學]) has given rise to several different conceptions of "Chan literature." That field was founded in late 19th- and early 20th-century Japan by learned Zen monks and lay followers who, embracing principles and methods of scientific philology and historiography that had recently been introduced from the West, used those to revisit Chan Lineage records that had been passed down in editions dating from the Song and later. At the time, European scholarship had anointed ancient Indian Buddhism as the primal, pure form of the religion, best preserved in the Pali canon. Japanese Buddhist intellectuals felt defensive about the Mahāyāna Buddhism of their native land, for it was under attack from abroad and within Japan as a degenerate, superstitious, overly ritualized set of beliefs and practices that had strayed far from the original teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha. The philological fact that the word "Zen" (禪) derived from the Indic *dhyāna* via the Chinese transliterations *channa* (禪那) and *chan* (禪) was seized upon as a way of emphasizing the Japanese Zen school's roots in ancient India and its preservation of the practice of meditation, which had been taught by the Buddha himself and did not conflict with modern science.

The early modern field of Zen studies, in any case, started out by defining Chan as the "meditation school" of Buddhism. A number of influential scholars at the time devoted much research to the Indian roots of Chan, not only in Buddhism, but in other ancient "yogic" traditions as well (Kohō, 1919, 1–86; Nukariya, 1923, 1–268; Okada, 1930, 87–248; Dumoulin, 1988, 13–26). Those pioneering researchers took it for granted that the *dhyāna* scriptures translated by An Shigao and Kumārajīva should be regarded as the earliest Chan literature to appear in Chinese. However, as the field of Zen studies developed from the 1930s on and new documents (the Dunhuang manuscripts and others) came to light, it became obvious to Japanese scholars that traditional (Song and later) records of the Chan Lineage in India were Chinese fabrications, and the study of the history of so-called "Indian Chan" fell out of fashion. A new theory swept the increasingly international field of Zen studies: Chan was cast as an iconoclastic movement that arose within Chinese Buddhism as a native reaction against the abstruse philosophizing, superstitious rituals, and "quietistic" meditation practices that had been imported from India (e.g. Hu Shih, 1932; 1953; Yanagida, 1971; 1974a). Scholars who subscribe to this view have tended to hold up the doctrine of "sudden awakening" (*dunwu* [頓悟]) as the defining characteristic of the early Chan school, and they do not regard the *dhyāna* scriptures that date from the 5th century CE or earlier as Chan literature.

All modern scholars agree that the massive body of literature produced in the Song, Yuan, and later that treats the sayings and doings of ancestral teachers in the Chan Lineage (including the early figures who are mythological) should certainly be labeled "Chan." That literature has given the world the stereotyped image of the eccentric Chan master who engages his disciples in witty repartee, baffles them with inscrutable replies to their straight-forward questions, and rains down shouts and blows as a means of bringing them to awakening. The literature is distinctive in form as well as content, and it employs a style of rhetoric that sets it apart from other Chinese Buddhist writings.

For modern scholars concerned with categorizing Chan literature, the murkiest period is that of the three centuries leading up to the early Song and the large-scale publication of Chan Lineage records that began at that time. The problem, in a nutshell, is how to decide what stray or independent texts (i.e. those not contained in Song Chan collections) that date from the Tang (618–907 CE) and Five Dynasties period (906–960 CE) should be regarded as "Chan." The standard approach has been to look for materials in Tang texts that seem to foreshadow one or another of the most salient features of Song Chan literature, which if found will mark the earlier texts as "Chan."

The oldest extant text that presages the Song understanding of the Chan Lineage is an epitaph for a monk named Faru (法如; 638–689 CE). Entitled *Tang Zhongyue shamen Shi Faru chanshi xingzhuang* (唐中岳沙門釋法如禪師行狀; Biography of Chan Master Shi Faru, a *Śramaṇa* of Zhongyue during the Tang; XXSKQS, *Jinshi cuibian* [金石萃編], 6.5b–7b), it states that he was heir to the "Buddha's hidden meaning" (*fo miyi* [佛密意]), which had been "transmitted from master to disciple in India essentially without scriptures" (天竺相承本無文字) until it reached Bodhidharma, who brought it to China (Yanagida, 1967, 487–88; McRae, 1986, 85–86). Bodhidharma is said to have transmitted that meaning to his disciple Huike (慧可), after which it was passed down through a line of monk successors consisting of Sengcan (僧璨) in the third generation, Daoxin (道信) in the fourth generation, Hongren (弘忍) in the fifth generation, and finally to Faru himself in the sixth generation. That lineage formula, which was probably fabricated by piecing together otherwise unconnected clusters of data from Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, must have been quite successful in winning legitimacy and patronage for its proponents, for it was subsequently appropriated by other groups of monks who wanted to establish their own teacher as the "sixth patriarch" (*liuzu* [六祖]) in place of Faru.

The ongoing activity of constructing, appropriating and altering lineages of Bodhidharma is evinced in a number of 8th century texts that had been lost or suppressed by the early Song, but were rediscovered by modern scholars within the huge cache of manuscripts found at Dunhuang in western China early in the 20th century. The texts in question, treated in this article under the heading *Proto-Histories of the Chan Lineage*, have been categorized as "historical documents pertaining to the early Chan Lineage" (Jpn. *shoki Zenshū shiryō* [初期禪宗史料]) by Japanese scholars (Yanagida, 1967). Those that have attracted most scholarly attention are small collections of biographies of *dhyāna* masters, arranged in quasi-genealogical order (one per generation) to create a lineage deriving from Bodhidharma. They do not, however, employ the name "Chan Lineage" as a synonym for "Lineage of Bodhidharma," nor do they depict the latter as a multi-branched family tree.

The Song understanding of Chan literature as a body of sacred scripture that contains the teachings of numerous Chan masters in all branches of Bodhidharma's lineage is foreshadowed in the writings of the scholarly monk Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密; 780–841 CE). On the basis of extant texts, it seems Zongmi was the first compiler of historical records to conceive the lineage of Bodhidharma as a family tree that had multiple legitimate branches, comprising in the aggregate scores of ancestral teachers. Zongmi took it upon himself to collect all the written records of putative heirs to Bodhidharma that he could find, publishing them in a massive compilation entitled *Chanyuan zhuquanji* (禪源諸詮集; Collected Writings from the Wellspring of *Dhyāna*; nonextant). An influential lay patron of Zongmi,

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the government official Pei Xiu (裴休; 797–870 CE), called that collection a "*dhyāna* canon" (*chanzang* [禪藏]) (T. 2015 [XLVIII] 398b10), implying that it was a Chinese analogue to the treasury of *sūtras* spoken by the Indian Buddha. The text itself is no longer extant, but we have a good idea of what it must have contained from its long introduction (Broughton, 2009, 22–23), which does survive: *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* (禪源諸詮集都序; Prolegomenon to the Collected Writings from the Wellspring of *Dhyāna*; T. 2015), written around 833 CE. In it, Zongmi states:

> *Dhyāna* has various lineages (*zong* [宗]) that are incompatible and opposed to one another. Their sayings, which I compile in the present work, are nearly as diverse as the "hundred schools" [of Chinese philosophy], but the differences of meaning in their tenets (*zongyi* [宗義]) can be exemplified using ten houses (*shishi* [十室]), namely: Jiangxi (江西), Heze (荷澤), Xiu of the North (*Beixiu* [北秀]), Shen of the South (*Nanshen* [南侁]), Niutou (牛頭), Shitou (石頭), Baotang (保唐), and Xuanshi (宣什), as well as Chou and Na (稠那), Tiantai (天臺), and so on. (T. 2015 [XLVIII] 400b28–29)

Significantly, the first eight of the "ten houses" of *dhyāna* listed were presented by Zongmi as lineages deriving from Bodhidharma, but the last two were not. "Chou" was Sengchou (僧稠; 480–560 CE), a student of Buddhabhadra, the translator of the *Damoduoluo chan jing*; "Na" was Guṇabhadra (*Qiunabatuoluo* [求那跋陀羅]; 394–468 CE), translator of the *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經; *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; T. 670) in four fascicles; and "Tiantai" was Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597 CE), renowned author of the *Mohe zhiguan* (摩訶止觀; Great Calming and Contemplation; T. 1911), the most comprehensive and influential compilation of meditation techniques ever to appear in Chinese.

There is no doubt that Zongmi regarded the houses of *dhyāna* that stemmed from Bodhidharma as superior to those of Chou, Na, and Tiantai, but his inclusion of the latter shows that when he used the term *chanzong* (禪宗) he was still referring collectively to all *dhyāna* practitioners, not the "Chan Lineage" proper as that came to be understood in the Song. Zongmi outlined "five types of *dhyāna*" (*wuzhong chan* [五種禪]), which were really levels of understanding that could inform the physical and mental practice of seated meditation:

1. "*dhyāna* of non-Buddhist religions" (*waidao chan* [外道禪]);
2. "*dhyāna* of ordinary beings" (*fanfu chan* [凡夫禪]);
3. "*dhyāna* of the small vehicle" (*xiaosheng chan* [小乘禪]);
4. "*dhyāna* of the great vehicle" (*dasheng chan* [大乘禪]); and
5. "*dhyāna* of the supreme vehicle" (*zuishang sheng chan* [最上乘禪]).

Zongmi described the last approach, the one purportedly taken by Bodhidharma, as being grounded in "sudden awakening" (*dunwu* [頓悟]). He explained the "sudden" approach as an understanding that: "mind is of itself pure from the start, at root without afflictions (*fannao* [煩惱]) or contamination (*lou* [漏]), in its original state fully equipped with wisdom, and that mind is buddha" (T. 2015 [XLVIII] 399b13–22). In other words, followers of the "*dhyāna* of the highest vehicle" sit in meditation without any expectation of purifying the mind or becoming a buddha, because they realize that their own minds are already pure and inherently awakened (*wu* [悟]). In this context, "sudden" (*dun* [頓]) does not really indicate speed of accomplishment, except in the sense that the very fastest way to attain something is to realize that one already has it.

In taking the position of "sudden awakening," Zongmi aligned himself with a broad tendency within the ranks of Chinese meditation specialists to redefine *dhyāna* as something identical with perfect wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*; Chn. *hui* [慧]) itself. True *dhyāna* (the "highest" form of *dhyāna*), such arguments went, is not merely a technique for calming (Skt. *śamatha*; Chn. *zhi* [止]) the mind as an aid to cultivating insight (Skt. *vipaśyanā*, *guan* [觀]), as many "Hīnayāna" *dhyāna* scriptures suggest. True *dhyāna* is not a means to an end, but the end itself, described as "seeing the [buddha] nature" (*jianxiang* [見性]), or realizing the inherent "emptiness of dharmas" (*fakong* [法空]).

At their most extreme, some iterations of that position suggest that a correct understanding of *dhyāna* actually precludes the practice of seated meditation (*zuochan* [坐禪]). In his *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (菩提達摩南宗定是非論; Determining the Truth of Bodhidharma's Southern Lineage; Ma Junwu, 1970), for example, Heze Shenhui (荷澤神會; 684–758 CE) said:

> When I speak of sitting (*zuo* [坐]) now, what I mean by "sitting" is thoughts not being initiated (*nian buqi* [念不起]); when I speak of *dhyāna* (*chan* [禪]) now, what I mean by "*dhyāna*" is seeing the original nature (*jian benxing* [見本性]). Hence, I do not instruct people to seat their bodies, stabilize their minds, and enter into concentration (*zuoshen zhuxin ruding* [坐身住心入定]); (Ma Junwu, 1970, 287).

A similar view is expressed in the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Platform Sūtra*, a text that epitomizes Chan literature in the view of many modern scholars:

> Good friends, we also see that there are people who teach others to sit viewing the mind (*kanxin* [看心]) and viewing purity (*kanjing* [看淨]), not moving and not giving rise [to thoughts], and to make efforts in accordance with this. [As a result] deluded people do not awaken. They cling to [this practice] and become confounded. Good friends, in what way are concentration (*dìng* [定]) and wisdom (*hui* [慧]) the same? It is like a lamp flame (*deng* [燈]) and its light (*guang* [光]): when there is a flame, there is light; when there is no flame, there is no light. Flame is the substance (*ti* [體]) of light, and light is the function (*yong* [用]) of flame. Although they have two [different names], in essence they are not two [different] kinds of things. These things "concentration" and "wisdom" are also like that. (T. 2007 [XLVIII] 338b24–29)

In this passage, the term "concentration" is a synonym for "*dhyāna* concentration" (*chanding* [禪定]), which conventionally involves stopping (*zhi* [止]) the mind on some object of meditation, but here is redefined as identical with wisdom.

There are a number of Chinese Buddhist texts, some of them discovered at Dunhuang, that redefine *dhyāna* in a manner similar to that found in the *Platform Sūtra* and the works of Shenhui. Examples include:

1. *Foshuo faju jing* (佛說法句經; *Dharmapada Sūtra* Spoken by the Buddha; T. 2901), an apocryphal text produced in China around 650 CE;
2. *Jingang sanmei jing* (金剛三昧經; *Sūtra* of Adamantine Absorption; Skt. **Vajrasamādhisūtra*; T. 273), another apocryphon that circulated widely in China, although it was probably written in Korea around 685 CE (Buswell, 1989);
3. *Chanmen jing* (禪門經; *Dhyāna* Gate Sutra; Stein 5532; Pelliot 4646), composed between 695 and 730 CE;
4. *Wuxing lun* (悟性論; Great Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Awakened Nature; T. 2009 [XLVIII] 370c11–373b11; ZZ 1219);
5. *Sanshufayi* (三窠法義; Meaning of the Three Categories of Dharmas; Pelliot 3861; Tanaka, 1983, 371); and
6. *Dasheng sanshu* (大乘三窠; *Mahāyāna* Three Categories; Stein 2944; Pelliot 3357, 4597; Tanaka, 1983, 371).

In the opinion of modern scholars who regard the philosophical position of sudden awakening as the defining characteristic of the early Chan school, all of these texts can be classified as Chan literature on the grounds that their discussions of *dhyāna* are informed by that doctrine, even when they make no mention of a lineage of Bodhidharma or any of the ancestral teachers traditionally associated with it. Modern scholars who are still inclined to regard Chan as the "meditation school" do not resist that classification, for the texts in question do deal with the general topic of *dhyāna* practice, despite their radical reinterpretations of it.

It is clear from Zongmi's writings that he opposed the most extreme interpretations of sudden awakening, which according to him led some houses of *dhyāna* in Bodhidharma's lineage to literally abandon conventional Buddhist practices such as following Vinaya rules, worshiping Buddha, and sitting in meditation. What Zongmi advocated was "sudden awakening followed by gradual practice" (*dunwu jianxiu* [頓悟漸修]), an approach that presupposed a three-stage model:

1. an initial awakening (*jiewu* [解悟]) to the fact one's own mind is buddha;
2. long hard practice informed by that initial understanding; and
3. full awakening (*zhengwu* [證悟]) or buddhahood (Gregory, 1991, 192–196).

Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* also shows that he resisted another tendency in his day, which was to cast Bodhidharma as someone who made no use of *sūtras* whatsoever:

> There are also *dhyāna* worthies (*chande* [禪德]) who ask [me]: "Bodhidharma transmitted mind and did not rely on scriptures (*chuan xin bu li wenzi* [傳心不立文字]). How can you turn your back on our patriarch by lecturing on *śāstras* and transmitting *sūtras*?" (T. 2007 [XLVIII] 401b6–7)

This antagonistic question was inspired by the fact that, in his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, Zongmi correlated differences in the main teachings and practices of the *dhyāna* lineages he treated with analogous differences found in Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *śāstras*. Zongmi's response was that the expression "not setting up scriptures" should be not be taken literally. Earlier in the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* he wrote:

> When Bodhidharma received the dharma and brought it personally from India to China, he saw that most of the practitioners in this land had not yet obtained the dharma, and that they merely took names and numbers for understanding and took formal affairs as practice. He wanted to make them understand that the moon

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> does not consist in the pointing finge
> the dharma is one's own mind. Thus
> transmitted mind by means of min
> setting up scriptures (*yi xin chuan xin*
> [以心傳心不立文字]), manifested th
> (*zong* [宗]) and destroyed attachmen
> this reason that he spoke as he did.
> that he preached liberation apart from
> Thus, those whom he instructed, who
> what he meant, always praised th
> (*Jingang* [金剛]) and *Laṅkāvatār*
> [楞伽]) [*sūtras*] saying, "These two a
> guides to one's own mind." Nowaday
> choose one or the other [*dhyāna* or
> that is the source of their delusion.
> cultivate mind (*xiuxin* [修心]) [i.e. pra
> tation] regard the *sūtras* and *śāstras*
> different purport (*biezong* [別宗]),
> who lecture (*jiangshuo* [講說]) [on *sū*
> the *dhyāna* approach (*chanmen* [禪
> ferent method (*biefa* [別法]). When
> discussions of cause and effect (*yin*
> or cultivation and realization (*xiu zh*
> they imagine that the speakers mu
> the *sūtras* and *śāstras* camp. They d
> stand that cultivation and realization
> fundamental concern of the *dhyān*
> When they hear it explained that "
> dha," they imagine that the speaker
> to the *dhyāna* of subjective mentati
> not understand that "mind is buddha
> fundamental meaning of the *sūtras*
> (T. 2015 [XLVIII] 400b17–26)

Zongmi, in short, rejected the idea tha
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Zongmi had at his disposal a nu
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(荷澤神會; 670–762 CE). In his view
the true sixth patriarch in the ma
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> does not consist in the pointing finger and that the dharma is one's own mind. Thus he simply transmitted mind by means of mind without setting up scriptures (*yi xin chuan xin bu li wenzi* [以心傳心不立文字]), manifested the principle (*zong* [宗]) and destroyed attachments. It is for this reason that he spoke as he did. It was not that he preached liberation apart from scriptures. Thus, those whom he instructed, who understood what he meant, always praised the *Diamond* (*Jingang* [金剛]) and *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lengqie* [楞伽]) [*sūtras*] saying, "These two are essential guides to one's own mind." Nowadays, disciples choose one or the other [*dhyāna* or *sūtras*], and that is the source of their delusion. Those who cultivate mind (*xiuxin* [修心]) [i.e. practice meditation] regard the *sūtras* and *śāstras* as having a different purport (*biezong* [別宗]), while those who lecture (*jiangshuo* [講說]) [on *sūtras*] regard the *dhyāna* approach (*chanmen* [禪門]) as a different method (*biefa* [別法]). When people hear discussions of cause and effect (*yin guo* [因果]) or cultivation and realization (*xiu zheng* [修證]), they imagine that the speakers must belong to the *sūtras* and *śāstras* camp. They do not understand that cultivation and realization are truly the fundamental concern of the *dhyāna* approach. When they hear it explained that "mind is buddha," they imagine that the speaker must belong to the *dhyāna* of subjective mentation. They do not understand that "mind is buddha" is really the fundamental meaning of the *sūtras* and *śāstras*. (T. 2015 [XLVIII] 400b17–26)

Zongmi, in short, rejected the idea that *dhyāna* practitioners and *sūtra* exegetes were engaged in two different, mutually incompatible kinds of Buddhism.

Zongmi had at his disposal a number of earlier texts that presented competing versions of a single line of spiritual descent from Bodhidharma, each naming a different eminent monk (e.g. Faru [法如], Shenxiu [神秀], or Huineng [慧能]) as the sole legitimate heir in the sixth generation. He was not a neutral judge of those records, for he identified himself as a successor in the lineage of Heze Shenhui (荷澤神會; 670–762 CE). In his view, Huineng was the true sixth patriarch in the main line (*zhengzong* [正宗]) of descent from Bodhidharma, and Huineng's disciple Shenhui was the seventh patriarch. Nevertheless, Zongmi recognized a number of other lineages as "collateral offshoots" (*pangchu* [傍出]) from the main line and granted them legitimacy as heirs of Bodhidharma.

Zongmi's influence on the Chan school of the Song dynasty and later was muted, but strong nevertheless. The main body of his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* failed to survive a process that took place early in the Song, whereby existing records of Bodhidharma's lineage were systematically collected, culled, redacted, organized, and published in imperially sanctioned editions of the Buddhist canon. His claim that Shenhui had been the seventh patriarch in Bodhidharma's lineage was ignored, and the list of 28 ancestral teachers in India that he had formulated was also rejected by Song historians of the Chan Lineage, who favored a slightly different set of 28. Zongmi's position on the "unity of doctrinal and meditative approaches" (*jiaochan yizhi* [教禪一致]) was carried over into the Song, but it only survived as a minority point of view among followers of the Chan school. In the end, his vision of the *chanzong* as a diverse community of *dhyāna* practitioners was replaced with a conception of the *chanzong* as the Chan Lineage: a "separate transmission" of the buddha mind that was restricted to heirs of Bodhidharma. For all of those reversals, Zongmi's writings had a significant impact. His pioneering efforts at collecting the recorded sayings and writings of a great many Chinese *dhyāna* masters inspired similar compilations of Chan literature in the Song, his vision of a multi-branched lineage of dharma transmission from Bodhidharma provided the model for those compilations, and his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* was a direct source of raw materials for them. In the end, Zongmi's vision of the compatibility of *dhyāna* with the written word won out, for it was the very "transmission of mind by means of mind" from hundreds of Chan masters to thousands of disciples that became the subject matter of a vast body of Chan literature.

Soon after the advent of the Song, the Chan school, elements of which had begun to take shape in the 8th and 9th centuries CE, emerged as a unified movement that dominated the upper echelons of the Buddhist monastic order. Compilers of records of the dharma heirs of Bodhidharma reached a consensus on what the shape of the Chan Lineage had been in the Tang and earlier, and that conception remained orthodox ever after. The body of Chan literature that took shape at that time smoothed out many of the conflicts over teachings, practices, and genealogical legitimacy that were reflected in Zongmi's writings, and it attributed a uniform style of witty, irreverent rhetoric to a great many ancestral teachers, making the Chan Lineage of the Tang and Five Dynasties appear rather homogeneous and consistent in its rejection of the "teachings."

Having come to occupy a privileged position within the Buddhist monastic order in the Song, largely through the influence that Chan literature exerted on the imperial court and powerful government officials (all of them members of the literati class), leaders of the Chan school embarked on a campaign to justify their high status on other grounds as well. They began to claim that the main features of the organization and operation of the elite public monasteries, which were regulated by a set of procedural guidelines and liturgical manuals known generically as "rules of purity" (*qinggui* [清規]), had been invented in the Tang by an eminent Chan master: Baizhang Huaihai (百丈懷海; 749–814 CE), who was said to have founded an independent Chan monastery and authored the first such monastic code. The story of Baizhang the monastic legislator began to circulate in China in the latter half of the 10th century, promoted chiefly by a short text known as the *Chanmen guishi* (禪門規式; Regulations of the Chan School). Some version of that text was in existence before 988 CE, when parts of it were cited in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (宋高僧傳; Song Biographies of Eminent Monks; T. 2061 [L] 770c–771a.), but the oldest complete edition is one appended to Baizhang's biography in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*; see below compiled in 1004 (T. 2076 [LI] 250c27–251b3; trans. Foulk, 1999b).

During the Song and Yuan, a number of Chan abbots collected and edited "rules of purity" that claimed, in their titles and/or prefaces, to derive from Baizhang. The oldest of the texts in question, the *Chanyuan qingui* (禪苑清規; Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries; ZZ 1245; critical ed. and trans. Kagamishima *et al.*, 1972; trans. Yifa, 2002), was compiled in 1103 by Changlu Zongze (長蘆宗賾; ?–1107), abbot of the Hongji Chan Cloister (*Hongji Chanyuan* [洪濟禪院]), a public monastery in the Zhending Prefecture (眞定府). That was followed by:

1. *Ruzhong riyong qinggui* (入衆日用清規; Rules of Purity for Daily Life in the Assembly; ZZ 1246 [63]; trans. Foulk, 1995), written in 1209 by Wuliang Zongshou (無量宗壽);
2. *Conglin Jiaoding qinggui zongyao* (叢林校訂清規総要; Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries; ZZ 1249), compiled in 1274 by Jinhua Weimian (金華惟勉);
3. *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (禪林備用清規; Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries; ZZ 1250), completed in 1286 by Zeshan Yixian (澤山弌咸);
4. *Huanzhu an qinggui* (幻住菴清規; Rules of Purity for the Huanzhu Hermitage; ZZ 1248), written in 1317 by the eminent Chan master Zhongfen Mingben (中峰明本; 1263–1323); and
5. *Chixiu baizhang qingqui* (勅修百丈清規; Imperial Edition of Baizhang's Rules of Purity;T. 2025 [48]; trans. Ichimura, 2006), produced by imperial decree and compiled by the Chan abbot Dongyang Dehui (東陽德輝) between the years 1335 and 1338.

These texts were all claimed by members of the Chan school in the Song and Yuan as in-house materials. Modern Japanese scholarship, too, regards "rules of purity" as a genre of Chan literature. The main reason is that the texts in question played a key role in the establishment of Chinese-style monasteries in Japan in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), almost all of which were founded and inhabited exclusively by followers of the Chen (Zen) school. Japanese scholars are inclined to accept the traditional story about Baizhang establishing a separate Chan monastery with a distinctive set of rules because, in their country, early Zen monasteries did in fact differ in their oganization and operation from preexisting Tendai and Shingon (眞言) institutions. Some scholars, moreover, have cast the early generations of Bodhidharma's lineage as an iconoclastic movement that rejected the "superstitious" beliefs and merit-making rituals of conventional "monastery Buddhism" (Jpn. *garan bukkyō* [伽藍佛教]; Ui, 1935, 1–81; Yanagida, 1974a, 7). For them, it is convenient to imagine that when the pioneers of "pure Chan" (Jpn. *junsui Zen* [純粋禪]) finally settled down in monasteries, they did so in communities that were separate from mainstream Buddhism.

Although the modern field of Zen studies has not reached any consensus on criteria for defining "Chan literature," that fact has not stopped Japanese scholars from listing "Zen texts" (Jpn. *Zenseki* [禪籍]) and "Zen writings" (Jpn. *Zenten* [禪典]) in works such as the massive *Zenseki mokuroku* (禪籍目錄; Catalogue of Zen Texts; Komazawa Daigaku, 1928) and the comprehensive *Zenseki kaidai* (禪籍解題; Bibliographic Notes on Zen Texts; Yanagida, 1974b). The compilers of major canonical collections such as *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (大正新修大藏经) and *Dainippon zokuzōkyō* (大日本續藏經) also saw fit to group Chinese Buddhist texts together in de facto "Zen school sections" (Jpn. *Zenshūbu* [禪宗部]), with no explanation of the criteria they used. Other collections of Chan literature published in Japan include: *Zengaku taikei* (禪學大系; Collected Works for Zen Studies; 1910–1915) in 8 volumes; *Kokuyaku zenshū sōsho* (國譯禪宗叢書; Library of Zen School Texts in Japanese Translation; Miyashita, 1919–1921) in 22 volumes; *Kokuyaku zengaku taisei* (國譯禪學大成; Comprehensive Collection for Zen Studies in

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Japanese Translation; Miyauchi, 19
volumes; and the 20 volume series
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A Working Definition and Typo Literature

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A Working Definition and Typology of Chan Literature

In this article, the designation "Chan literature" is reserved for literary genres that were unique to, or at least invented by and characteristic of, the Chan school of Buddhism. We have seen, however, that various stakeholders and academics, ancient and modern, have disagreed on what the "Chan school" is and what its literature consists of. It is not possible to resolve this matter by declaring what Chan "really" is – except that it is a Chinese word that, historically, has had many different, well-attested meanings. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this article, the Chan school in medieval China is provisionally defined as:

> the group of people – monks, nuns, and lay followers – who were united by a shared belief in a multi-branched Chan Lineage, conceived as an extended spiritual clan that was founded in India by the Buddha Śākyamuni and transmitted to China by a primal ancestor named Bodhidharma.

Working from this stipulative definition, the literature of the Chan school includes some texts that touch on the topic of *dhyāna*, and a great many others that do not. By the same token, some part of the extensive Chinese Buddhist literature on *dhyāna* may be classified as "Chan," but much of it (e.g. Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*) may not.

For the purposes of this article, a further distinction is drawn within the category of Chan literature between (1) traditional histories of the Chan Lineage, and (2) proto-histories of the Chan Lineage.

The mark of a traditional history, as defined herein, is that the text in question posits or assumes a multi-branched Chan Lineage consisting of 28 Indian ancestral teachers (the 28th being Bodhidharma), six Chinese ancestral teachers (the sixth being Huineng), and a bifurcation in the generations following Huineng into two main branches: the lineages of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一; 709–788 CE) and Shitou Xiqian Xiqian (石頭希遷; 700–791 CE). Although the traditional histories present documentary records that ostensibly go all the way back to the founding of the Chan Lineage in ancient India at the time of Buddha Śākyamuni, the archetypal work that established the aforementioned vision of the lineage as a lasting orthodoxy was the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈録; Jingde Era Record of the Transmission of the Flame; T. 2076; critical ed. Yanagida, 1984c; trans. Chang, 1971; Ogata, 1986) in 30 fascicles, compiled in 1004, then heavily redacted and published in 1009.

Hundreds of texts dating from the Song and later may be categorized as traditional histories. Most of them belong to one of three genres:

1. records of the transmission of the flame (*chuandeng lu* [傳燈録]), which are collections of biographies of Chan masters arranged in genealogical order;
2. discourse records (*yulu* [語録]) of individual Chan masters; and
3. *kōan* (*gong'an* [公案]) collections: selections of pithy sayings attributed to famous ancestral teachers, often with comments attached by the compilers, who themselves were recognized Chan masters.

In addition, there are a number of miscellaneous works that are not readily subsumed under any of those three classifications but may be regarded as histories of the Chan Lineage as that entity has been traditionally conceived.

A proto-history of the Chan Lineage, as defined herein, is any text that falls short of satisfying all the criteria for classification as a traditional history, but either (1) prefigures the traditional histories of the Chan Lineage in some way, or (2) was regarded by the compilers of the traditional histories in the Song and later as a legitimate source for the history of the Chan Lineage. Scores of texts dating from before the advent of the Song may be categorized as proto-histories: Those include the works of Zongmi, the Dunhuang manuscripts that posit some sort of lineage stemming from Bodhidharma, and many other manuscripts and inscriptions that contain biographical information or teachings ascribed to monks who were subsequently named as ancestral teachers in the Chan Lineage.

On the basis of the criteria employed in this article, many texts that modern scholars have hitherto regarded as Chan literature do not qualify for that classification. The texts in question fall into four categories.

First, because the Chan school is defined herein as a movement centered on the development, promotion, and ritual reenactment of the Chan Lineage myth, none of the early (2nd–5th cent.) *dhyāna* scriptures may be classified as Chan literature, unless they can be shown to have somehow figured in that process of myth making. With the noteworthy exception of the *Damoduoluo chan jing*, most of the texts in question did not play any such role.

Second, the mere fact that a Chinese Buddhist text advanced the doctrine of "sudden awakening" or redefined *dhyāna* as wisdom is not sufficient to classify it as Chan literature. It is true that a number of works dating from the Tang (e.g. the *Platform Sūtra* and the writings of Shenhui) are concerned both with constructing a lineage of Bodhidharma and with characterizing its approach to *dhyāna* as one informed by "sudden awakening," but there was no necessary or universal connection between those two projects. The redefinition of *dhyāna* was an intellectual movement that spread widely through the ranks of the Buddhist saṅgha in China. It was inspired by the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and gained a major impetus in the writings of Tiantai Zhiyi. There is no reason to assume that the authors of the *Foshuo faju jing*, *Jingang sanmei jing*, or similar texts named above were interested in creating, appropriating, or attaching themselves to a lineage of Bodhidharma. The construction of Bodhidharma lineages seems to have been initiated by a relatively small number of localized groups that formed within the Buddhist saṅgha at large. That they tried to credit Bodhidharma with bringing the new, "highest" understanding of *dhyāna* to China can be viewed as an attempt to corner the market on an intellectual property that had already gained considerable prestige within the ranks of *dhyāna* practitioners at large.

Third, while the brief text known as the *Chanmen guishi* and all other incidental writings (prefaces etc.) that claim that Chan master Baizhang was the founder of the first independent Chan monastery and the author of a distinctive set of monastic rules certainly qualify as Chan literature, the genre of texts known as "rules of purity" do not. As a matter of historical fact, virtually all of the physical structures, bureaucratic arrangements, ritual procedures and modes of religious discipline that came to be codified in the *Chanyuan qingui* (compiled in 1103), or that appeared in later monastic rules that were nominally "Chan," had evolved over many centuries, with input from a broad cross-section of the Buddhist saṅgha. The authors and revisers of monastic rules in China included a few monks who identified themselves as heirs to Bodhidharma's lineage, such as Baizhang and Weishan Lingyou (潙山靈祐; 771–853 CE), and many others who did not, such as Daoan (道安; 312–385 CE), Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597 CE), Daoxuan (道宣; 596–667 CE), and Zunshi (遵式; 963–1032). All of them strove to adapt Indian Vinaya texts to the Chinese cultural milieu, and all contributed to the evolution of the "rules of purity" genre that flourished in the Song (Foulk, 1987, 1993, 2004; Yifa, 2002).

Moreover, there were a few public monasteries in the Song and Yuan known as teachings monasteries (*jiaoyuan* [教苑]), in which the abbacies were earmarked for eminent monks in the Tiantai Lineage, and a few others called Vinaya monasteries (*Lüyuan* [律苑]), where the abbacies were restricted to members of the Nanshan Vinaya Lineage (*Nanshan Lüzong* [南山律宗]), and those institutions were also regulated by monastic codes belonging to the "rules of purity" genre. The *Jiaoyuan qinggui* (教苑清規; Rules of Purity for Teachings Monasteries; ZZ 968), compiled in 1347 by Yunwai Ziqing (雲外自慶), describes a monastery layout, bureaucratic structure, and calendar of activities that is nearly identical to that detailed in the *Chixiu baizhang qinggui*. The *Lüyuan shigui* (律苑事規; Rules for Vinaya Monasteries; ZZ 1113), compiled in 1324 by Xingwu Xinzong (省悟心宗), is very similar in contents to the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*. It is also clear from those texts (and some Tiantai precursors that survive from the early Song) that the "rules of purity" genre was not really a body of literature invented by, or uniquely characteristic of, the Chan school in China. Even in Japan the Zen school did not have a complete monopoly on the Song "rules of purity," for they were also employed by Shunjō (俊芿; 1166–1227), a Japanese monk who spent years studying Vinaya and Tiantai teachings on the continent and then founded a Song-style monastery named Sennyūji (泉涌寺) in Kyoto (Foulk, 2006, 144–145).

Fourth, there are a number of texts that played a vital role in the training of Buddhist monks who belonged to the Chan school in medieval China, including certain Mahāyāna *sūtras* that Chan monks often studied and quoted, and various *sūtras*, *gāthās* and *dhāraṇīs* that comprised the body of liturgical texts routinely chanted in Chan monasteries. Because those represent elements of religious belief and practice that were held in common with most other Chinese Buddhists, they cannot be regarded as distinctively "Chan" literature.

Finally, this article treats only what may be called the classical literature of Chan. It does not deal with any literature, whether academic or religious

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Traditional Histories of th
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Traditional Histories of the Chan Lineage

The Chan texts treated in this section are "traditional" in the sense that they have been accepted in East Asian Buddhism, from the early Song down until the emergence of the modern field of Zen studies in the 20th century, as standard and authoritative accounts of the history of the Chan Lineage. Modern scholars agree with the traditional idea that all of the literature in question is "Chan," although of course they rate the narratives that appear in it on a scale that ranges from purely mythological to fairly reliable as historical evidence. The literature covered in this section is also traditional in the sense that even today, in the wake of modern critical reevaluations, the material it contains gives identity and inspiration to followers of the Chinese Chan, Japanese Zen, Korean Sŏn, and Vietnamese Thiền schools and informs many of the religious practices and rituals in which they engage.

The genre known as "records of the transmission of the flame" (*chuan deng lu* [傳燈録]), takes precedence among the traditional histories, for it is the body of literature that maps the basic contours of the Chan Lineage and explains the nature of the supreme dharma said to have been transmitted through it, beginning with the Buddha Śākyamuni (and six previous buddhas) down to the present. The discourse records, *kōan* collections, and other traditional histories all take the genealogy established in the "records of the transmission of the flame" for granted, for they elaborate on the words and deeds of monks whose identities as ancestors in the Chan Lineage have already been established in those texts

Records of the Transmission of the Flame

The trope of "transmitting a flame" (*chuan deng* [傳燈]) by using one lamp to light another is commonly used in Chan literature as a metaphor for transmission of the "mind dharma" from master to disciple. The Chinese expression *chuan deng* has often been rendered into English as "transmission of the lamp," but that translation misses the point of the metaphor. The word *deng* does mean "lamp" or "lantern" in many contexts, but here it clearly means a flame – the flame of awakening – that is kept alive by being passed down from teachers to disciples through the generations. The use of *deng* to mean the flame of a lamp, as opposed to the body of the lamp itself, is attested in the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Platform Sūtra*, quoted above. The text says, "When there is a flame (*deng* [燈]), there is light; when there is no flame, there is no light." If one translates *deng* in this passage as "lamp," the statement becomes patently false and the entire metaphor loses its force, for obviously a lamp may exist – unlit – without there being any light. Igniting one lamp with another is an example of a process in which the giver loses nothing of the thing given. That, and the fact that a flame gives light (a symbol of clear vision and comprehension), made "transmitting the flame" an apt metaphor for the communication of insight from master to disciple in a manner that "does not rely on scriptures."

Modern Japanese scholars use the expression "flame histories" (Chn. *dengshi*; Jpn. *tōshi* [燈史]), a usage that first appears in Chinese texts dating from the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), to refer in a generic way to "records of the transmission of the flame." That usage is followed here.

The archetypal text in the "flame history" genre is the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in 30 fascicles. It was produced by a team of editors at the Song court, on the basis of a work that had just been compiled in 1004 by the monk Yong'an Daoyuan (永安道原; dates unknown), a dharma heir in a branch of the Chan Lineage deriving from master Fayan Wenyi (法眼文益; 885–958 CE). Daoyuan's collection, probably entitled *Fozu tongcan ji* (佛祖同参集; Collated Records of the Buddhas and Ancestors; Ishii, 1987, 13), does not survive in its original form, but a *Fozu tongcan ji xu* (佛祖同参集序; Preface to the Collated Records of the Buddhas and Ancestors; Ishii, 1987, 21–23) does, which is how we know its title and something of its contents.

Daoyuan's sources for the biographies and sayings of ancestral teachers all belong to the category defined herein as proto-histories of the Chan Lineage. According to the historian of Buddhism Nianchang (念常; 1282–1323), those sources included:

1. the *Baolin zhuan* (寶林傳; Baolin Biographies; Yanagida, 1983b; Tanaka, 2003), compiled by Zhiju (智炬) in 801 CE;
2. the *Shengzhou ji* (聖冑集; Sacred Bloodlines Collection; Stein 4478; Yanagida, 1983b, 8–14), compiled by Chan master Xuanwei (玄偉); and the *Xu Baolin zhuan* (續寶林傳);
3. Additional Baolin Biographies; nonextant), compiled by Weijin (惟勁) in 907–910 CE (T. 2036 [XLIX] 551a23–b1).

Daoyuan was probably influenced in his depiction of the branching of the Chan Lineage following Huineng by the *Zutangji* (祖堂集; Ancestors Hall Collection; Yanagida, 1984), which had initially been compiled in 952 CE. It is also likely that he used Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji* as a major source. The editors who redacted Daoyuan's compilation, however, seem to have purged it of all citations of "teachings" (*sūtras* and *śāstras*) that may have derived from Zongmi (Ishii, 1987, 12–16), favoring a more literal reading of Bodhidharma's purported "separate transmission" of the mind dharma.

Chief among the editors of Daoyuan's *Fozu tongcanji* was the literatus Yang Yi (楊億; 974–1020), who is described as an "academician of the Hanlin Academy (*Hanlin xueshi* [翰林學士]) and vice director of the ministry of works (*gongbu shilang* [工部侍郎])" (T. 2067 [LI] 464a25). Yang Yi was a layman, but he and his fellow editor Li Wei 李維) were believers in the Chan Lineage who had close contacts with monks associated with its Linji (臨濟) branch. Yang Yi himself was said to be a dharma heir of Chan master Guanghui Yuanlian (廣慧慧元璉; 951–1036), a descendant of Linji Yixuan (臨濟義玄; ?–866 CE) in the fifth generation (ZZ 2B-8–4.389b). When Yang Yi and his team were finished editing Daoyuan's collection they named the resulting work *Jingde chuandeng lu* after the current reign name of the emperor Zhenzong (眞宗). The text was formally dedicated to the emperor and his two predecessors – the founding and second emperors of the Song dynasty, Taizu (太祖), and Taizong (太宗) – and included in the Buddhist canon by imperial decree. The carving of wood blocks for printing the text began in 1009.

The *Jingde chuandeng lu* is a huge collection of biographies of individual Chan masters who were selected not on the basis any particular teachings or practices they engaged in, but by the fact that all were deemed heirs to the "mind dharma" passed down through the Chan lineage. The initial transmission of that dharma from the Buddha Śākyamuni to the monk Mahākāśyapa is described as follows:

> After he [Śākyamuni] had preached the dharma in the world for 49 years, he told his disciple Mahākāśyapa, "I entrust to you the pure dharma eye (*qingjing fayan* [清淨法眼]), the inconceivable mind of nirvāṇa (*niepan miaoxin* [涅槃妙心]), the subtle true dharma (*weimiao zhengfa* [微妙正法]), the real sign of which is its signlessness (*shixiang wuxiang* [實相無相]). You must protect and maintain it." He also commanded Ānanda to assist in the propagation [of the dharma] and not to let it be cut off. The Buddha further instructed Kāśyapa with a verse, saying:
>
> The dharma is at root a dharma with no dharma,
> But that no dharma dharma is yet the dharma.
> When I now transmit no dharma,
> Which dharmas could possibly be the dharma?
>
> Then, when the World-Honored One had finished reciting this verse, he further said to Kāśyapa, "I give to you this *saṃghāṭī* [monk's robe], sewn with gold thread. Transmit it in turn to the Buddha-to-be [Maitreya], and until Maitreya Buddha appears in the world do not let it be spoiled." Kāśyapa listened to these verses and worshiped the feet [of the Buddha] with his head, saying, "Well spoken, well spoken! I shall follow your command and respectfully comply with [you,] Buddha." Then the World-Honored One went to the city of Kuśinagara, where he told the various assemblies [of followers], "Now I have taken sick and wish to enter nirvāṇa." Thereupon he rested beneath a pair of *śāla* trees beside the river Hiraṇya, on his right side with one leg lying on the other, and quietly passed away. (T. 2076 [LI] 205b26)

According to this account, the Buddha Śākyamuni's very last act before entering nirvāṇa was to transmit his "inconceivable mind" – the "signless" dharma – to Mahākāśyapa, thereby founding the Chan Lineage.

Although Yang Yi and the other editors spoke in their preface to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* as if the Chan Lineage had evolved organically over the course of numerous generations of ancestral teachers following Mahākāśyapa, its overall scope and shape prior to the Song was actually determined by editorial decisions that they themselves made. That is to say, by deciding what biographies to include in the collection, what order to put them in, and what writings or sayings of the individual subjects to quote, they took all of the documentary materials received from the past and organized them into what, for the next nine centuries, was the ostensibly historical (but actually literary) entity known as the early Chan Lineage.

The biographies in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are arranged in the manner of a family tree, in genealogical order, with spiritual ancestors always treated before their descendants. Within each individual's biography, the Chan master from whom the subject inherited the dharma is named, as are his main dharma heirs, if any. A total of 1701 heirs to the Chan Lineage are named in the text, but only 951 of them are deemed important enough to be given

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An analysis of how the biographies are sequenced shows that the editors of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* adhered to two basic principles of genealogical organization: (1) that it is desirable for the biographies of dharma heirs to follow closely after the biographies of their teachers, and (2) that it is desirable for the biographies of "dharma brothers" (individuals who are heirs to the same teacher) to be grouped together. In the case of a diagrammed family tree, it is a relatively simple matter to adhere to both of those principles, but the individual biographies in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* must be strung together like beads on a single thread, so adherence to one of the principles means that the other will be sacrificed. In general, an effort is made to group the biographies generation by generation, in descending order, such that all the immediate heirs of a given Chan master, who are regarded as "dharma brothers," are lined up in the first generation, followed by all the "dharma cousins" in the second generation, the "dharma second cousins" in the third generation, and so on. However, that second principle of organization is only followed up to a point, for the *Jingde chuandeng lu* divides the Chan Lineage as a whole into major and minor branches, which are treated one at a time. Thus, when all the descendants in one line of descent have been treated, the next biography to appear in the text is one of a Chan master who flourished many generations earlier, at the head of a different branch of the lineage. Form-critical analysis suggests that some major "branchings" of the Chan Lineage depicted in the text may not reflect any historical reality about actual associations among bygone Chan masters, but may simply be a product of the editors' decision to honor a particular ancestral teacher by locating the biographies of all his dharma heirs ("sons" and "grandsons") immediately after his own; that is, to honor him by following the first principle of organization, at the expense of widely separating his biography from those of his dharma brothers.

The first four fascicles of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* depict a Chan family tree with a main trunk that extends from "seven buddhas" of *kalpas* past and present, the last of whom is Śākyamuni, through the "1st patriarch Mahākāśyapa", "2nd patriarch Ānanda," and so on, down to the "28th patriarch Bodhidharma", "29th patriarch Huike", "30th patriarch Sengcan", "31st patriarch Daoxin", "32nd patriarch Hongren", and "33rd patriarch Huineng". In later Chan texts, Bodhidharma is named as both the 28th patriarch in India and as the "primal ancestor" in China, whereas Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, and Huineng are identified as the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th "Chinese patriarchs" (*Zhonghua zu* [中華祖]), respectively.

The *Jingde chuandeng lu* recognizes various "collateral offshoots" in the generations leading up to Huineng, including: 22 descendants of the "24th patriarch, Venerable Siṃha"; three dharma heirs of the 28th patriarch Bodhidharma; 17 descendants of the 29th patriarch Huike; scores of descendants of the 31st patriarch Daoxin, all of them heirs in the Niutou (牛頭; Ox Head) line founded by Daoxin's disciple Farong (法融; 594–657 CE); and numerous descendants of the 32nd patriarch Hongren, including many in the Northern Lineage (*Beizong* [北宗]) founded by Hongren's disciple Shenxiu (神秀; 606?–706 CE), whose failure to be chosen as sixth patriarch is highlighted in the *Platform Sūtra*. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* makes it clear with its numbering of 33 patriarchs, nevertheless, that the main line (*zhengzong* [正宗]) of dharma transmission in the Chan Lineage led directly from Śākyamuni down to Huineng.

For the generations following Huineng, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* abandons the notion of a patriarchal succession that is limited to a single full-fledged dharma heir in each generation and shifts to a different model, wherein all sibling heirs are equal in legitimacy. The only indication given in the text about the high status of a given Chan master following Huineng is the aforementioned tactic of locating the biographies of his heirs immediately after his own, which makes him appear to be the founder of a branch lineage. From the standpoint of the compiler, editors, and readers of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, of course, the most important ancestral teachers were those through whom they traced their own lines of spiritual descent back to Bodhidharma and Śākyamuni. By the advent of the Song, it seems, all such claims of pedigree hinged on the figure of Huineng, for he is the only disciple of the 5th patriarch Hongren who is portrayed in the *Zutangji* and *Jingde chuandeng lu* as still having living descendants at the end of the Tang.

According to fascicle 5 of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Huineng had 43 dharma heirs. Later in the text (in the latter part of fascicle 13), however, it becomes clear that most of those heirs (including Shenhui, whom Zongmi had identified as 7th patriarch) are treated as "separate branchings" (*biechu* [別出]) that died out within six generations. Only two of Huineng's dharma heirs are depicted as providing vital links to future generations: Nanyue Huairang (南嶽懷讓; 677–744 CE) and Qingyuan Xingsi (青原行思; ?–740). Nanyue's main disciple was Mazu Daoyi, and Qingyuan's was Shitou Xiqian (石頭希遷; 700–791 CE). *Jingde chuandeng lu* fascicles 6 through much of 13 consist entirely of biographies of Nanyue's spiritual descendants, lined up generation by generation, from the first (his immediate dharma heirs, including Mazu) all the way down through the ninth. Fascicles 14 through 26, likewise, consist entirely of biographies of Qingyuan's descendants, arrayed generation by generation, from the first (his immediate dharma heirs, including Shitou) down through the eleventh.

Mazu is said to have had 37 dharma heirs. The two that are most celebrated in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are Nanquan Puyuan (南泉普願; 748–834 CE), who is credited with 17 dharma heirs of his own, and Baizhang Huaihai, who had 31 dharma heirs. Nanquan's most famous disciple is Zhaozhou Congshen (趙州從諗; 778–897 CE), who had 14 dharma heirs. Baizhang was the teacher of two key figures in the subsequent development of the lineage: Weishan Lingyou, with 42 dharma heirs, and Huangbo Xiyun (黃檗希運; ?–850 CE), with 12 dharma heirs. Weishan's leading disciple was Yangshan Huiji (仰山慧寂; 803–887 CE), who had 10 dharma heirs. Huangbo's most famous successor was Linji Yixuan, who was credited with 21 dharma heirs and revered in the Song as the founder of the dominant Linji Lineage (*Linjizong* [臨濟宗]).

Shitou, Mazu's counterpart in the major bifurcation of the Chan Lineage said to have taken place following the sixth patriarch Huineng, is credited with 21 dharma heirs. Among them, the two identified as most important in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are Yueshan Weiyan (藥山惟儼; 751–834 CE), with 10 dharma heirs, and Tianhuang Daowu (天皇道悟; 748–807 CE). Yueshan's most significant heirs were Dongshan Liangjie (洞山良价; 807–869 CE) in the second generation and the latter's disciple, Caoshan Benji (曹山本寂; 840–901 CE), in the third. Tianhuang had but one dharma heir, but he provided a key link in the lineage because he was the ancestor of Xuefeng Yicun (雪峰義存; 822–908 CE), who inherited his dharma three generations later. Xuefeng is said to have had 42 dharma heirs. Among them, the two most heralded are Yunmen Wenyan (雲門文偃; 864–949 CE) and Xuansha Shibei (玄沙師備; 835–908 CE), whose "grandson" dharma heir was Fayan Wenyi (法眼文益; 885–958 CE).

The last four fascicles of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are the only ones that do not consist of biographies of buddhas, patriarchs, and later members of the Chan Lineage. Fascicle 27 includes the biographies of ten "adepts of the *dhyāna* approach" (*chanmen dazhe* [禪門達者]) who, although they were not members of the Chan Lineage, were "famous in their day." The figures treated included Nanyue Huisi (南嶽慧思; 515–577 CE), Tiantai Zhiyi, and other prominent members of the Tiantai school. The fascicle appears to be a vestige of Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji*, which included the works of *dhyāna* masters who were not in Bodhidharma's lineage. Fascicle 28, which includes "sayings" (*yu* [語]) attributed to 12 eminent monks, is a precursor to the "discourse records" (*yulu* [語録]) genre, treated below. Fascicles 29 and 30 contain eulogies (*zan* [讚]), verses (*song* [頌]), *gāthās* (*jie* [偈]), poems (*shi* [詩]), inscriptions (*ming* [銘]), records (*ji* [記]), admonitions (*zhen* [箴]), and songs (*ke* [歌]), most attributed to members of the Chan Lineage. Those materials, too, are typical of miscellaneous writings that were later included in the discourse records of individual Chan masters.

The genealogical principles used in selecting and ordering the biographies that were included in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* clearly distinguished that text from large collections of "biographies of eminent monks", the well-known genre in which the biographies of individual monks were grouped according to their area of specialization in Buddhist practice (e.g. Vinaya experts, *sūtra* chanters, *dhyāna* practitioners, etc.). At the level of each individual entry, nevertheless, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* follows a pattern already established in the "biographies of eminent monks" genre, in which information is given about the subject's birth family, ordination, early training, successful attainment of some religious goal, career as a master in his own right, main disciples, death, and posthumous honors.

The *Jingde chuandeng lu*, however, also incorporates a new type of material that is scarcely found in the "biographies of eminent monks": numerous quasi-verbatim records of a Chan master's verbal exchanges – "questions and answers" (*wenda* [問答]) – with students and other interlocutors, both monk and lay. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* itself refers to such material as "words and phrases that served as timely interventions" (*jiyuan yuju* [機緣語句]). The idea is that the sayings or "devices" (*ji* [機]) of a Chan master respond appropriately to the mental

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"circumstances" (*yuan* [縁]) of a disciple, as evinced in the latter's question, in an attempt to bring him to awakening. In English language scholarship, this distinctive type of Chan literature is often referred to as "encounter dialogue," a term coined by J. McRae (1986) as a translation of *jiyuan wenda* (Jpn. *kien mondō* [機縁問答]), which was a label often used by the eminent historian of Chan, Yanagida Seizan. In the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, the "encounter dialogues" attributed to individul Chan masters are juxtaposed with standard biographical data, but they are discrete units of text – comparable to multi-colored jellybeans in a jar – that are fundamentally disconnected from each other and from the chronological narrative frame that holds them together. Like jellybeans, the order in which the dialogues appear could be switched around, and a few could be added or removed, without changing the overall appearance or meaning of the biography in any significant way.

The following excerpts from the *Jingde chuandeng lu* biography of Chan master Nanquan Puyuan (南泉普願; 748–835 CE) provide a good example of that structural feature:

> Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan of Chizhou was a native of Xinzheng in Zhengzhou. His family name was Wang. In the second year of the Zhide era (757 CE) of the Tang, he became a novice monk under the tutelage of Chan Master Dahui of the monastery on Mount Dawei. When he was 30 he went to the monastic center on Mount Song and received full ordination. Initially he studied the old texts of the Xiangbu Vinaya school, and investigated the Vinaya collections. Next he traveled about to various lecture sites. Thus he heard the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and *Avataṃsakasūtra* preached, and delved into the "Middle," "Hundred Gate," and "Contemplation" *śāstras* [i.e. the three treatises of the Sanlun school], becoming well versed in their profound meaning. Subsequently he sought the guidance of Daji (大寂; i.e. Mazu Daoyi), immediately "forgot the fish trap" [of conceptual thought], and was able to roam freely in *samādhi*.
>
> One day when he was serving rice gruel to the saṅgha, Great Master Mazu asked, "What's in the bucket?" The teacher [Nanquan] said, "The old guy should shut his mouth and not make such talk." The other monks in training with him dared not ask anything about it.
>
> In the 11th year of the Zhenyuan era (795 CE) he gave up the life of a wandering monk and went to Chiyang, where he built himself a *dhyāna* retreat on Mount Nanquan and did not come down for more than 30 years. At the beginning of the Dahe era (827–835 CE) the government inspector in Xuancheng, Lord Lu, was favorably disposed towards Nanquan's teaching style. Consequently, he and the army supervisor invited the teacher to come down from the mountain and extended their courtesy in a manner befitting disciples. Nanquan greatly promoted Buddhist teachings, and from that time his followers never numbered less than several hundred. Word spread far and wide, and he was regarded as an extraordinary teacher…
>
> On one occasion the teacher said, "Last night during the third watch Mañjuśrī (*Wenshu* [文殊]) and Samantabhadra (*Puxian* [普賢]; two bodhisattvas whose images were enshrined) each got 20 blows of my staff and left the cloister." Zhaozhou [a famous disciple of Nanquan] asked, "But Master, who was it that was instructed by your staff?" The teacher retorted, "Tell me, then, wherein does old teacher Wang's [i.e. "my"] mistake lie?" Zhaozhou made prostrations to the teacher and left…
>
> One day the teacher ascended to the [dharma] hall [to give a formal sermon], carrying his bowl [as if gathering alms]. The venerable Huangbo [Nanquan's dharma nephew] was occupying the first seat [the place of the most senior monk in the assembly]. When he saw the teacher, he did not rise. The teacher asked him, "Elder, for how many years have you been training in the way?" Huangbo replied, "Since the time of the Buddha Kongwang [the first buddha to appear in a previous *kalpa*]. The teacher said, "Then you still are no better than old teacher Wang's [i.e. "my"] grandchild…"
>
> The teacher saw a monk cutting wood. The teacher knocked on the wood three times. The monk put down his axe and returned to the saṅgha hall. The teacher returned to the dharma hall. After a long while he came out and went into the saṅgha hall, where he saw the same monk sitting [in meditation] beneath his robe and bowl [i.e. at his own place on the meditation platform]. The teacher said, "Cheating and murder." The monk asked, "When you returned to the abbot's quarters, what were you indicating?" The teacher said, "Last night at the third watch the ox was lost; this morning at dawn the fire was lost."
>
> Once the monks of the east and west halls [the administrative branch and the practice branches of the monastery] were both claiming a cat. The teacher heard about it and told the monks, "If you can speak, the cat will be saved. If you cannot speak, the cat will

> be cut in two." The monks had no response, so the teacher cut it in two. When Zhaozhou returned from outside [the monastery], the teacher told him the story of what had happened. Zhaozhou immediately took off his sandals, put them on top of his head, and left. The teacher said, "You came just now. If you had been here, you would have saved the cat..."
>
> The teacher then announced that he was ill. In the eighth year of the Dahe period (834 CE), during the fifth watch on the 25th day of the 12th month, he endured until dawn, then proclaimed to his disciples, "The stars have been blurring my vision and the lamplights creating illusions for a long time now; do not say that I have any going or coming." With these words, he passed away. He was 87 years of age, and had been a fully ordained monk for 58 seasons. In the spring of the following year he was enshrined in a stūpa. (T. 2076 [LI] 257b18–259b4)

Altogether, this biography of Nanquan contains about 40 ostensibly verbatim records of the teacher's noteworthy "encounter dialogues," framed by the opening, middle, and closing sections that give biographical data concering his birth, training, career, and death. Although the dialogues are loosely related to one another by virtue of the fact that they all feature Nanquan, they are written in such a way that they can stand alone as independent narratives: each provides its own context, introduces its protagonists, and relates from beginning to end what transpired between them. As noted above, the order in which the dialogues appear is essentially random, and the biographical frame is inherently flexible, meaning that dialogues could be added or removed without impeding its function. That fact affords us insight into how the dialogues came to be added to flame history biographies in the first place. It also explains the ease with which certain dialogues, such as "Nanquan's cat," were lifted out of flame histories and presented as independent "old cases" (*guze* [古則]) in *kōan* collections.

The thousands of encounter dialogues that appear in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* exhibit certain noteworthy literary features, such as witty repartee and use of indirect speech. The typical exchange may begin with a straightforward question from a disciple concerning Buddhist doctrine or practice, but it quickly jumps to the level of metaphor, allusion, and innuendo. The responses that Chan masters give often appear to be non sequiturs, and they are punctuated at times by equally enigmatic shouts, blows, and other dramatic gestures (e.g. Nanquan's halving of the cat). Their words are often disconcerting, sometimes because they seem iconoclastic, antinomian, or sacrilegious, and sometimes because they appear to be utterly mundane or trivial. Nevertheless, it is assumed in the literature that all heirs to the Chan Lineage speak and act with the immediate authority of the buddha mind, so all of their sayings and doings, no matter how irrational or odd they may seem at first glance, are framed as spontaneous and profound expressions of their awakened insight.

Another salient feature of Chan encounter dialogue modeled in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is its use of vernacular (or quasi-vernacular) language. The most widely read Buddhist texts in China prior to the rise of Chan were translations of Indian *sūtras* and *śāstras* that were laden with technical jargon, including many odd-sounding transliterations of Sanskrit terms. There were also scholastic commentaries that, while originally composed in Chinese, came across as stylistically inelegant and philosophically abstruse because they were struggling to deal with vocabulary, metaphors and syllogisms that had originated in Indian Buddhist literature. The success of the Chan school can be attributed, in part, to the fact that it portrayed its ancestors in the generations following Bodhidharma as buddhas (direct heirs to the "buddha mind") who were Chinese, whereas the buddhas and bodhisattvas celebrated in other forms of Buddhist literature were all foreigners from lands under "Western Skies," that is, India or Central Asia. Unlike Śākyamuni, who had a heavy foreign accent in translated *sūtras*, the "buddhas and ancestors'" of the Chan Lineage appear to speak in a natural, engaging, cultivated, and witty manner that resonated with the educated elites of China. They converse in colloquial Chinese and use down-to-earth metaphors to express Buddhist teachings, avoiding the literary language, highly technical vocabulary, and syllogistic style that characterizes many translated *sūtras* and *śāstras*. Their biographies, moreover, feature poems that express the insight they gained upon awakening, composed in good Chinese verse.

Encounter dialogues between masters and disciples in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are all meant to dramatize "transmission of mind by means of mind," and they often do so by depicting Chan masters using indirect speech and/or nonverbal gestures as devices for instructing and testing their followers. Thus, despite the traditional claim to a signless or immediate (unmediated) transmission of dharma, by defying comprehension at the literal level the dialogues actually invite the reader to engage in

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symbolic interpretation of the gestures and figures of speech that the protagonists employ. Sometimes what is symbolized, paradoxically, is the very futility of using symbols to convey the signless dharma. In numerous other cases, however, dialogues can only be rendered intelligible by interpretations that hinge on a knowledge of Mahāyāna *sūtra* and philosophical literature and standard Buddhist monastic procedures – the very "teachings" that the Chan Lineage is nominally independent of.

One final observation concerning the biographies of patriarchs and Chan masters included in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is that they were compiled and used in a manner that reflected widespread Chinese modes of mortuary ritual and ancestor worship. In general, biographical writing in medieval China was a phenomenon associated with death and funerals, when eulogies were composed, and with the memorializing of ancestral spirits. Those spirits were venerated as bygone founders of clans (*jia* [家]) and perpetuators of family lineages (*zong* [宗]); they were held up as moral exemplars to be emulated by their offspring in later generations; and they were treated as really existing, other-worldly beings who could be called upon to aid and protect their descendants in the realm of the living. On the anniversaries of the death days of important ancestors, their portraits or mortuary tablets were placed on an altar as a "seat for the spirit" (*lingzuo* [靈座]). Offerings of food and drink were made to nourish (*gongyang* [供養]) the spirits, their biographies were read aloud, and their wishes were sometimes ascertained through various means of divination. Such memorial rites were led by the male head of the clan, who represented the living in bowing before the ancestors.

Precisely the same style of worship was directed to the ancestral teachers (*zushi* [祖師]) whose biographies were included in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* and later flame history collections. They too were celebrated as the founders and perpetuators of various living branches of the Chan family tree. They too were held up as exemplary figures whose words and deeds set a standard for emulation by their dharma heirs in the lineage. And, as spirits who were believed to exist and interact with their living descendants, they too were offered nourishment and prayed to for help and protection. Their mortuary portraits (*dingxiang* [頂相]) and spirit tablets (*weipai* [位牌]) were enshrined on altars in the ancestors halls (*zutang* [祖堂]) or ancestral shrines (*citang* [祠堂]) of Chan monasteries. Those buildings were modeled after mausoleums for the imperial dynasty and other great clans, and the memorial services that were held there on the monthly and annual returns of their death days featured narrative eulogies and offerings of food and drink that, despite the Buddhist context, were scarcely distinguishable from any other Chinese ancestral rites. The flame history biographies of Chan masters thus perpetuated, in their basic structure and function, the ancient Chinese involvement in funerary practices. The incorporation of "encounter dialogues" and other sayings within the biographies can even be interpreted as a way of enabling the ancestors to speak for themselves, in much the same way that spirits of the dead are given voice by mediums and other forms of divination in Chinese memorial rites.

The *Zutangji*, mentioned above as a likely source for the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, is regarded by Yanagida Seizan as the first of the full-blown "flame histories," for several reasons. First, it organizes its 246 biographies of ancestral teachers along exactly the same lines as the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, beginning with the seven buddhas and 33 patriarchs, and it features the same two main lines of descent from the sixth patriarch Huineng: the heirs of Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi. Moreover, the *Zutangji* is rife with the style of "encounter dialogue" that is common in the traditional (Song and later) histories but rarely found in texts datable to the Tang, and it assigns "transmission verses" to the early patriarchs, just as does the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Yanagida was well aware that the existing text of the *Zutangji* in 20 fascicles, which was included in the printing of the Korean canon in 1245, was not identical with the original version of the text, which is said in the first preface to have been compiled in 952 CE. Nevertheless, he believed that the extant text is sufficiently similar in form and content to the original compilation to be regarded as a work that, on the whole, dates from the mid-10th century. If we could be certain that that was the case, then the *Zutangji* would be the oldest of what are defined herein as "traditional histories of the Chan Lineage."

However, Kinugawa Kenji (1998), Kim Tujin, J. Jorgensen (2005, 729–752), and other scholars have argued that the *Zutangji* as written in 952 CE consisted of but a single fascicle; that a much expanded 10 fascicle version was compiled early in the Song; and that the latter text was subsequently divided into 20 fascicles in order to facilitate its printing (by wood block) in conjunction with the Korean canon. The *Zutangji* as we now have it owes a great deal to Korean editors, and the biographies of a number of Korean monks were interpolated at the time of its printing in 1245, so the very features that mark the text as a traditional history could possibly have been added later, under the influence of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. In any case, the *Zutangji* was soon eclipsed by the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Although it was still known (by title, at least) in the 11th century to scholar monks such as Zhili (知禮; 960–1028) and Qisong (契嵩; 1007–1072), the text had been lost in China by the year 1103 (Yanagida, 1984b; 1594).

As time went on, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was reedited and reissued in editions that supplanted the one first printed in 1009 (Yanagida, 1984c). It was also summarized, copied, and supplemented, but never entirely replaced, by a number of later flame histories, including:

1. *Chuandeng yuying ji* (傳燈玉英集; Excellent Collection of the Transmission of the Flame; Yanagida, 1983b), compiled by Chengxiang Wangsui (丞相王隨; dates unknown) in 1034;
2. *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (天聖廣燈録; Tiansheng Era Record of the Spread of the Flame; ZZ 1553), completed by Li Zunxu (李遵勗; ?–1038) in 1036;
3. *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (傳法正宗記; Record of the Main Lineage of Dharma Transmission; T. 2078), compiled by Fori Qisong (佛日契嵩; 1007–1072) in 1061;
4. *Jianzhong jingguo xudeng lu* (建中靖國續燈録; Jianzhong Jingguo Era Record of the Continuation of the Flame; ZZ 1556), compiled by Foguo Weibo (佛國惟白; dates unknown) in 1101;
5. *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* (禪林僧寶傳; Biographies from the Saṅgha Treasure of the Chan Community; ZZ 1560), compiled by Juefan Huihong (覺範慧洪; 1071–1128) between 1119 and 1124;
6. *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* (宗門聯燈會要; Outline of the Linked Flames of Our School; ZZ 1557), compiled by Huiweng Wuming (晦翁悟明; dates unknown) in 1183;
7. *Jiatai pudeng lu* (嘉泰普燈録; Jiatai Era Record of the Pervasive Spread of the Flame; ZZ 1558), completed by Leian Zhengshou (雷菴正受; 1146–1208) around 1204;
8. *Wudeng huiyuan* (五燈會元; Collated Essentials of the Five Flame [Records]; ZZ 1565), compiled by Huiming (慧明; dates unknown) and Dachuan Puji (大川普濟; 1179–1253) in 1252; and
9. *Wujia zhengzong zan* (五家正宗贊; Eulogies for [Ancestors in] the Five Houses of the True Lineage; ZZ 1554 [78]), compiled by Xisou Shaotan (希叟紹曇; dates unknown) in 1254.

In general, these later compilations added the biographies of Chan masters who had flourished in generations following the publication of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, thereby updating its chart of the Chan Lineage. They also incorporated some older materials that the compiler and editors of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* had overlooked, and refined certain aspects of the Chan Lineage myth.

The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, for example, elaborated on the founding of the Chan Lineage in India by giving more quasi-historical details. It named the place where that occurred and depicted the face-to-face encounter that occasioned the Buddha's selection of Mahākāśyapa as his special dharma heir:

> When the Tathāgata was at Vulture Peak preaching the dharma, some devas made offerings of flowers. The World-Honored One held up a flower (*chi hua* [持華]) to instruct the assembly, and Kāśyapa smiled faintly (*wei xiao* [微笑]). The World-Honored One said, "I have the treasury of the true dharma eye (*zheng fayan zang* [正法眼藏]), the inconceivable mind of nirvāṇa, which I entrust to Mahākāśyapa. He should spread it and not allow it to be cut off in the future." (ZZ 1553 [LXXVIII] 428c2–5)

The point of the detail of "holding up a flower" was that the Buddha gave a wordless sermon that Mahākāśyapa understood and responded to in an equally wordless manner. The "true dharma eye" (*qingjing fayan* [清淨法眼]) mentioned here, a synonym of the "pure dharma eye" that appears in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* version of the story, is the eye of a buddha – an awakened being who sees things clearly and accurately. The "treasury" of the true dharma eye is a metaphor for the sum total of Buddha's ineffable wisdom, which takes precedence over the wisdom conveyed verbally in the scriptures that make up the Buddhist canon. A subsequent version of the story that appeared in *Zongmen liandeng huiyao*, compiled 150 years later, makes the point in an even more explicit manner:

> When the World-Honored One was at a gathering on Vulture Peak, he held up a flower (*nian hua* [拈花]) to instruct the assembly. Everyone in the assembly was dumbfounded except Kāśyapa, whose face broke into a faint smile. The World-Honored One said, "I have the treasury of the true dharma eye, the inconceivable mind of nirvāṇa, the real sign of which is its signlessness. This subtle dharma gate (*weimiao famen* [微妙法門]) does not rely on the written word (*bu li*

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[五家宗派]). The "five houses" that
history eventually settled on were:

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2. The Weiyang Lineage (*Weiya*
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   Huiji;
3. The Caodong Lineage (*Caodo*
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4. The Yunmen Lineage (*Yunm*
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5. The Fayan Lineage (*Fayan z*
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This was the full-blown story of the founding of the Chan Lineage that was henceforth accepted as orthodox.

By the middle of the Song, the idea had taken root among historians of the Chan lineage that the Tang and Five Dynasties periods had seen the flourishing of five houses of "branch lineages" (*wujia zongpai* [五家宗派]). The "five houses" that the traditional history eventually settled on were:

1. The Linji Lineage (*Linji zong* [臨濟宗]), founded by Linji Yixuan;
2. The Weiyang Lineage (*Weiyang zong* [潙仰宗]), which derived its name from its founder Weishan Lingyou and his disciple Yangshan Huiji;
3. The Caodong Lineage (*Caodong zong* [曹洞宗]), named after the sixth patriarch Huineng, the "Great Master of Caoxi" (*Caoxi dashi* [曹溪大師]), and Dongshan Liangjie, his dharma heir in the seventh generation (Yanagida, 2004, 7);
4. The Yunmen Lineage (*Yunmen zong* [雲門宗]), founded by Yunmen Wenyan; and
5. The Fayan Lineage (*Fayan zong* [法眼宗]), founded by Fayan Wenyi.

The oldest extant source to explicitly formulate this scheme of "five houses" is the *Rentian yanmu* (人天眼目; Eyes of Humans and Devas; T. 2006 [XLVIII] 333b21–22), published in 1188.

Because the work goes on to criticize several "false claims" made in this connection, it is evident that the make-up of the five houses was still a matter of dispute among historians at the time. By the end of the Song, however, the formulation promoted by the *Rentian yanmu* had become the unquestioned norm in the traditional history, and the category of "five houses" was used as a principle of organization in subsequent collections of historical documents. A text entitled *Wujia zhengzong zan* (五家正宗贊; Eulogies for [Ancestors in] the Five Houses of the Main Lineage; ZZ 1554), for example, was compiled by Xisou Shaotan (希叟紹曇; dates unknown) in 1254.

The last major branching of the Chan Lineage posited by Song historians was a division of the Linji Lineage into two offshoots stemming from Yangqi Fanghui (楊岐方會; 993–1046) and Huanglong Huinan (黃龍慧南; 1002–1069). These two lineages were added to the earlier grouping of five houses, thereby producing a list of "seven lineages". In the traditional histories, the slogan "five houses and seven lineages" (*wujia qizong* [五家七宗]) thus became a standard way of referring to all the branches of the Chan Lineage that stemmed from the sixth patriarch Huineng and still had living representatives at the start of the Song. By the end of the Song, however, all living Chan masters identifed themselves with either the Yangqi, Huanglung, or Caodong lineages. Those are also the lines through which all followers of the later respective Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese schools have traced their spiritual heritage from the Song down to the present.

The production of flame histories based on the Song and Yuan model continued unabated in later times, as followers of the Chan school added biographies of their own ancestors in more recent generations. Examples include:

1. *Xu chuandeng lu* (續傳燈録; Continued Record of the Transmission of the Flame; T. 2077), compiled in 1398;
2. *Chanzong zhengmo* (禪宗正脈; Main Bloodlines of the Chan Lineage; ZZ 1593), compiled around 1489;
3. *Wudeng yantong* (五燈嚴統; Rigorously Corrected Lineage of the Five Flames; ZZ 1568), published in 1654;
4. *Xudeng zhengtong* [續燈正統; Continued Flames of the True Succession; ZZ 1583), published in 1691; and
5. *Wudeng quanshu* (五燈全書; Complete Writings of the Five Flames; ZZ 1571), compiled in 1693.

Reasons for the Production of Chan Literature

Given the Chan school's claim to transmit the awakening of the Buddha from mind to mind (master to disciple) without relying on scriptures, a process that it compared to keeping the flame of a lamp alive by using it to light one or more other lamps, the production of any Chan texts at all might seem incongruous. It is a fact, however, that the Chan school churned out a body of literature that, over the course of many centuries, grew more massive by far than any of its frankly scholastic competitors – the Huayan (華嚴), Tiantai (天臺), and Lü (律) schools of Chinese Buddhism – that specialized in *sūtra* exegesis and Vinaya commentary. A number of reasons can be adduced for the prodigious output of Chan literature, but all of them are connected in a logical manner with the root mythology explained above.

To begin with, it is well to remember that "signless" (*wuxiang* [無相]) is itself a word: a signifier that works only within the medium of language. And the claim of the Chan school to transmit a signless, ineffable dharma is itself a narrative, the easy telling and comprehension of which was crucial to the successful formation of the school in the first place. Within that narrative, we have seen, even the Buddha Śākyamuni's public establishment of the Chan Lineage as a "separate transmission apart from the teachings" was depicted as a formal verbal declaration, at least after he got done with "holding up a flower" and noticing Mahākāśyapa's "faint smile." Both of those gestures, while ostensibly nonverbal, were themselves oft-repeated literary tropes that served to *symbolize* a wordless mind-to-mind communication. The Chan school's claim to "transmit mind by means of mind, without relying on the written word," in any case, was conveyed chiefly through the written word. What that slogan pointed to was not a rejection of literature in any literal sense, but an attitude of nonattachment to linguistic constructs even while employing them.

The literature of Chan, especially the "encounter dialogue" material, is deeply informed by the Madhyamaka doctrine of emptiness and its corrolary, the doctrine of two truths. These hold that "things" do not really have the properties of separate (clearly delineated), unitary, self-contained, and sustained existence that we assume in the process of naming them. From the standpoint of ultimate truth, therefore, all names and conceptual categories (including those employed in the Buddha's teachings) are false reifications. Nevertheless, at the level of conventional truth, those reifications function with varying degrees of effectiveness as practical tools for navigating the world, and language plays an indispensable role in formulating the doctrine of emptiness itself. Full comprehension of the latter results in liberation from deluded attachment to all the quasi-existent "things" that language posits, but it does not preclude the continued use of verbal teachings as skillful means for leading others to the same realization. This philosophical position helps account for the wordiness of the Chan tradition, which never ceased talking about (and signifying by literary and dramatic devices) what is wrong with words and other signs.

The outpouring of Chan literature in China, however, was also driven by a nexus of other, less philosophical, considerations. Chief among them were: political pressure to document the early lineage of patriarchs by compiling or manufacturing biographical data as historical evidence; the need to continually update the genealogical records by adding the biographies and recorded sayings of more recent generations of ancestral teachers; the worship and emulation of ancestral teachers, through memorial rites in which their spirits were nourished by offerings and the practice of selecting, reciting, and commenting on their most pithy sayings; and the habit of recording much of what living heirs to the Chan Lineage said in their capacities as monastery abbots, including public sermons and debates, semi-private instructions to disciples, and formal utterances (often in verse) made on all kinds of ritual occasions. Such recording was carried out by their disciples, in anticipation of their future enshrinement in both the physical and the literary "ancestor halls" of the Chan Lineage.

Because the mind dharma purportedly transmitted to China by Bodhidharma was said to be signless, there was in principle no way of demonstrating that a person had actually "inherited the dharma" from a bona fide member of the lineage, save by the keeping of quasi-genealogical records. The qualifications of monks belonging to other schools of Buddhism could readily be tested, either by verbal quizzing on points of doctrine or by demanding a demonstration of mastery of ritual procedures. Such tests, however, relied on the kinds of overt and verifiable "signs" (*xiang* [相]) of spiritual attainment that the Chan school explicitly disavowed in its foundational myth. If a monk who claimed to be an heir in the Chan Lineage refused to respond to a verbal query or perform a ritual, he could not (in theory) be discredited on that account. If, however, there were no written records that proved the monk's place in the lineage of Bodhidharma, no demonstration of knowledge or ability could suffice to prove that he was a genuine heir to the mind dharma.

From the start (in the 8th-cent. proto-histories), the claims that various groups of Chinese Buddhist monks made to represent a special Bodhidharma Lineage were advanced in the form of quasi-genealogical records that were modeled after collections of ancestral biographies kept by aristocratic clans (*zong* [宗]). Familial biographies were hagiographical in the sense that they glorified the founding patriarch (*zu* [祖]) of a clan and celebrated his heirs (all male) in succeeding generations, holding them up for emulation by living descendants and establishing them as objects of worship in ancestral rites performed on the anniversaries of

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their deaths. The genealogies compiled by Buddhist monks who presented themselves as dharma heirs in a spiritual "bloodline" (*xiemai* [血脈]) founded by Bodhidharma took a similar form, with a biography provided for each ancestral teacher in the main line of descent. The biographies were careful to document the direct interactions of masters and disciples in the lineage, and as time went on they increasingly included ostensibly verbatim records of short exchanges that had taken place between them. Just as one oil-burning lamp can only light the wick of another if the two are brought closely together, such personal contacts were deemed necessary for the mind-to-mind transmission of dharma to occur.

A factor that drove the initial compilation of Bodhidharma Lineage records in the Tang and continued to stimulate research and writing within the Chan school of the Song was the opposition of monks whose prestige and legitimacy were not based primarily on such genealogical claims, but rather on their mastery of Buddhist texts and practices. Those monks, labeled by their Chan opponents as followers of "teachings houses" (*jiaojia* [教家]), did not take kindly to the thrust of the Chan Lineage story, which implied that anyone not privy to the mind dharma (i.e. awakening) it supposedly conveyed was necessarily mired in a degraded, scripture-dependent, hearsay version of the subtle dharma originally taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni. "Teachings" monks could retort that the real ignoramuses were members of the Chan Lineage, but the latter were artfully shielded by the principle of "signlessness" from direct challenges to their knowledge of or competency in the teachings and practices of the Chinese Buddhist tradition at large. Nevertheless, the audacious claim that an exclusive line of masters and disciples had conveyed the Buddha's awakening down to the present in an unbroken series of "individual transmissions" (*danchuan* [單傳]) was open to criticism on the grounds of its dubious historicity, and opponents demanded documentary proof. Early proponents of the Bodhidharma Lineage thus found themselves in the ironic position of desperately searching the Buddhist canon for shreds of historical evidence that could be used to counter critics who argued that the story of the Buddha's separate transmission to Mahākāśyapa was apocryphal. The *Baolin zhuan*, cited above, adduced scriptural evidence (e.g. in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*) for its account of that event (Foulk, 1999, 227–230), and followers of the Chan school in the Song evidently forged a *sūtra* that appeared to document the Buddha's act of "holding up a flower": *Da fantianwang wenfo jueyi jing* (大梵天王問佛決疑經; *Sūtra* of the Great King of Brahma Heaven Asking the Buddha to Resolve His Doubts; ZZ 26, 27; Foulk, 1999a, 276–280). Such literary machinations reflect the fact that proponents of the Bodhidharma Lineage were always in competition with other elements within the Buddhist order for religious legitimacy, lay patronage, and control of monastic institutions.

During the Song and Yuan dynasties, the abbacies of many prestigious public (i.e. imperially sanctioned) Buddhist monasteries in China were restricted to monks who were recognized as living heirs in the Chan Lineage. That resulted in a demand for proof of pedigree that drove the ongoing compilation of Chan genealogical records. Earlier "flame histories" had to be periodically updated by supplementary collections that appended the biographies of subsequent generations of dharma heirs.

Moreover, the habit arose of recording much of what living heirs to the Chan Lineage said in their capacities as monastery abbots, including public sermons and debates, semi-private instructions to disciples, and formal utterances (often in verse) made on all kinds of ritual occasions. Such recording was carried out by their disciples, in anticipation of their future enshrinement in both the physical and the literary "ancestors halls" of the Chan Lineage. This too, contributed greatly to the continual expansion of the corpus of Chan literature, especially the genre of "discourse records."

Sometime in the Song, Chan masters began to give their disciples "inheritance certificates" (*sishu* [嗣書]) that traced their particular line of descent from Śakyamuni Buddha and served as proof of dharma transmission. In theory, such diplomas were only to be granted in recognition of the fact that a disciple had "seen the [buddha] nature" (*jianxing* [見性]), that is attained awakening (*kaiwu* [開悟]). As a practical matter, however, a disciple could not gain such validation without demonstrating his mastery of the literature of Chan: the sayings of the most celebrated ancestors in the lineage. The "sign" of a Chan master, in short, became the ability to comment spontaneously and incisively on famous "encounter dialogues," especially when called upon to do so in a ritual setting. As explained below, this led to the formation of *kōan* collections.

It is true that, in the Chan scheme of things, the words that come out of a buddha's mouth are ultimately inadequate expressions of the awakened mind that inspires them, regardless of what language they are voiced in. Nevertheless, the utterances of Śākyamuni had been recorded for posterity, forming as they did a vast canon of sacred literature. From the Chan school's point of view, the sayings of its native Chinese buddhas were worthy of the same treatment. Indeed, when the disciples of a Chan abbot recorded whatever he said in formal monastic settings, year after year, they were inspired in that practice by the precedent set by the Buddha's disciple Ānanda, who reported the contents of all the Blessed One's sermons, beginning with the attestation, "Thus have I heard. . . ." The expression "treasury of the true dharma eye", which in the myth of the founding of the Chan Lineage was used as a synonym for the "inconceivable mind of nirvāṇa," came to be understood as another name for a "Chan canon" (*Chanzang* [禪藏]) of sacred literature: a native Chinese analogue to the treasury of *sūtras* spoken by the Indian Buddha.

Discourse Records

Discourse records (*yulu* [語録]) are works that purport to "record" (*lu*) the "sayings" (*yu*) of ancestors in the Chan lineage in China. In contrast to the individual biographies found in flame history collections, which are restricted in length because they share space with hundreds of others, discourse records are basically stand-alone texts that are able to include far more teachings attributed to their subjects. Indeed, the works that bear this label often give the impression that they incorporate all the sermons, dialogues, and writings of the featured Chan master that were available to the compilers after his death. Some discourse records, accordingly, bear the title "extensive record" (*guanglu* [廣録]). Many discourse records contain some incidental biographical information about their subjects, such as details of their travels, but that is mainly due to the convention of identifying, in as much detail as possible, the particular locations where, and occasions on which, their words were spoken. The unstated premise of the genre is that the words attributed to a Chan master and his interlocutors were recorded verbatim by immediate disciples who were present at the time they were spoken, whether or not those disciples were the final compilers or editors of the work.

The large-scale production of discourse records was something that began in the Song, following a basic model that is evident in the last three fascicles of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Fascicle 28 of that work contains twelve texts that are identified as the "sayings" of the following Chan masters, presented separately from their biographies: National Teacher Nanyang Huizhong (南陽慧忠); Great Teacher Heze Shenhui (荷澤神會); Chan Master Daji [Mazu] Daoyi (大寂道一); Reverend Yueshan Weiyan (藥山惟儼); Reverend Dazhu Huihai (大珠慧海); National Teacher Dada Wuye (大達無業); Reverend Nanquan Puyuan (南泉普願); Reverend Zhaozhou Congshen (趙州從諗); Reverend Linji Yixuan (臨濟義玄); Great Teacher Xuansha Zongyi Shibei (玄沙宗一師備); Reverend Luohan Guichen (羅漢桂琛); and Chan Master Dafayan Wenyi (大法眼文益). It seems that the editors of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* were not treating these records of "sayings" simply as appendices to the biographies that appeared earlier, although the texts did serve that function, but also as a device for signalling the special importance in the formation of the Chan Lineage of the ancestral teachers who were featured. The sayings of Zhaozhou and Xuansha exhibit some signs of the "encounter dialogue" style of repartee, but the teachings of the other Chan masters are rather discursive and philosophical: using standard classical Chinese, they treat such matters as merit, expedient means, the buddhahood of insentient things, and the nature of Vimalakīrti's silence. The style and content of those teachings suggest that they originated in the Tang as written treatises, and that the editors of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* reframed them as the spoken words of abbots who had "ascended the [dharma] hall" (*shangtang* [上堂]) to engage an audience in public debate, or as "instructions to an assembly" (*shizhong* [示衆]) of monks. The editors attributed colloquial Chinese expressions, such as "what?" (*shimo* [什麼]) and "in such a way" (*renmo* [恁麼]), to the masters, bringing the debates more in line with the Song notion of what Chan "questions and answers" (*wenda* [問答]) should sound like. Some of the interlocutors are identified as "dharma masters" who specialize in *sūtra* exegesis, Vinaya masters, or "prelates" (*zuozhu* [座主]) of the Tiantai or Huayan schools, none of whom are sympathetic to the Chan approach. All are depicted as being confounded in their debates with the Chan masters.

As time went on, the "encounter dialogue" style of dramatic verbal and nonverbal expression became the norm for all ancestral teachers, past and present, and some of the figures honored with separate "sayings" in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* were supplied with more elaborate discourse records that better met those expectations:

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1. *Jiangxi mazu daoyi chashi yulu* (
   禪師語録; Discourse Record of
   Mazu Daoyi of Jiangxi; ZZ 1321; c
   trans. Iriya, 1984);
2. *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* (頓
   Treatise on the Essential Gat
   the Way via Sudden Awakening
   cal ed. and trans. Hirano, 1970;
   1972), attributed to Dazhu Huih
3. *Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan c*
   (池州南泉普願禪師語要; Essen
   Chan Master Puyuan of Nanqu
   ZZ 1315 [68] 69a10 ff.);
4. *Zhaozhou zhenji chanshi yulu*
   語録; Discourse Record of Cha
   of Zhaozhou; ZZ 1315 [68] 7
   ed. and trans. Akizuki, 1972; tr
   1978; Green, 1998);
5. *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chans*
   濟慧照禪師語録; Discourse
   Master Linji Huizhao of Zhe
   ZZ 1315 [68] 23a15 ff.; critica
   Akizuki, 1972a; trans. Watso
   2009); and
6. *Jinling Qingliangyuan Weny*
   (金陵清凉院文益禪師語録; T.

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1. *Pang jushi yulu* (龐居士
   Record of Layman Pang; ZZ
   and trans. Iriya, 1973; trans.
   Fraser, 1971);
2. *Hongzhou baizhangshan da*
   (洪州百丈山大智禪師語録;
   of Chan Master Dazhi of M
   Hongzhou; ZZ 1322; trans. Cl
3. *Weishan Lingyou chanshi y*
   師語録; Discourse Record
   Lingyou of Mount Wei; T. 19
4. *Huangboshan Duanji chans*
   (黄檗山斷際禪師傳心法要;
   Transmission of Mind by Ch
   of Mount Huangbo; T. 2012
   trans. Iriya, 1969; trans. Blofe
5. *Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji c*
   仰山慧寂禪師語錄; Discour
   Master Huiji of Mount Ya
   T. 1990);
6. *Ruizhou Dongshan Liangjie*
   洞山良价禪師語録; Discour
   Master Liangjie of Mount
   T. 1986B; trans. Powell, 1986

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); Reverend Yueshan Weiyan
rend Dazhu Huihai (大珠慧海);
Dada Wuye (大達無業); Reverend
(南泉普願); Reverend Zhaozhou
諗); Reverend Linji Yixuan (臨濟
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1. *Jiangxi mazu daoyi chashi yulu* (江西馬祖道一禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Mazu Daoyi of Jiangxi; ZZ 1321; critical ed. and trans. Iriya, 1984);
2. *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* (頓悟入道要門論; Treatise on the Essential Gate of Entering the Way via Sudden Awakening; ZZ 1223; critical ed. and trans. Hirano, 1970; trans. Blofeld, 1972), attributed to Dazhu Huihai;
3. *Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan chanshi yuyao* (池州南泉普願禪師語要; Essential Sayings of Chan Master Puyuan of Nanquan in Chizhou; ZZ 1315 [68] 69a10 ff.);
4. *Zhaozhou zhenji chanshi yulu* (趙州眞際禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Zhenji of Zhaozhou; ZZ 1315 [68] 76a10 ff.; critical ed. and trans. Akizuki, 1972; trans. Hoffmann, 1978; Green, 1998);
5. *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu* (鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou; T. 1985, ZZ 1315 [68] 23a15 ff.; critical ed. and trans. Akizuki, 1972a; trans. Watson, 1993; Sasaki, 2009); and
6. *Jinling Qingliangyuan Wenyi chanshi yulu* (金陵清凉院文益禪師語録; T. 1991).

Other ancestral teachers of the Tang and Five Dynasties who were deemed important in the Song eventually received similar discourse records:

1. *Pang jushi yulu* (龐居士語録; Discourse Record of Layman Pang; ZZ 1336; critical ed. and trans. Iriya, 1973; trans. Sasaki, Iriya & Fraser, 1971);
2. *Hongzhou baizhangshan dazhi chanshi yulu* (洪州百丈山大智禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Dazhi of Mount Baizhang in Hongzhou; ZZ 1322; trans. Cleary, 1978);
3. *Weishan Lingyou chanshi yulu* (潙山靈祐禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Lingyou of Mount Wei; T. 1989);
4. *Huangboshan Duanji chanshi chuanxin fayao* (黃檗山斷際禪師傳心法要; Essentials of the Transmission of Mind by Chan Master Duanji of Mount Huangbo; T. 2012A; critical ed. and trans. Iriya, 1969; trans. Blofeld, 1958);
5. *Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji chanshi yulu* (袁州仰山慧寂禪師語錄; Discourse Record of Chan Master Huiji of Mount Yang in Yuanzhou; T. 1990);
6. *Ruizhou Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu* 瑞州洞山良价禪師語録; Discourse Record of Chan Master Liangjie of Mount Dong in Ruizhou; T. 1986B; trans. Powell, 1986);
7. *Fuzhou Caoshan Benji chanshi yulu* (撫州曹山元證禪師語錄; Discourse Record of Chan Master Yuanzheng of Mount Cao in Fuzhou; T. 1987A); and
8. *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu* (雲門匡眞禪師廣錄; Extensive Records of Chan Master Kuangzhen of Yunmen; T. 1988; trans. App, 1994).

The compilation of these works, which took place in the Song and later, was essentially a historiographical undertaking, for it involved working with documents that had been handed down from the past and scanning them for sayings that were (or could be) plausibly attributed to the featured Chan master. In a few instances, it was the existence of a sizable body of interesting sayings that had helped make the master an important figure in the lineage in the first place; the records of Huangbo, Huihai, Layman Pang, and Yunmen are examples of this. In many cases, however, it was the place of a Chan master in the genealogical record, as established by the flame histories, that made him a key figure who needed a discourse record. Chan historians struggled to cobble together materials for Dongshan Liangjie, for example, and finally attributed an ancient text entitled *Baojing sanmei* (寶鏡三昧; Jewel Mirror *Samādhi*; T. 1986A [XLVII] 515a16 ff.) to him. Proper discourse records for him and Weishan Lingyu did not appear until the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

Whatever their provenance, full-blown discourse records of the figures whom modern scholars regard as giants of the "golden age" of Chan come down to us in editions that date from no earlier than the 12th century, and sometimes much later. Because the works were embellished with "encounter dialogue" material, and because they were organized along lines that reflected the ritual duties of abbots in the Song and Yuan, they cannot be used, uncritically, as reliable sources for the history of the Chan school in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. Some modern scholars, aware of those pitfalls, have worked to identify the few materials that can be judged with some certainty to predate the Song (e.g. Yanagida, 1984, 1985; App, 1994; Jia, 2006; Poceski, 2007).

The production of discourse records for eminent Chan masters who flourished in the eight or ten generations following the sixth patriarch Huineng gave Song historians of the Chan Lineage the idea that the six Chinese patriarchs (Bodhidharma through Huineng) should have suitable "sayings" of their own. For Huineng, that function was served by the *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* (六祖大師法寶壇經;

Dharma Jewel Platform *Sūtra* of the Great Master Sixth Patriarch; T. 2008; trans. Price, 1969) a text that comes down to us in a 1291 edition, but was known in the Song in an edition (now lost) by Qisong (契嵩; 1007–1072). The fifth patriarch Hongren was assigned a text entitled *Zuishangsheng lun* (最上乘論; Treatise on the Supreme Vehicle; T. 2011 [XLVIII] 377a15 ff.), and the third patriarch Sengcan was said to have authored the *Xinxin ming* (信心銘; Inscription on Faith in Mind; T. 2010). Bodhidharma was well known, from Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, to have authored a text that the *Jingde chuandeng lu* calls the *Dasheng rudao sixing* (大乘入道四行; [Two] Entrances to the Way and Four Practices of the Mahāyāna; T. 2076 [LI] 458b7 ff.; trans. Red Pine, 1987, 3–7). That text, however, summarizes the Mahāyāna approach to Buddhist practice in a rather conventional way that lends no support whatsoever to the later image, projected onto Bodhidharma, of a Chan master who "simply transmitted mind by means of mind." Thus, several texts that were products of the movement to redefine *dhyāna* that swept the world of Chinese Buddhism in the 7th and 8th centuries were attributed to Bodhidharma:

1. *Damo dashi wuxing lun* (達磨大師悟性論; Great Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Awakened Nature; T. 2009 [XLVIII] 370c11 ff.; ZZ 1219; trans. Red Pine, 1987, 47–75);
2. *Damo dashi poxiang lun* (達磨大師破相論; Great Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on Breaking Free of Signification; T. 2009 [XLVIII] 366c18 ff; ZZ 1220; trans. Red Pine, 1987, 77–113); and
3. *Anxin famen* (安心法門; Dharma Gate of Calming the Mind; T. 2009 [XLVIII] 370a29 ff.).

There is also a work that seems to have been custom-made as a discourse record for Bodhidharma, with plenty of "question and answer" exchanges on the topic of "transmitting mind by means of mind without setting up scriptures", namely the *Damo dashi* (達磨大師血脈論; Great Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on Bloodlines; T. 2009 [XLVIII] 373b12 ff.; X 1218; trans. Red Pine, 1987, 9–45).

Although followers of the Chan school in the Song and later regarded all these texts as the oldest and most revered of ancestral teachings, they scarcely fit the mold of the discourse record genre that was established at the time for Chan masters of the "golden age," that is, in the generations following Huineng.

The great majority of surviving discourse records, in any case, feature monks who flourished in the Song and Yuan. The *Taishō* edition of the Buddhist canon and the "Zen school section" of the *Dainippon zokuzōkyō* contain lengthy discourse records for more than 150 Chan masters from those times. Most are identified as dharma descendants of either Huanglong Huinan or Yangqi Fanghui, retrospectively honored as the founders of the two main branches of the Linji Lineage. In the latter half of the Song, the dharma heirs of Yuanwu Keqin (圜悟克勤; 1063–1135) and Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲; 1089–1163), two prominent figures in the Yangqi line, are especially well represented by discourse records. A number of records also exist for patriarchs in the Caodong lineage in the generations following Danxia Zichun (丹霞子淳; ?–1119) and Hongzhi Zhengjue (宏智正覺; 1091–1157). The production of discourse records of Chan masters continued unabated in China down through the Ming and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties.

The circumstances of the compilation of the discourse records of Song and Yuan masters are relatively transparent because the subjects were the abbots of major monasteries whose disciples carefully noted down whatever they said in a variety of formal and semi-formal ritual and pedagogical settings, over the course of many years. The disciples anticipated (or at least hoped) that their teachers would someday join the ranks of eminent ancestors for whom the existence of a discourse record was essential. The internal arrangement of most discourse records directly reflect the Song and Yuan monastic settings (e.g. the buildings and schedules of activities) in which the featured Chan masters flourished. As noted above, when dealing with the records of famous Tang ancestral teachers, Song and Yuan editors tended to organize them along those same lines, with the result that the works are filled with seemingly realistic details that, to the critical eye of a historian of Chinese Buddhist monastic institutions, are clearly anachronistic.

There is variation in the contents of individual discourse records, but certain conventions exist in the genre as a whole for categorizing the sayings and writings of Chan masters. The various headings under which their sayings are classified in discourse records include:

1. "Ascending the hall" (*shangtang* [上堂]). This signifies that the master, as abbot, was giving a formal public talk from the high lecture seat in a dharma hall (*fatang* [法堂]) at the time when he spoke the words that are recorded in the text. Sayings on the occasion of ascending the hall include

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discursive sermons, brief remarks, verses recited in conjunction with rites (e.g. prayers for the emperor), and dialogues in which the master engages members of the audience in apparently freewheeling questions and answers;

2. "Lesser convocations" (*xiaocan* [小參]) in the abbot's quarters (*fangzhang* [方丈]), where the abbot lectures disciples on matters of spiritual training and monastic discipline;
3. "Instructions to the assembly" (*shizhong* [示衆]), consisting of admonitions directed to all the monks in communal training in a monastery's saṅgha hall (*sengtang* [僧堂]);
4. "Instructions" (*shi* [示]) to individuals or small groups of monks, such as "instructions to the cook" (*shi dianzuo* [示典座]) or "instructions to Chan followers" (*shi chanzhe* [示禪者]);
5. "Critical examinations" (*kanbian* [勘辯/辨]), or dialogues in which Chan masters test the capacities of individual monks, such as new arrivals (*xindao* [新到]) at a monastery;
6. "General sermons" (*pushuo* [普說]), or informal talks intended to be accessible to general audiences that include lay people;
7. "Comments on old cases" (*jugu* [舉古], or *niangu* [拈古]). Old cases (*guze* [古則]) are brief anecdotes or dialogues excerpted from the biographies of ancestral teachers and treated as discrete expressions or encapsulations of their awakened minds. Chan masters who flourished in the Song and later frequently commented on old cases that they or their students "raised" (*ju* [舉]) or "held up" (*nian* [拈]) as topics for discussion in various formal settings;
8. "Dharma phrases" (*fayu* [法語]), or verses recited by an abbot in conjunction with monastic rituals (e.g. services for the emperor, the installment of a new abbot);
9. "Buddhist rites" (*foshi* [佛事]), or verses recited by an abbot in ritual contexts, often funeral services for eminent monks; and
10. "Records of activities" (*xinglu* [行録]). Biographical data, including anecdotes and dialogues, pertaining to a master's early career, travels away from his monastery, or interactions with disciples in informal monastery settings (e.g. sitting around a fire, working in the fields).

These classifications all pertain to teachings of Chan masters that were ostensibly delivered orally. In style they range from the lengthy and discursive to the brief and enigmatic, employing language that runs the gamut from the relatively formal and philosophical to slang and scatology. The unstated premise of the texts is that the sayings were recorded verbatim, perhaps by the abbot's acolytes (*shizhe* [侍者]) who were charged with transcribing formal talks in the dharma hall and abbot's quarters.

In addition to sayings, discourse records incorporate a variety of miscellaneous writings attributed to Chan masters, classified as follows:

1. "Verses" (*jiesong* [偈頌]) and "songs" (*gesong* [歌頌]). These designations cover a variety of short writings in formal verse style. Some treat miscellaneous themes (e.g. a master's illness, his appreciation of a landscape painting). Others, marked as having been presented to individual disciples or patrons, comment on the latter's character or insight. Still others, listed under the heading "verses on old cases" (*songgu* [頌古]), are written commentaries on selected *kōans*;
2. "Portrait eulogies" (*zhenzan* [眞贊]). The texts of "eulogies" (*zan* [贊]) that a Chan master inscribed on a "portrait" (*zhen* [眞]), the subjects of which include buddhas, bodhisattvas, arhats, various lesser deities, ancestral teachers in the Chan Lineage, and occasionally prominent lay persons. "Self eulogies" (*zizan* [自贊]) are eulogies inscribed by a master on his own portrait, as requested by disciples or patrons who commissioned those works;
3. "Letters" (*shu* [書]). A Chan master's personal correspondence with disciples, lay patrons, government officials, and so on;
4. "Last instructions" (*yijie* [遺誡]). A spiritual "will" composed by a Chan master before his death, containing admonitions for his dharma heirs in all subsequent generations; and
5. "Miscellaneous compositions (*zazhu* [雜著]). Writings left by a Chan master that do not fit any of the preceding categories (e.g. stūpa inscriptions, prefaces to other authors' texts).

From the 12th century on, the practice arose of gathering the discourse records of multiple Chan masters into larger collections. An early example is a work entitled *Gu zunsu yuyao* (古尊宿語要; Essential Sayings of Old Worthies; lost) in four fascicles, compiled by Sengting Shouze (僧挺守賾; dates unknown), a disciple of Zhu'an Shigui (竹庵士珪; 1083–1146), and published in 1144. Only the table of contents (*mulu* [目録]; ZZ 1316) survives, but it shows that the text contained the discourse records of some twenty ancestral teachers who lived from the Tang through the early Song. The *Xu Gu zunsu yuyao* (續古尊宿語要; Supplement to the Essential Sayings of Old Worthies; ZZ 1317) in six fascicles, compiled by Huishi Shiming (晦室師明; dates unknown) and published in 1238, contains the records of 82 additional Chan masters who flourished from the Tang down through the Song. Both collections were a source of material for the *Chongke Gu zunsu yulu* (重刻古尊宿語録; Reissue of Discourse Records of Old Worthies; ZZ 1315) in 48 fascicles, compiled in 1267 by Juexin (覺心; dates unknown), which contains 36 discourse records of eminent masters who lived from the 8th through the 13th centuries. These large collections are somewhat similar to the flame histories in that they contain the records of numerous ancestral teachers, but they are not intended to provide detailed biographical information or to map out all the branches in the Chan family tree. Their purpose, rather, is to assemble an "all star" cast of Chan masters.

Several other collections of discourse records seem to have been compiled to glorify one or another branch of the Chan Lineage:

1. *Huanglong sijia lu* (黃龍四家録; Records of Four Masters of Huanglong; ZZ 2–25–2), preface dated 1141, contains the records of Huanglong Huinan, his dharma heir Huitang Zuxin (晦堂祖心; 1025–1100), Huitang's heir Sixin Wuxin (死心悟新; 1043–1114), and Sixin's heir Chaozong Huifang (超宗慧方; 1173–1129);
2. *Ciming sijia lu* (慈明四家録; Records of the Four Masters of Ciming; nonextant), known from a surviving preface dated 1153 (ZZ 1338A), contained the discourse records of Shishuang Chuyuan (石霜楚圓; also known as Chan master Ciming [慈明禪師]; 986–1039), his dharma heir Yangqi Fanghui, Yangqi's heir Baiyun Shouduan (白雲守端; 1025–1072), and Baiyun's heir Wuzu Fayan (五祖法演; ?–1104); and
3. *Shijia yulu* (四家語録; Discourse Record of the Four House Masters; ZZ 1320 [69]) in six fascicles, also known as Mazu shijia yulu (馬祖四家語録; Discourse Record of the Four House Masters of Mazu), contains discourse records for Mazu Daoyi, his dharma heir Baizhang Huaihai, Baizhang's heir Huangbo Xiyun, and Huangbo's heir Linji Yixuan. The text survives in an edition published in 1607, but is mentioned by title in a 12th-century catalogue.

Kōan Collections

Beginning in the 10th century, when Chan abbots took the high seat on the Sumeru altar (*xumitan* [須彌壇]) in a dharma hall to instruct an assembly of monk and lay followers, a formal rite known as "ascending the hall", it became common practice for them to "raise"– that is, to quote in full, or just allude to – some pithy saying or enigmatic dialogue drawn from the ancestral sayings records as a topic for discussion. They would challenge anyone in the audience to comment on the dialogue in a way that demonstrated their understanding, and would comment themselves if others were unable to do so. Conversely, disciples and other members of such assemblies began to raise ancestral sayings as topics for Chan masters to explain and comment on. We know of these developments from sources such as the *Extensive Record of Chan Master Yunmen Kuangzhen* (App, 1994, 53–57) and the *Zutangji*, originally compiled in 952 CE. Dialogues of ancestral teachers that were repeatedly raised in dharma hall convocations and other instructional settings, thus becoming stock topics of commentary and debate, were called "ancient precedents" (*guze* [古則]). They also came to be referred to metaphorically as "court cases" (*gong'an* [公案]): literally, legal documents that sat on a "magistrate's" (*gong* [公]) "bench" (*an* [案]). The implication of that trope was that a Chan master had the power to sit in judgment on the sayings of his predecessors, or at least to judge other people's understanding of them.

The practice of "raising old cases" (*jugu* [舉古]), either as a way of eliciting a master's wisdom or testing a student's level of insight, gave rise to another major genre of Chan literature: the *kōan* (*gong'an* [公案]) collection. As noted above, many discourse records dating from the mid-11th century and later include sections entitled "verses on old cases" (*songgu* [頌古]). It was common for Chan masters to write verse comments (*song* [頌]) and prose evaluations (*pingchang* [評唱]) on "ancient precedents" that they found particularly interesting. Unlike the records of verbal remarks on *kōans*, the convention with written comments was to quote the topic dialogues in their entirety. This may indicate that the ancestral sayings selected for comment were not previously well known, or it may simply have been a device that enabled the reader to compare the topic cases and commentarial verses side by side and thus better appreciate the wit and subtlety of the latter. Whenever a number of cases with verses attached are grouped together in a discourse record it can be said that they constitute what we today would call a *kōan* collection, although it may not be clear who actually put the collection together – the Chan master featured or some later compiler of his writings. Nor is it clear from the discourse records just how such collections were used. They may have served

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examples include:

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2. *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* (禪門
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School; ZZ 1298);
3. *Chanlin leiju* (禪林類聚; Grou
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The "root cases" (*benze* [本則]) found in *kōan* collections are almost all dialogues extracted, more or less arbitrarily, from the flame history biographies and discourse records of this or that ancestral teacher. Although such collections are a kind of "critic's choice" of favorite cases selected by the compiler from the vast repetoire of Chan sayings records, with attached verse comments and prose evaluations that represent his own distinctive point of view, when they remain embedded in discourse records they do not stand out as an entirely separate genre of Chan literature.

There were, however, a number of *kōan* collections that circulated as self-contained publications, thereby gaining a wide readership and helping to establish the genre proper. An outstanding example is the *Wumen guan* (無門關; Gateless Barrier; T. 2005), a collection of 48 old cases selected by Wumen Huikai (無門慧開; 1183–1260), who added a prose evaluation and verse comment to each. Other examples include:

1. *Chanzong songgu lianzhu tongji* (禪宗頌古聯珠通集; Pearl String Collection of Verses on Old Cases from the Chan Lineage; ZZ 1295), in 40 fascicles;
2. *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* (禪門諸祖師偈頌; Verses by Ancestral Teachers of the Chan School; ZZ 1298);
3. *Chanlin leiju* (禪林類聚; Grouped Sayings from the Chan Tradition; ZZ 1299), in 20 facscicles; and
4. *Zongmen niangu huiji* (宗門拈古彙集; Collection of Comments on Old Cases from the [Chan] Lineage; ZZ 1296), in 45 fascicles.

Once certain *kōan* collections began to circulate as independent texts, a few of them became objects of an additional, secondary level of commentary added by another Chan master. The most famous example is the *Biyan lu* (碧巖錄; Blue Cliff Record; T. 2003; trans. Cleary, 2005), a collection of one hundred *kōans* with verse and prose comments by Xuedou Zhongxian (雪竇重顯; 980–1052) that was subsequently subjected to another layer of commentary (on both the root cases and Xuedou's remarks) by Yuanwu Keqin, resulting in a highly complex literary production. Other examples include:

1. *Wansong laoren pingchang Tiantongjue Heshang songgu Congrong an lu* (萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容録]; Congrong Hermitage Record: Old Man Wansong's Evaluations of Tiantong Xue's Verse Comments on Old Cases; T. 2004), commonly called the Congrong lu (從容録; Congrong Record; trans. Cleary, 1990);
2. *Foguo jijie lu* (佛果擊節録; Foguo's Commentarial Record; ZZ 1301); and
3. *Linquan laoren pingchang Touzi Qing heshang songgu konggu ji* (林泉老人評唱投子青和尚頌古空谷集; Empty Valley Collection: Old Man Linquan Evaluations of Master Touzi Qing's Verses on Old Cases; ZZ 1303), commonly called the Konggu ji (空谷集; Empty Valley Collection).

Even as *kōan* collections were emerging as a distinct literary genre, there was a backlash of sorts against what was perceived to be an overly intellectual tendency to merely play with the words of the ancestral teachers without grasping their true significance. A figure who later came to be emblematic of that reaction was Chan master Dahui Zonggao, a dharma heir of Yuanwu Keqin – the final author of the *Biyan lu*. Dahui was certainly not opposed to *kōan* collections, for he compiled a huge one of his own, entitled *Zhengfayan zhang* (正法眼藏; Treasury of the True Dharma Eye; X 1309). Completed in 1147, the work incorporated 661 cases drawn from the sayings records of ancestral teachers in all of the "five houses," with Dahui's prose evaluations and "capping phrases" (*zhuoyu* [著語]) attached. Nevertheless, Dahui is remembered as the father of what came to be called the "Chan of contemplating sayings" (*kanhua chan* [看話禪]), a form of meditation that entails continuosly "looking at" or "contemplating" (*kan* [看]) a particular "saying" (*huatou* [話頭]) attributed to an ancestral teacher, with the aim of freezing the mind, exhausting the discursive intellect, and breaking through it to a deeper level understanding. The sayings used were drawn from root cases found in *kōan* collections, but they were truncated in a way that discouraged the practitioner from thinking about the meaning of the case (dialogue between master and disciple) as a whole. Thus, for example, disciples were instructed to focus their attention exclusively on the single word *wu* (無; lit. does not have/does not exist) that was uttered by Chan master Zhaozhou when he was asked by a monk, "Does a dog have buddha nature, or not?" Because "*wu*" and similar sayings from root cases function somewhat like the punch line of a joke, bringing the listener up short, scholars have translated *huatou* as "keyword" or "critical phrase." Dahui and his followers taught that by focusing relentlessly on the *huatou* and not giving up even when utterly frustrated and blocked, one could penetrate the barrier of conceptual thinking and realize the awakened state of mind of the ancestral teacher who uttered the saying in the first place. At that point, an appropriate comment to the *kōan* it came from would spontaneously and effortlessly cross ones lips and be approved by one's teacher.

Dahui and his followers recommended "contemplating sayings" as a practice that could be pursued in the midst of any activities, but seem to have stressed seated *dhyāna* (*zuochan* [坐禪]) as an especially good setting for it. In any case, they critized a mode of seated *dhyāna* that did not make use of *kōans*: the so-called "Chan of silent illumination" (*mozhao chan* [默照禪]) that was taught by Dahui's contemporary and rival, Chan master Hongzhi Zhengjue. Silent illumination, as it is usually interpreted, entails quieting (*mo* [默]) the mind so that the innate buddha nature shines forth or is illuminated (*zhao* [照]). Because Dahui belonged to the Linji Lineage and Hongzhi was heir to the Caodong Lineage, the idea has long circulated (within both traditional monastic and modern academic circles) that Linji Chan makes use of *kōans* and Caodong Chan does not. In point of fact, Hongzhi and other members of the Caodong Lineage – most notably Dōgen (道元; 1200–1253), revered as the founder of Sōtō Zen in Japan – were actively engaged in commenting on old cases, using them to instruct and test their disciples, and compiling *kōan* collections of their own. Two *kōan* collections left by Hongzhi became the basis for works of full-blown secondary commentary similar in structure to Yuanwu's *Biyan lu*. The real difference between the Caodong approach and the Linji approach following Dahui was that the former continued to use *kōans* in a traditional manner, as sacred literature to be studied and commented on, and did not directly connect that activity with the practice of seated *dhyāna*. Linji masters also perpetuated those traditional modes of engagement with *kōan* literature, but in addition they embraced the novel use of truncated ancestral sayings as devices for focusing and calming (*zhi* [止]) the mind, especially in seated *dhyāna*, in support of the cultivation of insight (*guan* [觀]).

Other Traditional Histories

Most Chan literature produced in the Song, Yuan, and later belongs to one of the three main genres discussed above: flame histories, discourse records, and *kōan* collections. There are, however, a number of miscellaneous works that are not readily subsumed under any of those three classifications but may nevertheless be regarded as histories of the Chan Lineage.

One such work is the *Zongjing lu* (宗鏡録; Records that Mirror the Source; T. 2016) in 100 fascicles, completed in 961 CE by Yongming Yanshou (永明延壽; 904–975 CE). The work was inspired by Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji* (Broughton, 2009, 24–26), and it embraced Zongmi's vision of multiple lineages stemming from Bodhidharma. It also perpetuated Zongmi's view that the "mind dharma" vouchsafed from Śākyamuni to Bodhidharma through the line of ancestral teachers in India was not just the original "source" (*zong* [宗]) of the Chan records produced in China, but the source of the teachings found in the *sūtras*, as well. Like Zongmi, in short, Yanshou believed that the sayings of the Buddha Śākyamuni and those of the Chan ancestral teachers all flowed from what was essentially the same awakened mind, and thus could not be at odds in any fundamental way. Accordingly, in conjunction with the huge number of quotations in the *Zongjing lu* that Yanshou drew from "120 books of sayings of [Chan] ancestors," he also cited countless passages from "120 Mahāyāna *sūtras*" and "60 collections by learned monks" (T. 2016 [XLVIII] 924a14–16) to prove his points.

Other miscellaneous compositions that treat the history of the Chan Lineage include, for example:

1. *Linjianlu* (林間録; Record of Monastic Groves; ZZ 1624), preface dated 1107, compiled by Chan master Huihong Juefan (慧洪覺範; 1071–1128);
2. *Zuting shiyuan* (祖庭事苑; Chrestomathy from the Ancestors Hall; ZZ 1261), compiled by Muan Shanqing (睦菴善卿; dates unknown) in 1108 and published in 1154; and
3. *Rentian yanmu* (人天眼目; Eyes of Humans and Gods; T. 2006) compiled by Huiyan Zhizhao (晦巖智昭; dates unknown) in 1188.

In general, these are collections of Chan lore compiled by monks for their own individual purposes, which included teaching students and weighing in on controversial historiographical issues.

Proto-Histories of the Chan Lineage

Proto-histories may be divided into two types: (1) texts containing lineages of ancestral teachers that prefigure, in some way, the Chan Lineage scheme that became orthodox in the Song; and (2) texts that historians of the Chan Lineage from the Song down to the present have regarded as

source materials because they contain
data for monks who have traditionally b
members of the Chan Lineage.

Modern scholars (e.g. Yanagida,
1986), in their research on the origins a
ment of the Chan school in China, hav
early texts that represent attempts to f
eages of Bodhidharma, and even earli
may have inspired or provided mate
formulations. Their focus, in essence,
documents that are precursors to th
account of the Chan Lineage found in th
traditional history, the *Jingde chuande*

Among the various "*dhyāna* scri
cussed above) that appeared in Ch
through the 5th century CE, the *Dam*
jing, translated by Buddhabhadra (
states that:

> After the death of the Buddha,
> able Mahākāśyapa, Venerable Ān
> erable Madhyāntika, Venerable
> Venerable Upagupta, Venerable Vasu
> erable Saṃgharakṣa, Venerable Dhar
> so on down to Venerable Puṇyamitra
> of the dharma, took this lamp flame
> (*huideng* [慧燈]) and transmitted it i
> (T. 618 [XV] 301c6–10)

Because the text speaks of a "transm
flame" through a lineage of venerable
some of whom figure in the traditiona
Lineage, it is clearly a "proto-history,
ably the oldest one in existence.

A preface to the *Damoduoluo chan*
Lushan Yuan (廬山遠; Huiyuan of M
416 CE), moreover, is cited in the af
epitaph for the monk Faru, which na
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A proto-history entitled *Fu fazang*
(付法藏因緣傳; Record of the Trans
Dharma Collection; T. 2058), transla
posited a list of 23 Indian ancestors
sequently used to trace Bodhidh
back to the Buddha Śākyamuni. That
after Śākyamuni's entry into nirvā
collection was compiled by his di

be regarded as histories of the
the *Zongjing lu* (宗鏡録; Records
rce; T. 2016) in 100 fascicles, com-
Yongming Yanshou (永明延壽;
work was inspired by Zongmi's
ji (Broughton, 2009, 24–26), and
mi's vision of multiple lineages
dhidharma. It also perpetuated
the "mind dharma" vouchsafed
to Bodhidharma through the
achers in India was not just the
ong [宗]) of the Chan records
but the source of the teachings
, as well. Like Zongmi, in short,
hat the sayings of the Buddha
se of the Chan ancestral teach-
what was essentially the same
nd thus could not be at odds in
ay. Accordingly, in conjunction
er of quotations in the *Zongjing*
w from "120 books of sayings of
he also cited countless passages
na *sūtras*" and "60 collections
(T. 2016 [XLVIII] 924a14–16) to

ous compositions that treat the
Lineage include, for example:
録; Record of Monastic Groves;
ce dated 1107, compiled by Chan
ng Juefan (慧洪覺範; 1071–1128);
an (祖庭事苑; Chrestomathy
stors Hall; ZZ 1261), compiled by
ng (睦菴善卿; dates unknown)
blished in 1154; and
u (人天眼目; Eyes of Humans
. 2006) compiled by Huiyan
智昭; dates unknown) in 1188.
e collections of Chan lore com-
their own individual purposes,
ching students and weighing in
toriographical issues.

s of the Chan Lineage

y be divided into two types:
g lineages of ancestral teach-
n some way, the Chan Lineage
e orthodox in the Song; and
ians of the Chan Lineage from
the present have regarded as

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source materials because they contain biographical data for monks who have traditionally been deemed members of the Chan Lineage.

Modern scholars (e.g. Yanagida, 1967; McRae, 1986), in their research on the origins and development of the Chan school in China, have focused on early texts that represent attempts to formulate lineages of Bodhidharma, and even earlier ones that may have inspired or provided material for such formulations. Their focus, in essence, has been on documents that are precursors to the full-blown account of the Chan Lineage found in the archetypal traditional history, the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

Among the various "*dhyāna* scriptures" (discussed above) that appeared in Chinese down through the 5th century CE, the *Damoduoluo chan jing*, translated by Buddhabhadra (350–429 CE), states that:

> After the death of the Buddha, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, Venerable Ānanda, Venerable Madhyāntika, Venerable Śāṇavāsa, Venerable Upagupta, Venerable Vasumitra, Venerable Saṃgharakṣa, Venerable Dharmatrāta, and so on down to Venerable Puṇyamitra – all holders of the dharma, took this lamp flame of wisdom (*huideng* [慧燈]) and transmitted it in sequence. (T. 618 [XV] 301c6–10)

Because the text speaks of a "transmission of the flame" through a lineage of venerable Indian monks, some of whom figure in the traditional (Song) Chan Lineage, it is clearly a "proto-history," and is probably the oldest one in existence.

A preface to the *Damoduoluo chan jing* written by Lushan Yuan (廬山遠; Huiyuan of Mount Lu; 334–416 CE), moreover, is cited in the aforementioned epitaph for the monk Faru, which names him as the sixth in a line of ancestral teachers stemming from Bodhidharma. The followers of Faru may have gotten the idea of a "transmission from master to disciple in India essentially without scriptures" from the *Damoduoluo chan jing*, and may have tried to identify Bodhidharma (known to them Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan*) with the figure of Dharmatrāta.

A proto-history entitled *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* (付法藏因縁傳; Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Collection; T. 2058), translated in 472 CE, posited a list of 23 Indian ancestors that was subsequently used to trace Bodhidharma's lineage back to the Buddha Śākyamuni. That text tells how, after Śākyamuni's entry into nirvāṇa, his dharma collection was compiled by his disciples, led by Mahākāśyapa. It relates how Mahākāśyapa, before he died, entrusted the dharma collection to Ānanda, who in turn passed it on to Śaṇavāsa, and so on down through 23 generations, culminating with a monk named Siṃha. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* and its direct precursor, the *Baolin zhuan*, name Siṃha as number 24 in their list of 28 Indian patriarchs, a list that is obviously indebted to the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan*. That created a problem for proponents of Bodhidharma's lineage in the Tang and Song, however, for the latter text explicitly states that the "face to face transmission of the dharma was cut off" when Siṃha was beheaded during a suppression of Buddhism by an evil king of Kashmir (T. 2058 [L] 321c17–18).

The proto-histories of the Chan Lineage that have had the greatest impact on the modern field of Zen studies are manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang in early 20th century:

1. *Chuan fabao ji* (傳法寶紀; Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure; T. 2838), edited by Dufei (杜朏) sometime after 713 CE (critical ed. and trans. Yanagida, 1971; trans. McRae, 1986, 255–269);
2. *Lengqie shizi ji* (楞伽師資記; Record of Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra; T. 2837), written by Jingjue (淨覺) between 719 and 720 CE; critical ed. and trans. Yanagida, 1971; trans. Cleary, 1986, 19–78);
3. *Lidai fabao ji* (歷代法寶記; Record of the Dharma Jewel Through the Generations; T. 2075), composed shortly after 775 CE (critical ed. and trans. Yanagida, 1976a; trans. Adamek, 2007);
4. *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (菩提達摩南宗定是非論; Treatise Determining the Truth of Bodhidharma's Southern Lineage; Ma Junwu, 1970), written by Shenhui (for a summary of works by Shenhui, see Yampolsky, 1967, 24n67); and
5. *Nanzong dunjiao zuishangsheng mohe boruo boluomi jing liuzu Huineng dashi yu Shaozhou Dafansi shifa tanjing* (南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經; Great Perfection of Wisdom *Sūtra* of the Supreme Vehicle, which is the Sudden Teaching of the Southern Lineage: the *Platform Sūtra* of the Great Teacher Huineng, Sixth Patriarch, who Gave the Dharma at the Dafan Monastery in Shaozhou; T. 2007; critical ed. and trans. Nakagawa, 1976; trans. Yampolsky, 1967; Red Pine, 2006), written between 781 and 801 CE.

These works (summarized by Yampolsky, 1967, 5–46) shed much light on the competition to lay claim to the spiritual legacy Bodhidharma that took place among the various sodalities of *dhyāna* practitioners discussed by Zongmi. What is at stake in all of them is the question of who the legitimate heirs to Bodhidharma were in the one or two generations following the fifth patriarch Hongren. The *Chuan fabao ji*, *Lengqie shizi ji*, and *Lidai fabao ji* are prototypes of the flame history genre that flourished in the Song, for they line up the biographies of ancestral teachers in gemealogical order. The work by Shenhui, *Lidai fabao ji*, and *Platform Sūtra* are noteworthy because they posit lineages of Indian patriarchs based on the *Damoduoluo chan jing* and/or *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan*.

The *Baolin zhuan* in 10 fascicles, as mentioned above, is the proto-history (compiled in 801 CE) that provided the version of Bodhidharma's lineage (the 28 Indian and 6 Chinese patriarchs) that was adopted in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* and became an unchallenged orthodoxy thereafter. The text was suppressed and lost in China during the Song, and therefore known to early modern scholars only through brief citations and the appearance of its title in catalogues dating from the 9th century. However, in 1933, fascicles 1–5 and 8 were rediscovered in China and published in Japan. Study of the text indicates that it was produced by followers of the Hongzhou lineage of Mazu, which was one of the two main lines of descent from Huineng featured in the *Ancestor's Hall Collection* and *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

The *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, discussed in detail above, is but one of the texts by Zongmi that may be regarded as proto-histories of the Chan Lineage. Two others especially worthy of mention are:

1. *Yuanjuejing dashu chao* (圓覺經大疏鈔; Extracts from the Great Commentary on the Sūtra of Perfect Awakening; ZZ 245), written in 823 or 824 CE; and
2. *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* (中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖; Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Dhyāna Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China; ZZ 1225), written between 830 and 833 CE.

In his *Yuanjuejing dashu chao*, Zongmi claims that the "mind dharma" had been secretly transmitted from Siṃha to his heir Śaṇavāsa and on down to Bodhidharma, implying that what had been cut off when (as stated in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan*) Siṃha was killed was only the transmission of "*sūtras* and *śāstras*" (ZZ 245 [9] 532a8–9). His list of Indian ancestors was close to that posited in the *Lidai fabao ji*, not the one found in the *Baolin zhuan* and later taken up by the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Zongmi's *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* treats five lines of descent from Bodhidharma:

1. the Ox Head Lineage (*Niutouzong* [牛頭宗]);
2. the Northern Lineage (*Beizong* [北宗]) of Shenxiu;
3. the Southern Lineage (*Nanzong* [南宗]) of Huineng;
4. the Heze Lineage (*Hezezong* [荷澤宗]) of Shenhui, which he regards as the main line of descent from Huineng; and
5. the Hongzhou Lineage (*Hongzhouzong* [洪州宗]) of Mazu, which he describes as a collateral offshoot from Huineng.

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Biography and Hagiography

Epistolary Literature

According to our present knowledge, it was only in the 3rd century BCE, during Aśoka's reign, that writing began in India. Therefore, letters could not have been written earlier (von Hinüber, 2010, 266). Whereas no original Indian letter of Aśoka's time is extant, the scarce indications of official letters written by the Maurya administration were collected by O. von Hinüber, who refers to "covering letters" in connection with Aśoka's Rock and Pillar Edicts and written messages that were conveyed by *dūtas* (emissaries), following the example of Hellenistic kings (von Hinüber, 2010, 262–265). The purpose of these messages was to spread Aśoka's *dhammavijaya* (victory of the *dhamma*).

In the history of Indian literature, the genre *lekha* (letter, epistle) is not known, but letters are, for instance, found in dramas such as Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* (*Rākṣasa* and the Signet Ring; before 500 CE) in which a letter bearing a seal is intercepted. We read: "According to the right order: from somewhere somebody informs some high-ranking personality" (*MuRā.* 5.9–10; trans. von Hinüber, 2010, 261), showing that at least some regulations for official letters must have existed. Kauṭilya describes in the *Arthaśāstra* (2.10) how edicts (*śāsana*) and official documents (*lekha*) should be written, how different matters should be treated and formulated, and how they should be concluded by the word *iti* (in this manner, thus) and the subscript "These are the words of so and so."

Buddhist teachers and scholars used several literary forms to give moral and ethical advice in order to convey the Buddhist dharma. The *lekha* (Tib. *spring yig*) belongs to this didactic genre along with the *subhāṣita* (well-spoken words), *kathā* or *parikathā* (advice), and *nirdeśa* (instruction) and flourished from the 2nd to the 12th century in India and Tibet, where it was a convenient means for the dissemination of Buddhist teaching. Whereas only one letter, Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha* (Letter to a Disciple), is preserved in the original Sanskrit (Hahn, 1999, 54–130), 12 letters are transmitted in the *spring yig* section of the Tibetan Tanjur (see Dietz, 1984, 4–11). One of these letters, the *Suhṛllekha* (Letter to a Friend) by Nāgārjuna, was translated three times into Chinese: (1) by Guṇavarman (T. 1672; *Longshu pusa wei chantuojiawang shuofa yaoji* 龍樹菩薩為禪陀迦王説法要偈) in 431 CE, (2) by Saṅghavarman (T. 1673; *Quanfa zhuwang yaoji* 勸發諸王要偈) in 434 CE, and by Yijing (T. 1674; *Longshu pusa quanjiewang song* 龍樹菩薩勸誡王頌) in 673 CE, showing the high esteem in which this genre was held.

Since *lekha* (epistle) as a genre of Sanskrit literature was not known in India, the structure of epistles was by far not as formalized as that of governmental documents and official or business correspondence (Strauch, 2002). The *Śiṣyalekha* of Candragomin is significantly called a *dharmakāvya* (dharma poem) in the colophon, in which the term "dharma" may have the meaning of the Buddhist dharma as well as of virtue and morality, and was composed according to the literary theory and principles prevailing at Candragomin's time (Hahn, 1998, lxi–lxiv; Lienhard, 1984, 1–4, 45–52). Compared to other epistles, Candragomin's is unmatched in its application of the artistic, poetical features of the *kāvya* genre with regard to style as well as in terms of the expression of sentiment and ideas.

According to Greek and Latin rhetorical art (*ars dictaminis*), the prescript of a letter is divided into three parts: the salutation (*salutatio*), the naming of the sender (*intitulatio*), and the naming of the addressee (*inscriptio*). The prescript is followed by a tripartite introduction (*exordium* or *prooemium*) aiming at arousing attention (*attentum facere*), winning the benevolence of the addressee (*benevolum facere*), and inducing the desire to listen (*docile facere*). The final part of the letter is divided into conclusion and valediction (*vale dicere*; see Dietz, 1984, 101–113).

Although the structure of the Indian *lekha* is not as formalized as that of the Greek and Latin epistle, some of the above described components are found in the *lekha* too. The salutation consists of the praise of the Buddha and/or of the addressee. The name of the addressee is mentioned not only in the introductory verses of four epistles but also in the main text of two other epistles. The name of the sender appears in the introductory verses of only two *lekha*s and in two others in the final part. The reason or purpose of the letter is mentioned either in the introduction or, in one case, in the final part. The tripartite

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introduction occurs as a feature of the Buddhist epistle too. Similarly, the final part of the epistles has three divisions: emphasis on the usefulness of the instruction, advice to follow the instruction, and valediction. This structure shows that the *lekha* is used as a didactic means to convey Buddhist teaching, instruction, and personal advice by a sender in the position of a spiritual guide and teacher (*guru*). Whereas the beginning and end of Indian Buddhist letters show the abovementioned common features, the content of the instruction varies according to the addressees.

The 12 *lekha*s contained in the Tibetan Tanjur were written between the 2nd and 12th century CE. The earliest letters were translated during the first period of Tibetan translations in the 8th and 9th centuries.

*Suhṛllekha

The **Suhṛllekha* (Letter to a Friend; Tib. *Bshes pa'i phrin yig* [Friendly Letter]; see Warder, vol. II, 1974, ch. 879) by Nāgārjuna (2nd cent. CE), which consists of 123 stanzas in the *āryāgīti* meter, is the earliest epistle. According to the colophon, the *Suhṛllekha* was addressed by Nāgārjuna (Klu sgrub) to his friend King Śātavāhana (Bde spyod). The friendship of Nāgārjuna with Śātavāhana is well documented in Indian (e.g. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*; see Führer, 1909, 332) as well as in Chinese and Tibetan sources (see Dietz, 1983, 62). In Tibet the **Suhṛllekha* has enjoyed a widespread popularity since it was translated by Sarvajñadeva and Dpal brtsegs in the 8th or 9th century. This is evidenced by numerous quotations from and commentaries on it, and also by an early copy of the **Suhṛllekha* with interlinear commentaries from Mahāmati's *Vyaktapadāsuhṛllekhaṭīkā* (Commentary on the *Suhṛllekha* that Contains Clear Words) among the Dunhuang manuscripts (IOL Tib J 646; Dietz, 2012). The earliest quotations are found (preserved only in Tibetan) in Candrakīrti's *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (Commentary on [Āryadeva's] Four Hundred [Verses]; 7th cent.; see Lindtner, 1982, 218) and Jitāri's *Cittaratnaviśodhanakrama* (Gradual Course of Purification of the Mind Jewel; see table in Dietz, 1984, 531), but no Sanskrit quotations from the **Suhṛllekha* are available. According to Yijing's record of his travels in India, the **Suhṛllekha* was very popular in the 7th century as an intelligible, concise, and comprehensive summary of Buddhist doctrine and practice in India (Dietz, 1983, 62).

The **Suhṛllekha* nowhere refers to Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka philosophy and only occasionally refers to Mahāyāna (vv. 2, 8, and 115–123). The purpose is to teach a way to nirvāṇa and to salvation from the cycle of rebirth (saṃsāra). Nāgārjuna follows the standard Buddhist expositions closely. The most important Buddhist concepts are listed and explained according to canonical literature in verses 4–64 (Lindtner, 1982, 219–224), in a sermonizing and admonitory style, characterized by verbs in imperative or gerundive mode in order to request the observance of virtues and the avoidance of vices. In verses 65–103, seven evils of the cycle of rebirth are described. Here a narrative style prevails, and the evils of the hells are illustrated in frightful colors. In verses 104–114, the positive factors that are conducive to nirvāṇa are explained. The epistle concludes with verses 115–118, which consist of exhortation and advice, and with verses 119–123, in which the gradual attainment of nirvāṇa is presented as the result of obeying the aforementioned advice. In these concluding verses, the influence of Mahāyāna doctrine is clearly manifest. In verses 119–123, the rejoicing in the virtue (*puṇyānumodana*) of all beings and the dedication of one's own merit to other beings (*pariṇāmana*) are declared as necessary for the achievement of buddhahood. Before one attains nirvāṇa, one will be like the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara through the power of one's compassionate actions and will proceed to a buddha field and become a protector of the world like the buddha Amitābha.

*Mahārājakaniṣkalekha

The **Mahārājakaniṣkalekha* (Letter to the Great King Kaniṣka; Tib. *Rgyal po chen po Ka nis ka la springs pa'i 'phrin yig*; see Dietz, 1984, 37–45; Hahn, 1998, xxvii–xxxviii; Warder, 1974, chs. 900–902) was written by Mātṛceṭa (2nd cent. CE), a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna and, according to Yijing's record (Hartmann, 1987, 12–22), well known in India in the 7th century as the foremost composer of hymns (*stotra*). We do not have any Sanskrit version of the **Mahārājakaniṣkalekha*, which is believed to be Mātṛceṭa's last work. It comprises 85 stanzas and was translated into Tibetan by Vidyākaraprabha and Rin chen mchog and revised by Dpal brtsegs, all of whom worked at the time of King Khri srong lde'u btsan (755–795 CE; see below).

In verse 1, we read that Mātṛceṭa has to decline Kaniṣka's invitation because of his bad health and old age, and in verse 3, he declares the following: "I have largely taught what I have to teach" (trans.

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author). From this it appears that Mātṛceṭa was an old and wise man who wrote to the young ruler of the Kushana dynasty (v. 49). The style of the letter is very personal and simple. In contrast to Nāgārjuna, Mātṛceṭa avoids the technical terms of systematic Buddhist teaching. He expresses the Buddhist teaching in his own words and uses similes and other figures that make his message attractive and easy to understand. After the introductory verses 1–5, Mātṛceṭa advises Kaniṣka to avoid the three evils that lead to ruin: "Sense objects that arouse pleasure, youth-yielding pride, and action just as it pleases oneself" (vv. 6–8). The king and his ministers should accept the advice of wise men and hear the dharma (vv. 9–16). In verses 17–40, Mātṛceṭa encourages the young ruler to abide by the law. In verses 41–48, he asks the ruler to reestablish the tradition of ancient kings and seers, to protect the earth through the law, and to abdicate in old age in order to practice the holy dharma. In verse 49, he admonishes the king, who was born in the lineage of the Kushanas and educated according to the Buddhist dharma, to prevent the decline of the "religious system of the solar race [= Śākyamuni's line], the noble lineage." In verses 50–63, Mātṛceṭa expresses his main concern: the king should be aware that death can happen at any moment and that in death, his former actions will be his only companions. In verses 64–78, he requests the king to have compassion for animals and avoid killing them. In the concluding verses 79–85, Mātṛceṭa asks the king to accept his advice, if he thinks it is useful, and to lead a virtuous life in order to enjoy a long and blissful reign.

Śiṣyalekha

The *Śiṣyalekha* (Letter to a Disciple; Tib. *Slob ma la springs pa'i spring yig*) was written by Candragomin (5th cent. CE; see Dietz, 1984, 7–9, 31–37; Hahn, 1998, xxxix–lxxiv; Warder, 1977, §1286), a renowned grammarian and poet. He follows the example of his two predecessors with regard to the structure, but in his technique, he was influenced by contemporary Sanskrit poetry, as he artfully used alliteration, paronomasia, similes, metaphors, and various meters (see Hahn, 1998, liff.). The *Śiṣyalekha*, which is called in the colophon the *Śiṣyalekhanāmadharmakāvya* (The Dharma Poem Called Letter to a Disciple), is the only epistle preserved in Sanskrit and comprises 116 stanzas. There are parallels between the *Śiṣyalekha* and the **Suhṛllekha* (*ŚiL.* 35–40 = *SuL.* 91–97; *ŚiL.* 41–59 = *SuL.* 77–88; *ŚiL.* 78–81, 83 = *SuL.* 70–74, 99) and between the *Śiṣyalekha* and the **Mahārājakaniṣkalekha* (*ŚiL.* 66 = *MKL.* 56). The *Śiṣyalekha* was translated in Tibetan by the abovementioned Sarvajñadeva and Dpal brtsegs. In the Tibetan Tanjur, we find along with the translation of the *Śiṣyalekha* two commentaries: Vairocanarakṣita's **Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* and Prajñākaramati's **Śiṣyalekhavṛtti*. The name of the addressee is not mentioned in the letter, but it is found in the commentaries, where the related stories might be fictitious and influenced by the content of the letter. According to Vairocanarakṣita, Candragomin wrote this letter in order to prevent the enthronement of his disciple, the prince Ratnakīrti. According to Prajñākaramati, Candragomin tried to prevent the apostasy of one of his disciples, who had broken his monastic vows out of love for a princess.

The *Śiṣyalekha* begins with eight verses of praise to the Buddha (vv. 1–5), his dharma (vv. 6–7) and his saṅgha (v. 8). Stanzas 9–18 give instructions for the apostate from the Buddhist doctrine and describe the evil consequences of apostasy. Verses 19–93 discuss the right view of existence by describing the suffering of human existence (vv. 19–26), death (vv. 27–34), hungry ghosts (vv. 35–40), and the hells (vv. 41–59). Verses 60–77 explain that right conduct is necessary in human existence, the highest form of existence, in order not to undergo future unfavorable rebirths. Verses 68–72 describe the merits of ascetic life, and in verses 73–77, sensual pleasures are condemned. In verses 78–83, the suffering of the existence as a god is described, and in verses 84–90, the striving for worldly happiness is disapproved of. All forms of existence have been experienced more than a hundred times (vv. 91–93). Mahāyāna doctrines are dealt with in the final verses. The good man should work for the welfare of others in order to release them from saṃsāra (vv. 94–98). The highest bliss is to bear the suffering of others and to assure their happiness and prosperity (vv. 94–106). The epistle ends with exhortations, in imperative clauses, to follow the Buddha's teaching and give up sensual pleasures (vv. 107–112) and with the wish of the author that his letter be universally blissful and that everyone attain enlightenment through this teaching (vv. 113–116).

While the following epistles are influenced by the style and structure of these earlier letters, their content has changed in so far as specific and personal problems of the addressee are discussed.

*Āryāvalokiteśvarapreṣitabhikṣuprakāśakumāralekha

The *’Phags pa Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gis dge slong Rab gsal gzhon nu la springs pa’i phrin yig* (Letter Sent to the Monk Rab gsal gzhon nu by the Noble Avalokiteśvara; Dietz, 1984, 12–18; 132–141; Hahn, 1998, 197–199), a letter that comprises just 11 stanzas, was translated by Sarvajñadeva and Dpal brtsegs. It is the first *lekha* in the section *Spring yig* of the Tibetan Tanjur. In the prose introduction, we are told that Avalokiteśvara and the monk Rab gsal gzhon nu had taken the vow to strive for enlightenment. Avalokiteśvara informs Rab gsal gzhon nu that he has attained enlightenment and wants to help him realize liberation by virtue of the Mahāyāna doctrine for the welfare of all beings. He exhorts his friend to carefully listen to his words (vv. 1–3). The monk Rab gsal gzhon nu answers with a prayer to Avalokiteśvara, in which he asks for instruction (vv. 4–11). As can be seen from this précis, the relevant teaching of Avalokiteśvara is missing in this letter. Therefore, this letter might be a fragment of a longer letter, or it was meant as introduction to the *Spring yig* section.

*Duḥkhaviśeṣanirdeśa

The *Lho za mo Tshangs pa’i dbyangs la sdug bsngal brgyad kyi bye brag bstan pa* (Instruction on the Eight Kinds of Suffering for Lho za mo tshangs pa’i dbyangs; Dietz, 1984, 74–78, 340–357; Hahn, 1998, 199–299) was written by Kamalaśīla, a pupil of Śāntarakṣita (c. 723–787 CE; see Kollmar-Paulenz, 2006, 42). Kamalaśīla was invited to Tibet during the reign of Khri srong lde’u btsan (755–797 CE) and defended Indian Buddhism against Mahāyāna Hva Shang, a Chinese follower of the Chan school, during the famous debate at the Bsam yas Monastery in c. 792–794 CE. The addressee, Lho za mo Tshangs pa’i dbyangs, is not found in other sources, and it is unclear whether the addressee is male or female. Since no translators are mentioned in the letter, either in the beginning or in the colophon, this letter might have been originally written in Tibetan. The *Duḥkhaviśeṣanirdeśa* was included in the *Spring yig* section of the Derge and Cone Tanjur editions only. It is called *nirdeśa* (Tib. *bstan pa*; instruction) in its title, but while *nirdeśa* and *parikathā* are closely related in content with the genre of *lekha* (see Dietz, 1984, 93–101), they do not contain a personal address as the *Duḥkhaviśeṣanirdeśa* does. The letter must have been composed during Kamalaśīla’s stay in Tibet between the death of Śāntarakṣita (787 CE) and his own death in 795 CE.

After a short prose introduction in which the pupil asks for instruction on the characteristics of suffering in the cycle of rebirth, Kamalaśīla begins his instruction with the exhortation that his dharma teaching be heard (vv. 3–4). The description of each of the eight kinds of suffering (vv. 1, 7–25) ends with the refrain, “There is no possibility to bear this suffering.” In verse 26, the eight sufferings are identified with the five aggregates (that are the basis) of clinging (to existence [*upādānaskandha*]). The way out of the aforementioned sufferings is taught in the concluding verses (27–30).

*Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha

The *Rje ’bangs dang Bod btsun rnams la spring yig* (Letter to the Ruler, Subjects, and Nobility of Tibet; Dietz, 1984, 79–84, 358–399; Hahn, 1998, 200–202) was written by Buddhaguhya.

The Indian teacher Buddhaguhya was well versed in the *kriyātantras*, *caryātantras*, and *yogatantras*. After some years of teaching in Varanasi, he retreated to Mount Kailāsa in order to attain spiritual perfection. When messengers of King Khri srong lde’u btsan arrived inviting him to come to Tibet, he declined, because Mañjuśrī had prophesied that “[g]oing to Tibet will be the death of you” (1.9). Instead, he wrote this epistle, which may be dated between 780 and 790 CE (Dietz, 1984, 81). The *Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha* consists of four letters that are addressed to the king himself, to his ministers, to the clergy in retreat (*sgom chen*), and to the lower clergy (*spyi’i bande*). A letter with instruction for the common people (*’bangs*) is not included. This epistle is most remarkable for its allusions to the history of the Yarlung dynasty, to which Khri srong lde’u btsan belongs, and for its description of the development of Buddhism in Tibet (Snellgrove, 1987, 446–449). We read about the lineage of the Yarlung rulers and their various efforts to promote Buddhism. In this context (v. 1.1), “the unbroken lineage with Srong btsan sgam po (618?–649), the embodiment of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara” is mentioned. From this as well as from the prophecy that Khri srong lde’u btsan’s great-grandsons will destroy the Tibetan kingdom, one might assume that this part of the *Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha* was updated at a later time. The king is asked to build mo
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best of all vehicles (2.17). While th
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*Sārasaṃgrahalekha

The *Gces pa bsdus pa’i phrin yig*
Dpal dbyangs kyis Bod rje ’bang
(**Mahābhadantaśrīghoṣapreṣitab*
rasaṃgrahalekha; Letter that Summ
[of the Dharma] and Was Sent by
Ruler and Subjects of Tibet; see D
400–529; Hahn, 1998, 202–204) wa
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The *Sārasaṃgrahalekha* might ha
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The colophon mentions that th
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The *Sārasaṃgrahalkha* shows
characteristic that was adopted
thereafter. To wit, the truth of
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1984, 331–332). The general instru
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16 moral duties (Tib. *mi chos*), the
gious conduct (Tib. *chos spyod*
the ten moral perfections (Tib. *ph*
Skt. *pāramitā*) is followed by the i
king, which consists of excerpts
**Mahārājakaniṣkalekha* (21 verses
**Suhṛllekha* (11 verses) and *Ratnā*
Jewels; 9 verses). The importanc
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from Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatā*
Bodhisattva Path; 84 verses). Th

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salekha

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time. The king is asked to build monasteries, stūpas, and palaces (2.12) and to accept the Vajrayāna as the best of all vehicles (2.17). While the instruction for the ministers consists in the exhortation for correct political and ethical behavior (3.1–14), instructions for the clergy are concerned with the Buddhist doctrine (4.1–6; 5.1–20). The letter is written in verse in an elegant style with many archaic words. The *Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha* might have been written in Tibetan as well, since no translators are mentioned.

*Sārasaṃgrahalekha

The *Gces pa bsdus pa'i phrin yig btsun pa chen po Dpal dbyangs kyis Bod rje 'bangs la brdzangs pa* (**Mahābhadantaśrīghoṣapreṣitabhoṭasvāmidāsasārasaṃgrahalekha*; Letter that Summarizes the Essence [of the Dharma] and Was Sent by Dpal byangs to the Ruler and Subjects of Tibet; see Dietz, 1984, 85–90, 400–529; Hahn, 1998, 202–204) was written by Dpal dbyangs, who is one of the *sad mi* – the seven Tibetans who were ordained by Śāntarakṣita in the Bsam yas Monastery in 779 CE. Although no historical events are mentioned in the letter, an exact classification of social strata is given (1.20), and details of jurisdiction and monastic administration are described (4.1.13–14; 3.1.5). The then powerful *svastika* doctrine of the Bön religion is mentioned (3.1.5). The *Sārasaṃgrahalekha* might have been written in Tibetan between 779 and 788 CE (Dietz, 1984, 87). The colophon mentions that the instructions by Dpal byangs were combined with those of former teachers, but no translators' names are given.

The *Sārasaṃgrahalkha* shows one new stylistic characteristic that was adopted in most epistles thereafter. To wit, the truth of every instruction given is confirmed by quotations from Buddha's discourses or from other authoritative works (Dietz, 1984, 331–332). The general instruction on the ten righteous actions (Tib. *dge ba bcu*; Skt. *kuśala*), the 16 moral duties (Tib. *mi chos*), the ten kinds of religious conduct (Tib. *chos spyod rnam pa bcu*), and the ten moral perfections (Tib. *pha rol tu phyin pa*; Skt. *pāramitā*) is followed by the instruction for the king, which consists of excerpts from Mātṛceṭa's **Mahārājakaniṣkalekha* (21 verses) and Nāgārjuna's **Suhṛllekha* (11 verses) and *Ratnāvalī* (Necklace of Jewels; 9 verses). The importance of the general instruction for the common people, the ministers, and the saṅgha is confirmed by a long extract from Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Entering the Bodhisattva Path; 84 verses). The epistle is concluded with a quotation of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* (22 verses).

*Cittaratnaviśodhanakrama

The **Cittaratnaviśodhanakrama* (Gradual Course of Purification of the Mind Jewel; Dietz, 1984, 45–52, 142–213; Hahn, 1998, 204–205) was written by Jitāri. This epistle is an important specimen of epistolary literature because of its fundamental and exemplary treatment of its subject matter – to wit, the purification of the mind from all defilements. The author Jitāri (10th/11th cent.) is known as a teacher of Atiśa and as a Buddhist philosopher teaching at the Buddhist university of Nālandā (see Dietz, 1984, 45nn106–108, 45f.). The addressee seems to have been a king, because the address is *sa bdag, mi skyong, mi dbang, mi rje, mi bdag* (ruler of the earth, protector of men, king, lord, ruler of men). The purpose of the epistle is the purification of the mind jewel that is radiant by nature, an idea related to the *tathāgatagarbha* or *dharmadhātu* doctrine. The teaching on the gradual purification from erroneous notions is corroborated by quotations from relevant canonical and post-canonical works in prose and verses. In chapter 6, some prevalent erroneous views regarding the own being (*svabhāva*) and momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*) and their purification are treated. In chapter 7, the purification by means of constructing a *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍalavidhi*) is taught. This chapter is transmitted separately in the Tanjur (P 4582/D 3763) under the title *Maṇḍala gyi choga* (Skt. *Maṇḍalavidhi*). In the Tibetan tradition of the literature on *blo sbyong* (the purification of mind), this epistle is considered an authentic and substantial link between the Indian and Tibetan traditions (Roesler, 2011, 23–24). The **Cittaratnaviśodhanakrama* was translated by the Indian Ācārya Dulopa and the Tibetan Lotsāba Chos kyi shes rab (11th cent.; Dietz, 1984, 119–120).

*Vimalaratnalekha

The **Vimalaratnalekha* (Letter Consisting of Flawless Jewels; Dietz, 1984, 65–67, 302–319; Hahn, 1998, 207–208) was written by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, better known under his honorific name Atiśa (982–1054 CE). He wrote his letter to King Nayapāla (Tib. Niryapāla [see Dietz, 1984, 303n1]; 1038–1055 CE) when he was about to leave for Tibet in 1040 CE. He explains his purpose: "Although many wise men have explained (these teachings), I have written them down again in order to end your suffering, o king" (v. 39; trans. by author). Apart from verses 1–3 and 39–40, which are typical for the *lekha* genre, the other verses (4–38) are identical with Atiśa's **Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* (Jewel Necklace for the Bodhisattva; Eimer, 1981). In these short didactic verses, no structural principle is discernible. Elementary religious and moral instructions are given in which the verb modes imperative and necessitative prevail. The advice that one should recognize the contrasting teachings of (1) exceptional people, of (2) those who have religious insight, and of (3) those who are beginners (v. 13) is reminiscent of Atiśa's **Bodhipathapradīpa* (Lamp on the Path to Enlightenment) with its classification of three kinds of persons – the lower, middle, and the best (i.e. bodhisattva). The **Vimalaratnalekha* was translated by Atiśa himself together with Lotsāba Tshul khrims rgyal ba (Dietz, 1984, 121–122).

**Gurulekha*

The **Gurulekha* (Letter to the Spiritual Teacher; see Dietz, 1984, 53–60, 214–271: Hahn, 1998, 205–206) was written by the monk *Āraṇyaka (Dgon pa pa; see Chandra, vol. I, 1971, 427) and seems to be a student's exercise. Chapters 1–3, which teach the removal of passion, craving, and carelessness, are quoted from chapters 2–4 of the *Udānavarga* (Solemn Utterances [of the Buddha]). Chapter 4, on the removal of defilements, consists of admonitions to avoid a list of defilements, which are well-known from similar Buddhist lists. This epistle was translated by the Indian Ācārya Vinayacandra and the Tibetan Lotsāba Chos kyi shes rab (11th cent.).

**Putralekha*

The **Putralekha* (Letter to the Son; see Dietz, 1984, 61–65; 272–301; Hahn, 1998, 206–207) was a letter written by Sajjana (11th cent.) to his son Mahājana (Skye bo chen po), who abandoned his parents in order to "wander alone in the darkness at the border of a barbarian country" (v. 0.2). Sajjana "sends his precious letter, which is taken from the island of 'well-spoken words' (*subhāṣita*)" (v. 0.3; trans. by author), in order to caution his son against the dangers of sensual pleasures, possessions, women, and alcohol. He recounts the fate of persons who neglected these warnings from the well-known Buddhist *jātakas* and the *Mahābhārata*, among others. These exempla are not exact quotations but are transformed according to their specific purpose. Thus, chapter 4, on avoiding alcohol, is a rearrangement of Āryaśūra's **Kumbhajātaka* (Legend of the Jar; see Hanisch, 2002). The letter ends with the wish that all beings might attain omniscience by this teaching. It was translated by Mahājana, Sajjana's father, together with the Tibetan Lotsāba Marpa Chos kyi dbang phyug (11th/12th cent.; see Dietz, 1984, 120–121).

**Candrarājalekhaka*

The **Candrarājalekhaka* (Letter to King Candra; see Roerich, 1949–1953, 1031–1033; Dietz, 1984, 68–74, 320–339; Hahn, 1998, 208–209) was written by Mitrayogin (12th/13th cent.). The addressee, King Candra, might be the Gahadavala ruler Jayacandra who was defeated by the Muslims in 1193 CE. The purpose of the letter, which consists of 50 stanzas, is "the instruction on that what is right" (vv. 2, 50). The instruction consists of a warning against earthly possessions, quarrel, passion, and hatred (vv. 3–10) and against transitory happiness (11–25) and of a lecture on saṃsāra (vv. 26–36) and heretical views (vv. 37–45). Although the letter continues the tradition of Nāgārjuna's **Suhṛllekha*, it does not contain any Buddhist *termini technici*. Seemingly, the **Candrarājalekhaka* is a very personal letter of a Buddhist master to his lay disciple. The letter was translated by Mitrayogin himself together with the Tibetan Lotsāba Tshul khrims shes rab.

The tradition of writing epistles of instruction and admonition to spiritual friends and kings is also known in Pali literature, in which such works are called *paṇṇa* (von Hinüber, 2000, §§ 438–553).

Saddhammopāyana

Saddhammopāyana (Gift Offering of the True *Dhamma*; see von Hinüber, 2000, §§ 438–440; Morris, 1887; Hazlewood, 1988) was written by Mahāthera Ānanda (n.d.) and contains a survey of the Buddhist teachings and lay ethics in 621 verses divided into 19 sections. Its structure follows that of the Sanskrit *lekhas*. It was sent to a *piyasabrahmacārī* ("dear fellow monk") named Buddhasoma (v. 3), and the first three verses contain a praise of the Buddha and the addressee's name. The *Saddhammopāyana* deals with the unfavorable births (vv. 4–52), the

dangers of evil deeds (vv. 53–96),
the *preta* world (vv. 97–128), the suff
(vv. 129–175), evil (vv. 176–210), and th
meritorious action (vv. 211–450). Not
verses about the cultivation of the
vv. 451–496), transference of meri
in others people's merit (vv. 497–5
teaching, listening, paying homag
vice, taking refuge, mindfulness, a
(vv. 517–615). The final six verses a
conclusion and valediction, frami
Ānanda's wish that this teaching of
beneficial to all beings.

Mahānāgakulasandesa

Mahānāgakulasandesa (Snh. *Mānā*
Message [Sent] from [the City] Mah
von Hinüber, 2000, § 441; Barnett, 19
by Mahāthera Nāgasena. This lette
(vv. 56–57) to a lost letter by the Burm
Kassapa sent from Arimaddanapura
Burma. Only the beginning of this le
62 verses in a very ornate style, is av
poetical description of the medieval S
Mahānāgakula (vv. 1–10; present-day
pura) and a praise of Nāgasena's virt
follows a description of Arimaddanap
and praise of the addressee, Mahāthe
45–52). The concluding part consists
tion of the addressee (vv. 53–57). In
(vv. 58–62), historical events are reco
ing the reforms of the saṅgha by Par
On account of this fact, the *Mahānā*
can be dated to the 13th century.

Sandesakathā

Sandesakathā (see von Hinüber,
Minayeff, 1885) was written by Ñāṇā
letter differs with respect to style and
all other letters, because after three v
of Mahākāruṇika ("The Great Comp
the beginning, the main part of the
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and it was written in 1801 "to testify
tion of three Sāmaṇeras and a layman
(von Hinüber, 2000, 204). Several a
documents and the controversy su
ekaṃsikagaṇa ("the group that cove
der"; von Hinüber, 1995, 39) are referr

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in a praise of the Buddha
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able births (vv. 4–52), the

dangers of evil deeds (vv. 53–96), the suffering in the *preta* world (vv. 97–128), the suffering of animals (vv. 129–175), evil (vv. 176–210), and the advantages of meritorious action (vv. 211–450). Noteworthy are the verses about the cultivation of the mind (*bhāvanā*; vv. 451–496), transference of merit and rejoicing in others people's merit (vv. 497–516), instructive teaching, listening, paying homage, humble service, taking refuge, mindfulness, and heedfulness (vv. 517–615). The final six verses are divided into conclusion and valediction, framing Mahāthera Ānanda's wish that this teaching of the *dhamma* be beneficial to all beings.

Mahānāgakulasandesa

Mahānāgakulasandesa (Snh. *Mānāvuḷusandesaya*; Message [Sent] from [the City] Mahānāgakula; see von Hinüber, 2000, § 441; Barnett, 1905) was written by Mahāthera Nāgasena. This letter is an answer (vv. 56–57) to a lost letter by the Burmese Mahāthera Kassapa sent from Arimaddanapura (i.e. Pagan) in Burma. Only the beginning of this letter, a poem of 62 verses in a very ornate style, is available. After a poetical description of the medieval Sri Lankan town Mahānāgakula (vv. 1–10; present-day name Magampura) and a praise of Nāgasena's virtues (vv. 11–22) follows a description of Arimaddanapura (vv. 23–44) and praise of the addressee, Mahāthera Kassapa (vv. 45–52). The concluding part consists of the valediction of the addressee (vv. 53–57). In the last verses (vv. 58–62), historical events are recounted, including the reforms of the saṅgha by Parakkamabāhu I. On account of this fact, the *Mahānāgakulasandesa* can be dated to the 13th century.

Sandesakathā

Sandesakathā (see von Hinüber, 2000, § 442; Minayeff, 1885) was written by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa. This letter differs with respect to style and content from all other letters, because after three verses of praise of Mahākāruṇika ("The Great Compassionate") at the beginning, the main part of the letter is written in prose. It seems to be a kind of cover letter, and it was written in 1801 "to testify to the ordination of three Sāmaṇeras and a layman from Ceylon" (von Hinüber, 2000, 204). Several accompanying documents and the controversy surrounding the *ekaṃsikagaṇa* ("the group that covers one shoulder"; von Hinüber, 1995, 39) are referred to.

Sīmāvicāraṇa

The *Sīmāvicāraṇa* (Considerations on Ritual Boundaries; see Kieffer-Pülz, 2011) is a letter by King Rāma IV Mongkut (r. 1851–1868 CE) of Siam written to a *thera* (elder) in Ceylon in 1844 discussing problems of the relevant Buddhist law (*vinaya*).

Syāmasandesa

Syāmasandesa (Message from Siam; see von Hinüber, 1996, 204; Filliozat, 1997) was sent by Aggamahāsenāpati ("Supreme Commander") of Siam to the royal court at Kandy (Ceylon) in 1756. This letter is of particular importance to the history of Pali literature, because it enumerates the titles of 97 Pali texts that were lost and brought back as manuscripts to Ceylon from Siam.

Other letters in Pali addressing various topics and written during the 19th century are collected by A.P. Buddhadatta (1962).

Although only few *lekha*s have survived, sending letters to laypeople and spiritual friends seems to have been an important didactic means for Buddhist teachers since the 2nd century that continued until Buddhism disappeared from India in the 12th or 13th century. This literary form was used to convey Buddhist doctrine, ethical advice, and exhortations to kings and the Buddhist clergy. Difficult matters were treated in a pleasant and generally understandable style. The authentic admonitions were supported by authorized quotations from well-known Buddhist *sūtra*s, works of famous Buddhist teachers, *nīti* literature (didactic literature that teaches worldly wisdom and the proper conduct to rulers and princes), and/or *jātaka* literature. Not only was general Buddhist doctrine imparted in this way, but also personal problems were treated and presented as general advice to all people. References to political situations or reforms and to divergent tendencies in the Buddhist religion are particularly valuable for our knowledge of historical events, as exemplified in the **Mahārājakaniṣkalekha*, the Tibetan letters, and the Pali letters.

Whereas Buddhist epistles in the *kāvya* style are not found afterward, letters of Buddhist teachers in prose and on different topics are transmitted in Tibetan as well as in Chinese. At least in Western-language sources, only few of the Tibetan epistles have been published (Thomas, 1927; Karmay, 1980; Schaeffer, 2004) and just one Chinese epistle (Wagner, 1969, 1971). Collections of letters exist in Japan as well, such as those of Shinran (Ueda, 1978), his wife Eshinni (Dobbins, 2004), and Nichiren (Yampolsky, 1996). These various types of Buddhist letters require further study.

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SIGLINDE DIETZ

Biography and Hagiography: Tibet

Tibet has a rich tradition of life writing, both biographical and autobiographical, which takes many different forms, ranging from extensive narrative texts about the founding figures of the Buddhist religion, to diaries, travelogues, songs, devotional prayers, and invocations. A great number of full-fledged life narratives are devoted to Tibetan religious masters, describing the circumstances of their birth and early life, their religious training and practice, and their subsequent career as teachers. These life stories may be imaginative and vivid literary portraits, very detailed biographical accounts, or sketchy and stereotyped compositions. This text type is usually labeled *rnam thar*. The term is an abbreviation of *rnam par thar pa* (Skt. *vimokṣa*), which may be literally translated as complete liberation (story) – where "story" is sometimes made explicit by the compound *rnam thar lo rgyus*. This designation makes readily known the central issue of the narrative, namely the achievement of awakening by the biographical subject. For this reason, the term *rnam thar* is often translated as hagiography (lit. writing about sanctity), and Tibetan works of this type may be compared to medieval lives of Christian saints when emphasizing their preponderant devotional and cultic elements. However, the Tibetan label *rnam thar* subsumes about a thousand known texts produced from the 12th to the 20th century, which vary greatly in style and content reflecting the changing preoccupations and formal predilections of Tibetan compilers (for a preliminary quantitative analysis, see Schaeffer, 2010). Individually, these works might ultimately be ascribed to different Western literary genres, and it has been proposed, for example, to generally understand *rnam thar* as a "Tibetan form of novel writing" (Roesler, 2014, 118). At the same time, not all life stories are titled *rnam thar*: another widespread title for many biographical and autobiographical works is *rtogs brjod* (or *rtogs par brjod pa*; lit. realized speech, talking about realization). This expression is employed also to translate Sanskrit *avadāna*, "feats" (comparable to Latin *Acta*) or "apologues," mainly designating stories of past lives illustrating the working of karma. While *rtogs brjod* may indeed refer to didactic stories, in Tibetan it is in practice interchangeable with *rnam thar*, and thus, as the latter, may be also translated as hagiography, biography, autobiography, or life story.

Hagiography and History

The earliest extensive surveys and discussions of Tibetan *rnam thar* occur in scholarship devoted to Tibetan historical literature, in which these works are evaluated in terms of their reliability as historical sources. A.I. Vostrikov (1970, 180–198) includes a treatment of the genre, in which the author distinguishes a few "life-histories of saints, which are full of legends and are interesting not from the historical but only or almost only from the folkloristic and literary standpoint," from the vast majority of "real biographies," which are "basically important and fully authentic historical monuments." Similarly, G. Tucci (1949, 151) remarked "an historian cannot ignore the *rnam thar*. He must resign himself to read them, and go through hundreds of pages to find a point of reference, an allusion, an important piece of information." In other words, these sources are indispensable for the study of the political history of Tibet, containing occasional reference to events otherwise unknown, although their proper focus is on the spiritual development of the religious personalities, without any relevant historical value.

This distinction based on topic, that is, religious concerns versus political history, is at the origin of the differentiation between hagiographical and historical sources asserted by the late 19th century with the establishment of history as a modern discipline. At that time, hagiography was coined as a meta-label subsuming works titled *Acta*, *Vita*, *Miracula*, and so forth, all devoted to retelling the lives of the saints, and distinguished from works concerned primarily with political events. A common and shared definition of hagiographic document (*document hagiographique*) was coined, which was a functional one: writings, which aim at edification, are inspired by the cult of the saints, and are meant to promote it (Delehaye, 1906, 2). In fact, these are not only the saint's life-stories, but also calendars, martyrologies, inscriptions, liturgical

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books, litanies, hymns, iconographical representations, and so on; all sources "arising chiefly from the same exigency: engender, propagate, strengthen the cult of the saints." (de Gaiffier, 1970, 140). Hence, hagiography may be hardly understood as a literary genre, but rather as a "thematic discourse employing a plurality of media" (Gemeinhardt, 2014, 25; van Uytfanghe, 1993). Some have also spoken against a functional definition of hagiography, arguing that many writings about the saints were "unrelated to any kind of liturgical veneration," and served rather a wide array of purposes, some of which had little to do with cults:

> they provided communities and institutions with written traditions; they defended the independence of communities and institutions against those who wished to subject them; they defended property rights and territorial endowments, they fueled episcopal rivalries; they conveyed political and theological stances; they propagated an individual author's or group's notion of "the holy." (Lifshitz, 1994, 97, 97n7)

Therefore, medieval saints' biographies were, on the one hand, inscribed in a wide cultic complex centered on the veneration of the saints, together with documents of different nature (narrative, liturgical, inscribed, and visual), but, on the other hand, they served manifold aims, being the main historical writings of the religious communities. They were indeed reconstructions of the past, or records of contemporary events, serving collective memory: a memory not focused on secular contents, or implying a conception of truth as empirically verifiable, but nevertheless the product of a social corpus identifying itself in a shared narrative. Therefore, they constitute fundamental sources for the study of cultural history, and scholarly attention has thus shifted from the factual data they record to the values and world view conveyed by the individual works, and has progressively focused on the religious and sociopolitical contexts from which they stem.

Tibetan life stories, for their part, also belong to a wider array of text typologies arising from and engendering the cult of the saints, and simultaneously partaking in the historical discourse and fulfilling a multiplicity of functions. "Golden rosaries" (*gser 'phreng*) are collections of biographies of the successive masters of a lineage from the founder to the present, and testify to the combination of devotional stances and historical preoccupations. Similar compendia dedicated to "the rebirths of an individual" (*sku 'phreng* or *'khrungs rabs*) or to "the succession to an abbatial seat" (*gdan rabs*) also exist. Works belonging to the historical genre called "the origin of the *dharma*" (*chos 'byung*) are mostly made of sequences of life stories of eminent masters, crafted from the source material provided by *rnam thar*s and *gser 'phreng*s. In these sources, history is conceived as the story of the predication of the Buddhist teachings and of the salvific activity of buddhas and bodhisattvas in order to liberate sentient beings. Their initial sections show their "teleological" horizon, with the account of the life of the Buddha and the introduction of the teachings in Tibet, while the core of the works is taken up by series of life stories of masters of multiple teaching lineages, lifted and adapted from the available *gser 'phreng* or rewritten for the purpose. The *Blue Annals* (TBRC W1KG5762; TBRC W7494; Roerich, 1949; Schaeffer, 2000; van der Kuijp, 2006) and the *Lho rong chos 'byung* (TBRC W27302; van der Kuijp, 2001) are cases in point.

Devotional genres closely related to *rnam thar* are prayers (*gsol 'debs*), eulogies (*bstod pa*), and invocations (*smon lam*) devoted to the Buddhist masters. In particular, "biographical prayers" (*rnam thar gsol 'debs*) and "biographical eulogies" (*rnam thar bstod pa*) are versified compositions praising the teacher (usually repeating formulas such as "I bow down to…"), structured in order to recollect at each stanza his qualities and the main events of his life (Sernesi, 2014). For example, it has been shown how the earliest account of the life of Atiśa was the *Bstod pa brgyad cu pa* (Praise in Eighty Stanzas), originally written on the back of a painted scroll (Eimer, 2003), and a biographical prayer to Mi la ras pa (also known as Milarepa) is likewise inscribed on the back side of a painting (Quintman, 2013). A widespread format of life writing is the prose commentary to a versified eulogy. The praise structures the narrative, and each section is opened by a stanza, which is explained and expanded upon in the biographical account. In some cases the verses were written at first to constitute an autonomous text, and were taken as the basis for the biography only at a later stage (Jackson, 1990); in other cases the works were likely written directly as a mixture of verses and prose. A complete Bka' brgyud *gser 'phreng* thus structured was compiled in the mid-13th century by one Rgyal ldang (/thang) pa Bde chen rdo rje (TBRC W23436; extracts from this collection are translated in Torricelli, 1998; Tiso, 2010, 161–240, 255–282).

Performances of Tibetan ritual dances (*'cham*), regularly held on the occasion of religious celebrations, may tell stories from widely known hagiographies or epics, and likewise wandering bards recount these popular episodes, sometime with the help of portable painted scrolls (Stein, 1959). Indeed, visual narratives, either scrolls (*thang ka*) or frescoes filling the walls of monasteries, temples, and monumental reliquaries (*mchod rten*; Skt. stūpa) depict the life of the Buddha or the saints, and may be accompanied by cartouches or, as mentioned, combined with prayers and eulogies. It may be argued that these various mediums of commemorating the saints constitute a corpus of nonliterary hagiography (Gemeinhardt, 2014, 21–29).

The intimate relationship between hagiography, sacred space, and pilgrimage is well established, and Tibet is no exception. Guidebooks (*gnas yig* or *dkar chag*; "register") to sacred mountains, temples, hermitages, or "hidden valleys" (*sbas yul*) quote from the life stories of the culture heroes who are credited with "opening" the places to the Buddhist practice, subduing hostile and heretic forces, empowering the land with their religious charisma, and leaving lasting signs of their presence in the very landscape, such as footprints or handprints recorded in rock. Such texts also would recall, with varying degree of detail, extended retreats carried out by renowned masters, the foundation of religious institutions and the offering of cultic objects, and episodes related to the miraculous properties of the sites. In fact, pilgrimage guidebooks may also be titled *rnam thar*, as in the case of the early 16th-century texts describing the foundation of the Ārya Wa ti bzang po Temple and the mythical story of its main effigy, the lord (*jo bo*) of Skyid grong (*Rnam thar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor* and *Rnam thar nam mkha'i nor bu ma rig mun sel*; Ehrhard, 2004). Incidentally, it may be noted that folk songs (*glu*) or praises (*bstod*) are versified genres that may dwell on the qualities and significance (both religious and social) of the landscape, while also relating mythic and narrative contents (e.g. Macdonald, 1997; Buffetrille, 2000; Ramble, 2002). In this way, there is a circular and rich exchange between local narrative traditions, pilgrimage practices, writings about sacred geography, and hagiographical compositions, which results in popular stories transmitted in multiple forms and in different text types.

Composition and Structure

Tibetan life stories may be composed by the subject himself, sometimes dictating to a scribe who may edit the narrative, they may be compiled by a master's direct disciples on the basis of autobiographical documents and of their own remembrances and notes, or they may be crafted centuries later by a process of creative selection and editing of existing accounts. Often the prologues and the colophons of the works inform us about the compilers' identities, the context of production of the works, the available sources and their uses. A distinction may be made between external (*phyi*), internal (*nang*), and secret (*gsang*) life stories, depending on the focus of the narrative, respectively on a chronological account of the life, on the spiritual transmissions and achievements of the saint, or on the description of prophetic dreams and visions. It has been argued that, during the 17th and 18th centuries, biographers also engaged in critical evaluations of the style and function of their works, giving prescriptive instructions, arguing why certain formal choices best serve the purpose of creating an inspiring narrative, and warding off criticism (Schaeffer, 2010).

Biographical works are meant primarily to provide a model of conduct and show the effectiveness of the teachings in bringing about awakening. "Complete liberation" (*rnam thar*) is inexpressible in words, it may not be grasped by non-awakened beings, and it may be represented only by means of examples: this idea is often conveyed in the opening lines of Tibetan biographies or eulogies by comparing the recounted story to a drop in the ocean of the realizations and qualities of the master. The historical individual is usually conceived as an emanation of a buddha or bodhisattva, and hence his deeds for the benefit of beings transcend the single lifetime: stories of previous incarnations and prophecies often open the hagiographical works. Hence, the narratives are not intended to document a life, whose full purport is ultimately elusive, but to construct a paragon of virtue to emulate. However, sanctity itself is a shifting notion, as it is socially determined, depending on the shared values and institutional interests of given groups, which may change over time. For this reason, hagiographies construct distinct kind of religious personae, and may be retold and rewritten. Although a typological analysis of this sort is still lacking, the life story of an abbot (*mkhan po*), a *yogin* (*rnal 'byor*), a treasure revealer (*gter ston*), a holy madman (*smyon pa*), or a reincarnated lama (*sprul sku*) would differ in plot, focus, and core values transmitted.

Buddha Śākyamuni may be seen as the normative and inspiring model for the saintly life, and in Tibet his story is often referred to as the "twelve deeds" (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*). As a result, the twelve-fold

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pa thar pa dang thams cad mkhyen pa'
Complete Liberation [Story] of the V
ras pa, Great Lord of the Yogins, Sho
to Liberation and Omniscience) by
Heruka (1452–1507; de Jong, 1959; Q
Sernesi, 2014), and the biography of
Lama Dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang
titled *Bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa'i*
mtshar mdzad pa bcu gnyis pa (The C
ation [Story] of the Omniscient Mast
Marvelous Deeds; TBRC W2CZ786
23–33, 293–336). Moreover, the trop
may be more widely encountered i
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Chos kyi rin chen (d. 1402), which led
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h and 18th centuries, biographers
itical evaluations of the style and
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sm (Schaeffer, 2010).

orks are meant primarily to pro-
onduct and show the effective-
ngs in bringing about awakening.
ion" (*rnam thar*) is inexpressible
ot be grasped by non-awakened
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a is often conveyed in the open-
n biographies or eulogies by com-
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ual is usually conceived as an
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ves are not intended to document
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nding on the shared values and
ests of given groups, which may
. For this reason, hagiographies
kind of religious personae, and
rewritten. Although a typological
rt is still lacking, the life story of
o), a *yogin* (*rnal 'byor*), a treasure
), a holy madman (*smyon pa*), or
a (*sprul sku*) would differ in plot,
ues transmitted.

uni may be seen as the normative
el for the saintly life, and in Tibet
referred to as the "twelve deeds"
yis). As a result, the twelve-fold

structure was adopted by a number of works: although in the specific contents of the narrative there may be no direct correspondence between the master's deeds and the life of the Buddha, as an overall formal structure the numbered chapters titled as "deeds" (*mdzad pa*) evoke the life of the founder, and suggest that it is mirrored and reenacted by the biographical subject. Among the life stories following this pattern is *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam par thar pa thar pa dang thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam ston* (The Complete Liberation [Story] of the Venerable Mi la ras pa, Great Lord of the Yogins, Showing the Path to Liberation and Omniscience) by Gtsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507; de Jong, 1959; Quintman, 2010; Sernesi, 2014), and the biography of the First Dalai Lama Dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po (1391–1474), titled *Bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar mdzad pa bcu gnyis pa* (The Complete Liberation [Story] of the Omniscient Master: The Twelve Marvelous Deeds; TBRC W2CZ7861; Shen, 2002, 23–33, 293–336). Moreover, the trope of the deeds may be more widely encountered in biographical literature, as in the case of the regional chronicle *Shel dkar chos 'byung* (TBRC W1KG13996; Wangdu & Diemberger, 1996), which recounts extensively the "thirteen auspicious deeds of the Situ" (*si tu'i legs mdzad bcu gsum*), corresponding to the same number of remarkable feats of the righteous ruler Si tu Chos kyi rin chen (d. 1402), which led to the foundation of the fortress and monastery of Shel dkar in La stod Lho. In other sources the distinct sections of the life story are instead labeled "greatnesses" (*che ba*), as for example in the two main biographies of Atiśa, the *Rnam thar rgyas pa* (divided into two greatnesses), and the *Rnam thar yongs grags* (divided into three; Eimer, 1977, 158–191; 1979; Roesler, 2014, 121–3). Another common way of naming the numbered chapters recounting the individual episodes of the life story is "quality" (*yon tan*). A conspicuous group of biographies of masters of the Bka' brgyud tradition are divided into two parts, called "the quality of enduring hardships, connected with the family/spiritual disposition" (*rigs dang 'brel ba dka' ba spyad pa'i yon tan*) and "the quality of experience, connected with meditative absorption" (*ting nge 'dzin gi dang 'brel ba nyams su myong ba'i yon tan*), with the second often divided into a variable number of subsections, all also called "qualities". This group includes the earliest extensive life story and songs of the master Mi la ras pa – called *Bzhad pa rdo rje'i rnam thar* (The Life of Bzhad pa rdo rje) or *Bu chen bcu gnyis* (The Twelve Great Disciples) – hagiographies of his master Mar pa and his disciples Ras chung pa and Ngan(/Ngam) rdzong pa, and a complete "golden rosary" (the *Bde mchog snyan brgyud* biographies; TBRC W21145). In this case it was possible to link the origin of the formal structure to a specific teaching lineage (i.e. the aural transmission of Saṃvara) and to the function of life writing within the religious path (Sernesi, 2010; 2011), so it may be worthwhile in the future to further investigate the relationship between form, purpose, and the context of production of biographies.

Biographies

The life stories of Indian teachers and accomplished ones (*siddhas*), and culture heroes, such as Padmasambhava, Atiśa, and Mi la ras pa, may be imaginative and powerful literary products, centered on their realizations, abilities, and religious values, with a strong didactic and devotional function. These works allow for dramatic plot structures, such as the atonement for great evil deeds performed in youth, hardships and trails, confrontations with non-Buddhist masters by means of dialectic or spells, performance of miracles, and visionary and prophetic encounters, including symbolic journeys to pure lands and direct encounters with buddhas, bodhisattvas, and *ḍākinīs* who bestow secret initiations, teachings, and texts to the chosen masters (e.g. Dalton, 2004; Guenther, 1963; Kunsang, 1993; Quintman, 2010; Ramble, 2010; Robinson, 1979; 1996; Templeman, 1989; Torricelli & Naga, 1995).

In contrast, life stories of prominent religious personalities of later date tend to be more stereotyped and often may consist solely of a record of masters met, teachings received, positions held, endeavors sponsored (such as the erection or renovation of buildings and statues), and pupils taught. Some of these biographies, however, are very extensive, and recount in great detail and chronological order the events of the lives of their protagonists, such as travels, teaching sessions, offerings received, projects realized, and people encountered. Examples of such detailed and informative biographies include those dedicated to the 15th-century masters Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507; Caumanns, 2010; 2015), Gtsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507; Smith, 1969; Larsson, 2012), Khrims khang Lo tsā ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482; Ehrhard, 2002), Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456; Heimbel, 2011; 2014), Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419; Kaschewsky, 1971), and Dge 'dun grub pa Dpal bzang po (1391–1474; Shen, 2002). It has been suggested that the length and amount of detail of biographical works steadily increased over time, with a peak from the late 17th to the late 18th centuries (Schaeffer, 2010, 269). These sources are employed for historical studies, for reconstructing the development of religious communities, for dating institutions and monuments, and for political history as well: indeed, these works may record the foundation of monastic institutions, the endowment of estates, the outcome of battles and diplomatic negotiations, the succession to high administrative and military offices, and also embed letters, edicts, testaments, registers, and similar documents.

Life stories of men who were chiefly secular leaders with no major clerical office are scarce, and exist primarily embedded in clan histories (*gdung rabs*), royal chronicles (*rgyal rabs*), and other historical works. These sources hardly provide full-fledged biographies of noble people, but tend to record birth and death dates, marriage alliances and offspring, positions held and titles received, means of recognition and legitimation of reincarnated masters, and major religious connections and patronage activities. For example, the *New Red Annals* (TBRC W21657; Tucci, 1971) by Paṇ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478–1554) may rapidly sketch the character and main feats of powerful individuals in just a couple of lines, when overviewing the history of the various administrative-cum-military units of Tibet (Tucci, 1971, 189–245). The best-known example of a self-standing biography of a secular leader is the life story of the 18th century Tibetan ruler Pho lha nas Bsod nams stobs rgyas (1689–1747), who is chiefly praised for his military valor and success (*Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, composed in 1733 by Mdo mkhar Tshe ring dbang rgyal [1697–1763]; TBRC W7734; Petech, 1950, 3–4). Very little biographical writings survive that shed light on the lives of commoners, and that may be used for social, economic, and cultural history. However, many life stories of otherwise unknown and unimportant village priests exist, and while they are mostly sketchy and standardized accounts, some do give insight in the life of peasants in premodern Tibet.

Among the available sources, life stories of women are very rare, although not unseen. The female folk hero Snang sa ’od ’bum is one of the “revenants” (*’das log*), that is to say individuals who purportedly returned from death in order to preach the need for a virtuous life and tell of the terrible ordeals and punishments otherwise awaiting in the hells. Various versions of her story are recounted in narrative collections devoted to this theme, as well as in traditional dramas (Allione, 1984; Epstein, 1982; Pommaret, 1989). One of the most prominent female saintly figures of Tibet is Ma gcig Lab sgron, who lived between the 11th and 12th century and is described as the consort of the *siddha* Pha dam pa sangs rgyas. She is renowned for propagating a specific tradition of teachings called Gcod, and, indeed, the best-known account of her liberation story opens a composite practice compendium titled *Phung po gzan skyur rnam bshad gcod kyi don gsal byed* (Clarifying the Meaning of Gcod: A Complete Explanation of Casting Out the [Bodily] Aggregates as Food [Offerings]; TBRC W1KG17585; translated in full in Harding, 2003; the two initial chapters, narrating Ma gcig’s life, are also translated in Allione, 1984; Edou, 1996). Her namesake and contemporary Ma gcig Zha ma (1062–1149) initiated one of the 18 lineages of the “path and fruit” (*lam ’bras*) teachings, and hence her life story is recorded for the first time in *Zhib mo rdo rje* (The Incisive *Vajra*), the early 13th-century narrative of the lives of the masters of the tradition compiled by Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (c. 1198–1259; Stearns, 2001, 125–131). In fact, female masters and adepts who lived during the early centuries of the latter translation period (*phyi dar*; 11th–14th cents.) are often included in the lineage transmission histories and the *gser ’phreng* of yogic traditions and practice lineages such as the path and fruit (besides Ma gcig, the *Zhib mo rdo rje* also tells of “the four female disciples of ’Brog mi lo tsā ba who reached attainment”; Stearns, 2001, 105–109), or the aural transmission of Saṃvara (Ma gcig Ong jo and Kun ldan ras ma; Sernesi 2011), but become rare afterwards within the more institutionalized Buddhist schools (Martin, 2005; Allione, 1984). Few full-fledged and independent biographies of eminent female masters exist, but they include the life story of the first Rdo rje phag mo Chos kyi sgron ma (1422–1455), whose line of reincarnations comes down to the present day (*Ye shes mkha’ ’gro bsod nams ’dren gyi sku skye gsum pa rje btsun ma chos kyi sgron ma’i rnam thar*; TBRC W2CZ7892; Diemberger, 2007), and the life story of Kun tu bzang mo, the consort of Gtsang smyon Heruka (*Dus gsum rgyal ba ma lus pa bskyed pa’i yum chen kun tu bzang mo’i rnam par thar pa zab don gter mdzod mthong ba don ldan*). The earliest known example of a female autobiographical voice in the literature of Tibetan Buddhism belongs to the nun O rgyan Chos skyid (1675–1729), who stemmed from the Himalayan region of Dol po and whose story remained well known in her home region down to the 20th century

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(*Mkha' 'gro ma o rgyan chos skyid kyi rnam thar*; full translation and study in Schaeffer, 2004). It may be compared with more recent examples of the genre, such as the autobiography of Rje btsun Lo chen Chos nyid bzang mo (1865–1951), a famous female master of the Ris med tradition (*Gangs shug ma ni lo chen rig 'dzin chos nyid bzang mo'i rnam par thar pa rnam mkhyen bde ster*; TBRC W2831; Havnevik, 1997; 1998).

Autobiographies

Autobiographical writing in Tibet may take different forms, from diaries and travel accounts, to stories woven into instructional literature, to versified compositions or "religious songs" (*mgur*). Full-fledged autobiographies are commonly known as *rang rnam*, *rang gi rnam thar*, or *nyid kyi rnam thar* – "the liberation story of oneself" – although many works of the kind are just titled *rnam thar* or *rtogs brjod*. The boundaries between biography and autobiography are often blurred because of Tibetan writing practices: biographies may be based on autobiographical sources and include passages and documents – such as letters, travelogues, and songs – that originated with the subject. Sometimes the compilers of such works also explicitly claim to have checked the overall account, the chronology, or some specific episode and details of the story directly with the teacher who is the biographical subject himself. Moreover, an account may be dictated to a scribe or edited by a pupil, but still be narrated in first person and achieve the unity of author name, narrator, and principal character that ultimately characterizes autobiography. At the outset of these works, the narrator often feels the need to justify his enterprise, balancing between the equally powerful social expectations of practicing the virtue of humility and being a role model for disciples and fellow practitioners (Gyatso, 1992; 1998, 101–123; Roesler, 2014, 132–136). Hence, the prologues tend to downplay the master's own qualities, attainments, and literary skills, and to explain that he is induced to write out of selflessness and merely to comply with an external request (see Karmay 2014, 17–21 for a full translation of one such prologue from the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and Schaeffer, 2010, 273–6 for a discussion of the passage). Known Tibetan autobiographies surpass the number of 150 (Gyatso, 1998, 101), testifying to the popularity of the genre. It has been observed that a third of these were composed by masters belonging to the Rnying ma tradition (50), a third by Dge lugs masters (46), and slightly less by Bka' brgyud pas (36), while only a few survive that are ascribed to Sa skya (11), Bka' gdams (7), or Jo nang (2) masters, or that have been penned by secular leaders (9; Schaeffer, 2010, 296, fig.3, based on TBRC data).

Works by masters who played major roles in shaping Tibetan religious and political history offer their own take on key events, and are employed by scholars as precious sources not only to reconstruct the chronology and factual details of the relevant affairs, but also to engage with the subjective narratives themselves, and understand their rhetoric, function, and general framework of discourse. Noticeable examples of this kind of works are the autobiography (*Nyid kyi rnam thar shes rab grub pa ma*) and the self-eulogy (*Nyid la nyid kyis bstod pa dgos 'dod re skong ma*) by Bla ma Zhang (1123–1193; TBRC W26673, vol. I, 316–366, 108–111; Yamamoto, 2012), *Rtogs pa brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa utpala'i phreng ba* (The Garland of *Utpala* Lotuses; TBRC W1KG4869; Ehrhard, 2002, 11–26) by the fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi grags pa ye shes (1453–1524), and the detailed and large-scale autobiography of the fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) called *Za hor gyi ban dhe ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul ba'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa dukula'i gos bzang* (The Illusive Play; TBRC W294, vol. V; TBRC W2CZ5990, vol. V; Karmay, 2014).

To a somewhat different typology belong the masters' "secret biographies" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*), and the autobiographical writings of the "treasure discoverers" (*gter ston*), as are commonly called individuals who have visionary abilities that enable them to retrieve texts and objects purportedly hidden in the past to be revealed at the appropriate time. Indeed, these works usually focus on inner religious experiences such as vivid dreams and otherworldly encounters, their meaning and symbolism, and their prophetic value. These visions mark the individual's progression on the religious path and eventually lead him to the treasure discoveries and the revelations, framing them within a network of meaningful events that lend them value, authenticity, and legitimacy: significant examples are *Klong chen snying thig le'i rtogs pa brjod pa ḍākki's gsang gtam chen mo* (The *Ḍākki's* Grand Secret Talk) and *Gsang ba chen po nyams snang gi rtogs brjod chu zla'i gar mkhan* (The Dancing Moon in the Water) by 'Jigs med gling pa (1730–1798; TBRC W27300, vol. VII, 21–29, 31–64; Gyatso, 1998).

Travelogues are among the most informative and suggestive kind of autobiographical writing.

Masters travelled widely to complete their training, for pilgrimage purposes, and to carry out diplomatic and economic missions. Their diaries and the notes taken on the road could be reworked into "itineraries" (*gnas yig*) that describe their journeys and convey their reflections and observations. Sometimes composed in a mixture of prose and verse, they may have high poetical value, and be titled "song of the road" or "travel song" (*lam glu*). This is the case of the *Rang gi rtogs brjod lam glu dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i dga' ston* (Celebration of the Cuckoo: An Autobiographical Song of the Road; text and translation in Stearns, 2012), which describes a trip in Central Tibet by the Sa skya master Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566); also the latter's teacher and friend Kun dga' grol mchog (1507–1566) had composed a journal of a trip in the same area occurred in 1533, the *Lam yig dpyod ldan snying gi mun sel* (Travel Journal to Dispel Darkness from the Heart of a Discerning Person; unpubl. ms. in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing; mentioned in Stearns, 2012, 19n12). One of the best known examples of the genre is the *Bal yul du bgrod pa'i lam yig nor bu spel ma'i 'phreng ba* (Rosary of Well-arranged Jewels: Itinerary of a Journey to Nepal; Ehrhard, 1997), recounting a trip to southwestern Tibet and Nepal by the sixth Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584–1630), while his disciple the tenth Karma pa Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674) penned a journal of his travel to Khams and Amdo during the years 1649–1651 (*Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa nges par byung ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs ka la ping ka'i lam glu*) that is also included in his wider autobiography called *The Wish Fulfilling Cow* (TBRC W23999, 1–71, 73–295; Mengele, 2012, 208–231).

Finally, among the autobiographical literature we may include religious songs (*mgur*), which are versified compositions conceived to be sung following a specific melody and have a didactic function ("songs of instruction", *gdams pa'i mgur*), or express religious experiences ("songs of experience", *nyams pa'i mgur*, or "songs of realization", *rtogs pa'i mgur*). Inscribed within a traditionally given poetic imaginary and drawing from a standard pool of rhetorical figures, these compositions may still convey very intimate thoughts and feelings, while describing natural landscapes and human relationships (e.g. the verse: "whenever the green leaves on various trees flourished, I recalled a solitary grove and felt delight"; Sujata, 2005, 337). Songs may also relate details of an individual's training, travels, and encounters, or summarize in meter complex incidents, prophetic dreams or visions. Besides being quoted in prose life stories, songs may be collected in separate volumes of "collected songs" (*mgur 'bum*) or "collected sayings" (*bka' 'bum*) of specific individuals, which may also include letters and different types of religious instructions, and are usually paired with the masters' biographies. Among the most exquisite examples of *mgur* available in English translation are the songs attributed to Mi la ras pa (Chang, 1962), the *Collected Songs* of Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249; Stearns, 2000), the so-called "love songs" of the sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683–1706; Sørensen, 1990), the anthology called *The Rain of Wisdom* (1999), and the compositions by Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607–1677; Sujata, 2005).

Functions

By virtue of the great variety in style and contents, life narratives are widely employed by scholars for the study of Tibetan literature, religion, and political history. The methodological approach and focus of attention has shifted over time: single works have been translated in full, studied to reconstruct individual's life trajectories, read as historical sources, or appreciated and analyzed from a literary viewpoint. Attention has been paid to the development of life narratives over time, comparing multiple accounts devoted to the same biographical subject in order to detect insertions and omissions, and to understand the use of sources and the processes of textual production (e.g. Eimer, 1977; 2008; Tiso, 1996, 1997; Roberts, 2007; Quintman, 2014). Comparative volumes have also considered Tibetan *rnam thar* alongside other Buddhist biographies or life narratives from different religious traditions (Penny, 2003; Covill *et al.*, 2010; Deeg *et al.*, 2010; Conermann & Rheingans, 2014). The multiplicity of approaches matches the inherent diversity of the sources, both diachronically and synchronically across traditions and contexts of production.

Indeed, as we have seen, Tibetan life stories are intimately linked with a wide array of text types, ranging from annals, to prayers, to travelogues, and so forth, and serve multiple functions. Besides the documentary and purely narrative functions that connect biographies to historical writings and novels respectively, the inspirational value of the works is often emphasized in the sources themselves. The titles of the compositions refer to the qualities, virtues, feats, and marvels of the masters, and to the awe and devotion that they generate: hence the common

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trope of the "body hair that tremble in faith". Generating faith in the masters of the lineage is considered the first step for the devotee to proceed in the religious path, and hence life stories, together with other devotional texts such as prayers and invocations, play a fundamental role in Buddhist training. They open collections of instructional literature and their reading transmission (*lung*) is bestowed as a preliminary step to engage in the practice. They instruct the pupil on the core values and teachings of the tradition, and shape his expectations in promoting an ideal of buddhahood by concrete examples of awakened beings. The aspirational prayers and invocations that conclude the works show how the narratives establish a direct link with the past master, who is made present by the remembrance, the cultic performance, and the material receptacles of his power. Indeed, texts are one of the three "receptacles" or "vessels" (*rten*) of the inexhaustible presence, or "blessing" (*byin brlabs*), of the Buddha, standing for the Buddha's speech, alongside images (receptacles of the body), and reliquaries (receptacles of the mind). Life stories, in particular, could be produced and printed at the death of a master in the context of funerary rituals, and, similarly to bodily relics, are often said to "liberate whoever sees, hears, remembers, or touches" them (e.g. Schaeffer, 2007).

Life narratives are meant to provide a model of saintly life, one that is transmitted and replicated through the generations. Their formulaic and repetitive character has often been seen as a mere lack of literary skill, but it may also point to shared experiences and similar life trajectories, encoded, remembered, and recounted according to common values and expectations. Lives are recorded to provide the religious community with a collective memory, which in turn shapes the identity of the group, and is transmitted and rewritten over time serving the changing needs of the collectivity. This is a dynamic process that involves commemorative texts, monuments, and cultic ceremonies strictly linked with the narratives themselves. In constructing the shared heritage, identities are reaffirmed also in contrast with other groups, in polemical and political discourses rooted within the main narrative. At the same time, the legitimacy of the teachings of the tradition is affirmed by the account of their origins and their transmission through a chain of worthy masters over the generations. The *gser 'phreng* portray an uninterrupted chain of realized teachers who spread the teachings in order to benefit others, and who, by virtue of these same teachings, achieved "complete liberation". The effectiveness of specific traditions is thus in practice demonstrated by means of testimony. As may be seen, the complexity of simultaneous discourses all at once engaged in Tibetan life narratives is remarkable, and accounts for the ongoing and unwavering scholarly interest in these sources.

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Marta Sernesi

Biography and Hagiography: Japan

Descriptions of the idealized lives of charismatic representatives of a given religious tradition fulfill an important function for religions with a pronounced personality cult and a strong sense of the historical. Japanese Buddhism is no exception. Inasmuch as biographies of eminent monks and (rarely) nuns, pious laypeople, or miracle-working ascetics have a decidedly religious, edifying, apologetic, and propagandistic function, they can be classified as "hagiography." Hagiography shall here be defined as the edifying and religiously moralizing description of the idealized life of a person who represents the highest ideals of a given religious group in a given historical context on the grounds of his or her outstanding virtues as well as his or her ability to produce miracles and/or his or her closeness to salvation, and who thus simultaneously functions as an object of veneration and a model to be followed.

Although the hagiographic discourse can be conveyed in various media, certain literary forms seem to be more suitable and are thus more frequently chosen. Generally speaking, (biographical) narratives – that is, stories following a chronological sequence of events that challenge the protagonist and call for responsive action – are preferred. The choice of proper media of the hagiographic discourse also depends on the literary forms already available in a given cultural context. Buddhists in East Asia could resort to highly developed secular prototypes of biographic literature, such as official dynastic histories in China. Traditional Buddhist genres, such as *jātakas* and *avadānas*, have exerted some influence on edifying narratives that may or may not communicate a hagiographic message (Dykstra, 1979; 1980). Over the long history of Japanese Buddhism, the hagiographic discourse expressed itself in various literary genres, due to the heterogeneity of the authors, variations in the specific functions of the texts, and their particular "*Sitz im Leben*" (sociological setting). The same holds true for the choice of protagonists and conveyed religious contents, which strongly depend on the sectarian leanings of authors and audience.

General Characteristics of Hagiography and Religious Biographies in Japan

The premodern Japanese adopted and acculturated almost all essential cultural elements from China, albeit in a selective and creative way, including traditional Chinese forms of literary expression and Buddhism. Remarkably, however, the Japanese only reluctantly adopted the prestigious and representative Chinese Buddhist genre of "biographies of eminent monks" (Chn. *gaoseng zhuan* [高僧傳]; Jpn. *kōsō den*), which can be regarded as a religious adaptation of the so-called *liezhuan* (列傳; serial biographies) of commoners in the official histories in the tradition of Sima Qian's (司馬遷; c. 145–187 BCE) *Shiji* (史記; Kleine, 2010). The main reason for the Japanese Buddhists' neglect of this traditional genre may be sought in differences regarding the respective social situations of the Chinese and the Japanese saṅghas. Whereas Chinese Buddhists were always coerced to prove that Buddhism was a valuable and beneficial element of Chinese civilization, the Japanese saṅgha was on the one hand hardly ever threatened by anti-Buddhist intellectual elites and on the other hand internally strongly differentiated. For these reasons, there was no need and no interest in producing transsectarian collections of monks' biographies. Therefore, the Japanese preferred other literary genres to convey their hagiographic message.

Another distinctive feature of Japanese hagiography is its social permeability. In contrast to the Chinese *gaoseng zhuan*, which dealt exclusively with "biographies of eminent monks," Japanese *kōsō den* often included biographies of laypeople, rulers, and even gods. This may be seen as an indication of the "embeddedness" of Buddhism in Japanese culture. In cases in which biographical collections deal exclusively with monks, these are, as a rule, reserved to monks of one particular school or tradition. Such sectarian collections generally focus on those qualities of the protagonists that are constitutive for the self-concept of the specific tradition and on the protagonists' significance for the establishment and development of this tradition.

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Literary Forms: Media of the
Hagiographic Discourse

Buddhist Historiographies

As indicated above, Japanese monks
much inclined to record the history of
Japan or to collect biographies of em
of all traditions. If they did, their m
extrinsic. The most famous early hi
dhism in Japan, the *Genkō shakush*
Book on Buddhism from the Genkō
for instance, was compiled by the
Zen monk Kokan Shiren (虎關師錬;
response to a request by the Chinese
Yishan Yining (一山一寧; 1247–1317), v
for a history of the Japanese saṅgha.
there existed no such text, Kokan Sh
all relevant information available to
piled a book in 30 scrolls. Scrolls 1 thro
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"biographies of eminent monks." In
the Chinese *gaoseng zhuan*, scrolls
render biographies of "virtuous men
and high officials," "noble gentleme
folk," "nuns and other women," "im
"numina and ghosts." The rest (20–26
monographs) follows the pattern o
nese historiography. Kokan Shiren
pioneering work to Tennō ("Emper
(後醍醐; r. 1319–1338) in 1322.

Transsectarian Biographies of Bu
Virtuosi

As already stated, collections of biog
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There is some evidence that be
existed a text called *Nihonkoku mei*
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the earliest preserved *kōsō den* se
one compiled by the lay Buddhist C
士; dates unknown) under the title
(南都高僧傳; Biographies of Eminer
Southern Capital; *DBZ* 101) during
the 13th century. It contains 17 brief
monks belonging to the Hossō and th

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Literary Forms: Media of the Hagiographic Discourse

Buddhist Historiographies

As indicated above, Japanese monks did not feel much inclined to record the history of Buddhism in Japan or to collect biographies of eminent monks of all traditions. If they did, their motivation was extrinsic. The most famous early history of Buddhism in Japan, the *Genkō shakusho* (元亨釋書; Book on Buddhism from the Genkō Era; *DBZ* 101), for instance, was compiled by the Rinzai (臨濟) Zen monk Kokan Shiren (虎關師錬; 1278–1346) in response to a request by the Chinese Chan master Yishan Yining (一山一寧; 1247–1317), who had asked for a history of the Japanese saṅgha. Realizing that there existed no such text, Kokan Shiren collected all relevant information available to him and compiled a book in 30 scrolls. Scrolls 1 through 19 contain more than 400 biographies of important Buddhist figures assigned respectively to one of ten categories in accordance with their fields of specialization. This part is clearly modeled after the Chinese "biographies of eminent monks." In deviation from the Chinese *gaoseng zhuan*, scrolls 17 through 20 render biographies of "virtuous men of old," "rulers and high officials," "noble gentlemen and simple folk," "nuns and other women," "immortals," and "numina and ghosts." The rest (20–26: charts; 27–30: monographs) follows the pattern of secular Chinese historiography. Kokan Shiren presented his pioneering work to Tennō ("Emperor") Go-Daigo (後醍醐; r. 1319–1338) in 1322.

Transsectarian Biographies of Buddhist Virtuosi

As already stated, collections of biographies of Buddhist monks of all doctrinal inclinations or sectarian affiliations were the standard model of Buddhist historiography in China but not in Japan.

There is some evidence that before 984 there existed a text called *Nihonkoku meisō den* (日本國名僧傳; Biographies of Famous Monks in the Country of Japan; Kamens, 1988, 196), but since it is lost, the earliest preserved *kōsō den* seems to be the one compiled by the lay Buddhist Chūren (仲廉居士; dates unknown) under the title *Nanto kōsō den* (南都高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Southern Capital; *DBZ* 101) during the first half of the 13th century. It contains 17 brief biographies of monks belonging to the Hossō and the Sanron traditions, a list of 54 administrators (*bettō* [別當]) of the Kōfukuji Temple (興福寺) of Nara, biographies of 46 high-ranking priests mostly affiliated with either the Tendai (天台) or the Shingon (真言) school, an "*abhiṣeka* initiation lineage" (*kanjō kechimyaku* [灌頂血脈]) of the Shingon school that goes from the Buddha Mahāvairocana to the monk Shinkei (新真慶), and a genealogy of Kūkai's (空海; 774–835 CE) disciples and of heads of the Tōji Temple (東寺) of Kyoto.

Around the same time, another transsectarian collection of biographies of Buddhist monks was compiled by a monk affiliated with the Kegon (華嚴) school, named Sōshō (宗性; 1202–1278). The first version of the text entitled *Nihon kōsō den yōmonshō* (日本高僧傳要文抄; Selection of Essential Texts on the Biographies of Eminent Japanese Monks; *DBZ* 101) was completed in 1249 and contained the biographies of 15 monks, unlike the classical Chinese *kōsō den* or the *Genkō shakusho* lacking any evident organizational structure. In 1251 the text was expanded by the biographies of 11 more monks and by accounts of laypersons such as Crown Prince Shōtoku (聖徳太子; 574–622 CE), various emperors (*tennō* [天皇]), and other persons who played some role in the development of Japanese Buddhism. Some of them are explicitly called "bodhisattvas." The decision to include laypeople in collections of "biographies of eminent monks" was revolutionary but became a standard in Japan.

It took more than 450 years thereafter before the Rinzai Zen monk Mangen Shiban (卍元師蠻; 1626–1710) ventured to compile a comprehensive, transsectarian collection of 1,412 major (plus 252 minor) biographies of monks and other figures important for Japanese Buddhism, such as Crown Prince Shōtoku, the sun goddess Amaterasu (天照), and the deified unifier of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉; 1536–1598). In 1702 Shiban published the *Honchō kōsō den* (本朝高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks in Japan; *DBZ* 102/103). It seems likely that he was inspired by the *Daming gaoseng zhuan* (大明高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Great Ming Dynasty) that was brought to Japan in 1651 and by the increasing interest of Japanese intellectuals in classical Chinese historiography. Evidently, Shiban hoped that the Chinese would read his *Honchō kōsō den* and realize that the Japanese were culturally equal to them. Although Shiban criticizes the *Genkō shakusho* for being incomplete, his work can be described as a combination of Kokan Shiren's model and the Chinese *kōsō den.*

Sectarian Collections of Biographies of Buddhist Virtuosi

The sectarian bias that informed Buddhist biographical collections in Japan early on became even more pronounced in the 17th and 18th centuries due to the Tokugawa rulers' attempt at complete state control over religion. One means to achieve that goal were the so-called temple regulations (*jiin hatto* [寺院法度]) that forced the Buddhist institutions to reorganize strictly along sectarian lines and sharpen their specific sectarian profile doctrinally, institutionally, and historically.

An early example of the sectarian approach is the *Yahō meitoku den* (野峰名徳傳; Biographies of Famous Virtuous Men from Mount [Kō]ya; *DBZ* 106). The author, the Shingon monk Jakuhon (1631–1701), deplored the inadequate presence of monks from Mount Kōya in the *Genkō shakusho* and therefore collected and published the biographies of 70 monks of Mount Kōya's Hōkō‘in Temple.

The *Jōdo hasso retsuzen denki san* (淨土八組列全傳記纂; Serial Compilation of Complete Biographical Records on the Eight Patriarchs of the Pure Land [i.e. Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Bodhiruci, Tanluan, Daochuo, Shandao, and Hōnen]; *JZZ* 16) was completed by Jikkan (直勧; dates unknown) in 1680. In 1704 Sen‘yo Shin‘a (宣譽心阿; dates unknown) published a collection of 194 biographies, the *Jōdo honchō kōsō den* (淨土本朝高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Pure Land in Japan; *JZ* 17). In many cases, only the names of the "outstanding monks" are mentioned. One year later, a collection of biographies, the *Jōdo resso den* (淨土列祖傳; Serial Biographies of the Patriarchs of the Pure Land; *JZZ* 16), was published by Gonteki (嚴的; dates unknown). In this text, 81 biographies of outstanding Jōdo monks are presented.

In 1693 the Sōtō monk Tangen Jichō (湛元自澄; ?–1699) compiled a collection of 70 biographies, the *Nichiiki tōjō shoso den* (日域洞上諸祖傳; Biographies of the Various [Sō]tō Patriarchs in Japan; *DBZ* 110). In the preface, he deplores the insufficient documentation of the authentic transmission of Sōtō teachings in Japan. In 1708 the monk Tokuhō Ryōkō (德翁良高; 1649–1709) compiled the *Zoku nichiiki tōjō sho-soden* (續日域洞上諸祖傳; Supplement to the Biographies of the Various [Sō]tō Patriarchs in Japan; *DBZ* 110), which contains 91 biographies. In the preface, the author laments the underrepresentation of Sōtō monks in the *Genkō shakusho.* A few years later, in 1717, Zōsan Ryōki (藏山良機; ?–1729) published the *Jūzoku nichiiki tōjō sho-soden* (重續日域洞上諸祖傳; Another Supplement to the Biographies of the Various [Sō]tō Patriarchs in Japan; *DBZ* 110), containing 94 biographies.

Legitimistic and Genealogical Records of Buddhist Clerics

The distinction between sectarian collections of biographies of Buddhist virtuosi and genealogical records of Buddhist clerics, which serve legitimizing purposes, is tenuous, and the two categories may overlap. Texts of this category are less focused on hagiography and more on genealogy, that is, they focus on the construction of unbroken, legitimate personal succession. In extreme cases, they present not much more than bloodlines (*kechimyaku* [血脈]) of authentic dharma transmission (*denpō* [傳法]; i.e. the authority to teach and transmit the doctrine of a particular school) or lists of succeeding abbots of certain monasteries. Being neither biographic nor hagiographic in a stricter sense, they stand outside the scope of this article. In some cases, however, such genealogies are supplemented by brief biographical data. An early Japanese example is the *Shingon fuhō sanyō shō* (真言付法纂要抄; Essential Selection of Compilations on the Transmission of Shingon; T. 77), published in 1060 by the Shingon monk Jōson (成尊; 1012–1074). This compilation provides brief biographical accounts of the so-called eight patriarchs of this tradition, from Nāgārjuna to Kūkai.

One early legitimistic and genealogical record of Buddhist clerics, the *Sanron soshi denshū* (三論祖師傳集; Collection of Biographies of the Founding Masters of the Three Treatises [School]; *DBZ* 111), was produced by Gakuryū (學隆) in 1204, revised in 1258 by Shōshu (聖守), and continuously enlarged until the 17th century. It is arranged in a chronological order, opening with Śākyamuni and closing with the 33rd generation of abbots of Tōnan'in (東南院), a sub-temple of Tōdaiji (東大寺) in Nara. The 49 accounts vary in length, and in some cases, only the names of the dharma heirs are given. Typical hagiographic elements such as miracles and paranormal deeds are largely absent. The authors were obviously alarmed by the institutional weakness of the Sanron school in Japan.

A similar problem concerned the schools of the Pure Land tradition established by Hōnen, which were not accepted as independent denominations before the 17th century. Among the many obstacles on the way to emancipation from the Tendai school was the lack of an unbroken bloodline of authentic

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dharma transmission. Rather fruitless attempts to establish a genealogy of patriarchal succession were made in the *Kango tōroku* (漢語燈錄; Record of [Sayings of Hōnen] in Chinese). In this collection of texts attributed to Hōnen, we find the *Ruijū jōdo goso den* 類聚淨土五祖傳; Classified Collection of Biographies of the Five [Chinese] Patriarchs of the Pure Land; *JZ* 9). Another collection of biographies, the *Jōdo goso den* (淨土五祖傳; Biographies of the Five Patriarchs of the Pure Land), is contained in Kakunyo's (1270–1351) biography of Hōnen, the *Shūi kotoku den'e* (拾遺古德傳繪; Gleanings of the Illustrated Biography of the Virtuous of Old; *HDZ*), completed in 1301. In this text, written in Japanese, brief accounts of the conversion, virtues, and salvation of the Chinese Pure Land pioneers Tanluan (476–542 CE), Daochuo (562–645 CE), Shandao (613–681 CE), Huaigan (7th cent. CE), and Shaokang (?–805 CE) are given. As these collections are confined to Chinese patriarchs without any personal connections, they could hardly function as evidence for the independence of the Pure Land tradition.

As the Zen tradition is based on the principle of personal "transmission from one mind to the other" (*ishin denshin* [以心傳心]), legitimistic and genealogical records of patriarchs have always played a crucial role here. Accordingly, the dominant literary form of Zen hagiography is the genre of so-called records of the transmission of the light/lamp (of the dharma), or *dentō roku* (傳燈錄)/ *denkō roku* (傳光錄), established in China. As texts of this kind focus on the act of dharma transmission – usually a dialogue between master and disciple that awakens the mind of the latter – they also belong to the genre of "records of the sayings (of the Zen masters)" (*goroku* [語錄]). However, *dentō roku* / *denkō roku* or *goroku* texts styled after Daoyuan's (道原; dates unknown) famous *Jingde chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄; Records of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jingde Era; T. 51; publ. in 1004) never gained much prominence in Japan. One of two exceptions – the other being Mangen Shiban's *Enpō dentō roku* (see below) – is the *Denkō roku* (傳光錄; Record of the Transmission of Light; T. 82) completed in 1300 by Keizan Jōkin (1268–1325), the second "great founder" of the Sōtō tradition and of the temple Sōjiji. This remarkable compilation picks up the genealogy presented by Zhijue 智炬 (fl. around 800 CE) in his *Baolin zhuan* (寶林傳; Traditions of the Jeweled Grove) and recounts the biographies of 53 lineage holders from India, China, and Japan. The single biographies have an innovative structure that distinguishes Keizan's work from its Chinese predecessors, but it follows their model in its disinterest in miracle stories and its focus on dialogues between master and disciple. The ideal Zen master is portrayed not as a miracle-working ascetic or learned scholar but rather as someone whose awakening cannot be grasped intellectually and whose conduct cannot be judged by worldly moral standards.

The early Hokke school founded by Nichiren (日蓮; 1222–1282) had the same problems as the competing Pure Land schools. It was not officially recognized as an independent school and suffered from internal fragmentation. All the more it seemed necessary for the competing parties to assert themselves as the only legitimate lineage. Thus in the early 14th century, Nichidō (日道; 1283–1341), a dharma heir of Nichiren's disciple Nikkō (日興; 1246–1333), published the *Sanshi go-den dodai* (三師御傳土代; Draft of the August Biographies of the Three Masters; *NZ* 2), claiming that Nichimoku (日目; 1260–1333) of the Fuji branch of the Hokke school was the legitimate successor to Nichiren and Nikkō.

At some times in their histories, even the established institutions felt obliged to reassert their genealogies. In 1493, for instance, Sonzū (尊通; dates unknown) of the Jimon branch of the Tendai school compiled the *Mii shokutōki* (三井續燈記; Record of the Continuous Lamp of Mii[dera]; *DBZ* 111).

Another text modeled after the Chinese pattern of *dentō roku* / *denkō roku* was compiled in 1678 by Mangen Shiban in his *Enpō dentō roku* (延寶傳燈錄; Record of the Transmission of the [Dharma] Lamp from the Enpō [Era]; *DBZ* 108/109). It comprises 1,023 accounts of monks from various Zen lineages and in addition information on monks of other schools, emperors, empresses, and other laypeople – reflecting Mangen Shiban's ecumenical outlook. In addition to the *res gestae* (*gyōjō* [行狀]), Shiban presents nonbiographical subgenres such as *ki'en* (機緣; opportunities), *goku* (語句; statements), *mondō* (問答; dialogues), and *geju* / *geshō* (偈頌; hymns).

A Rinzai Zen genealogical work with a very limited scope was presented by Tōyō Eichō (東陽英朝; 1428–1504) in 1496. The text entitled *Shōbōzan rokuso den* (正法山六組傳; Biographies of the Six Founders of Shōbōzan [i.e. Myōshinji]; Ogisu, 1979) was a contribution to the revitalization of the prestigious Myōshinji temple complex.

Solitary Biographies of Famous Buddhist Figures

Only the most popular and prominent Buddhists – predominantly founders of a major school or legendary figures around which a specific cult had evolved – were honored by solitary biographies. Most of these biographies were rather extensive and elaborate. Outstanding examples are the biographies of Shōtoku Taishi, Gyōki (行基; 668–749 CE), Saichō (最澄; 767–822 CE), Kūkai, and Hōnen.

Illustrated Biographies of Single Famous Buddhist Figures

In some cases, the biographies of prominent figures such as the above mentioned were richly illustrated (*eden* [繪傳]) and published in the format of "picture scrolls" (*emakimono* [繪巻物]), which became popular in the late Heian and Kamakura periods. These scrolls were gradually unrolled from right to left so that scene after scene of the sequential story became visible. In general, a detailed textual passage was followed by a picture showing the event described in the text. Such elaborate picture scrolls were rather expensive, and their usage was a privilege of the aristocratic elite. From the 12th century on, "picture-explaining dharma masters" (*etoki hōshi* [繪解法師]) were employed by the temples for the purpose of proselytization and moral edification among the nobility in order to gain their support. From the Kamakura period, however, being better suited for transportation, less expensive picture scrolls as well as "hanging pictures" (*kakefuku* [掛幅]; *kakemono* [掛物]; *kake'e* [掛繪]), depicting several episodes simultaneously on one picture with very little or no text, were also used by professional wandering entertainers such as *biwa hōshi* (琵琶法師; lute-playing dharma masters), blind elocutionists in monastic garments who accompanied their recitals by playing the Japanese lute (*biwa*) and their female counterparts, *etoki bikuni* (繪解比丘尼; picture-explaining *bhikṣuṇī*s) or *kanjin bikuni* (勸進比丘尼; fundraising *bhikṣuṇī*s; also known as *kumano bikuni* [熊野比丘尼]). While these pseudo-monastic entertainers preferred descriptions of hell and paradise, the monastic *etoki hōshi* tried to gain financial support by, among other things, using illustrated hagiographies of prominent monks associated with their respective temples.

The person who figured most prominently in illustrated hagiographies was Crown Prince Shōtoku, whose cult flourished especially in the precincts of the Shitennōji Temple. His marvelous life was first depicted on sliding screens or doors (*shōji'e* [障子繪]), in the Kamakura period also on hanging pictures and picture scrolls. All these illustrated hagiographies are commonly known as *shōtoku taishi eden* (聖徳太子繪傳), the oldest among which is a sliding screen painted by Hata no Chishin (秦致真; also known as Hata no Chitei [秦致貞]; dates unknown) in 1069, known as *Hōryūji Tōin eden shōji'e* (法隆寺東院繪傳障子繪).

An outstanding example of an elaborate picture scroll depicting the life of a famous monk is the illustrated biography of the venerable Ippen (*Ippen Shōnin eden* [一遍上人繪傳)]), an itinerant monk and the founder of the Jishū. The earliest version was produced in 1299 by Ippen's disciple Shōkai (聖戒; 1261–1322; text) and En'i (圓伊; dates unknown; illustrations). Another tradition of illustrated biographies of Ippen was started by Sōshun's *Yugyō Shōnin engi'e* (遊行上人緣起繪; Illustrated Account of the Origins of the Venerable Traveler [i.e. Ippen]; Sōshun, 1979) completed in 1307.

Almost as famous as the *Ippen Shōnin eden* is the *Shōnin gyōjō ezu* (法然上人行狀繪圖; Illustrated Life of the Venerable Hōnen; *HDZ*), an *emakimono* produced by order of the retired emperor Go-Fushimi (後伏見; r. 1298–1301) in 1307 by the ninth abbot of Chion'in temple, Shunjō (舜昌; 1255–1335; text; in 48 scrolls, a reference to Amida's (Skt. Amitābha/Amitāyus) 48 vows.

Besides those of Hōnen and Ippen, illustrated biographies exist, for instance, (1) of Shinran (親鸞; 1173–1262), the founder of the Pure Land school: the *Honganji/Zenshin Shōnin Shinran den'e* (本願寺善信聖人親鸞傳繪) completed in 1295), text provided by Shinran's great grandson Kakunyo (覺如; 1270–1351), illustrations by Jōga (淨賀; Kakunyo, 1994), and (2) of Kūkai: the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō ekotoba* (弘法大師行狀繪), completed between 1374 and 1389 by Yūkō (祐高), Yukitada (行忠), and two other persons (Yūkō, 1990).

Accounts of Salvation through a Particular Form of Devotion

Accounts of salvation achieved by practicing particular forms of devotion were quite popular during the second half of the Heian period, especially the genre of *ōjōden* (往生傳; accounts of births [in the Pure Land]), due to the growing popularity of the Pure Land cult. The Chinese prototype of this genre was the chapter 6 of Jiacai's (迦才; 7th-cent.) *Jingtu lun* (淨土論; Treatise on the Pure Land; T. 47). In contrast to standard biographies, texts of the *ōjōden* type are dominated by a relative rather than an absolute chronology, and the stories focus on events that caused, accompanied, or proved the protagonists' salvation and that demonstrate the

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The first and best-known collection
Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki (日本往生極
of Births in the [Land of] Utmost Blis
Inoue, 1995), was compiled in 986 CE
no Yasutane (慶滋保胤; c. 931–c. 99
practitioner affiliated with a brother
laypeople and monks related to the f
scholar Genshin (源信; 942–1017), wh
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a collection of 42 accounts on perso
birth in Amida's Pure Land. Among th
are monks (26), novices (2), nuns (3),
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Shōtoku's *ōjō* (birth in the Pure Lan
no Yasutane's *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki*
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edifying narratives of the *setsuwa* (
tales) type in general. A number o
published in the 11th and 12th centuri
Zoku honchō ōjō den (續本朝往生傳
Accounts from Japan; Inoue, 1995) b
fusa (大江匡房; 1041–1111), *Shūi ōjōde*
Gleanings of Birth Accounts; Inoue,
ōjōden (後拾遺往生傳; More Glea
Accounts; Inoue, 1995) by Miyoshi no
善爲康; 1049–1139), and *Honchō shin*
朝新修往生傳; New Edition of Birth
Japan; Inoue, 1995) by Fujiwara no M
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A rather curious collection of *ōjō*
jiku ōjō kenki (天竺往生驗記; Miracu
Births [in the Pure Land] from India
attributed to Vasubandhu. Some d
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Amida's name, by which 35,900 peo
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子繪傳), the oldest among which
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, known as *Hōryūji Tō'in eden*
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on and that demonstrate the

efficacy of a certain faith or cultic practice. Biographical data largely fulfill the function to personalize and historicize the account. In contrast to standard hagiography, the protagonists of *ōjōden* are not necessarily virtuous or charismatic. Often their only virtue is piety. Much emphasis is put on visible signs proving successful passages to the Pure Land, such as miraculous music filling the sky, scent, and purple clouds.

The first and best-known collection of *ōjōden*, the *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* (日本往生極樂記; Records of Births in the [Land of] Utmost Bliss from Japan; Inoue, 1995), was compiled in 986 CE by Yoshishige no Yasutane (慶滋保胤; c. 931–c. 997/1002), a lay practitioner affiliated with a brotherhood of pious laypeople and monks related to the famous Tendai scholar Genshin (源信; 942–1017), who popularized the Pure Land cult on Mount Hiei and beyond. It is a collection of 42 accounts on persons who gained birth in Amida's Pure Land. Among the protagonists are monks (26), novices (2), nuns (3), male lay practitioners (4), and female practitioners (6), in precisely this hierarchical order, which is only violated by the first account, dealing with the crown prince Shōtoku's *ōjō* (birth in the Pure Land). Yoshishige no Yasutane's *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* constitutes the blueprint for all *ōjōden* to follow and also inspired edifying narratives of the *setsuwa* (説話; edifying tales) type in general. A number of sequels were published in the 11th and 12th centuries, namely, the *Zoku honchō ōjō den* (續本朝往生傳; Further Birth Accounts from Japan; Inoue, 1995) by Ōe no Masafusa (大江匡房; 1041–1111), *Shūi ōjōden* (拾遺往生傳; Gleanings of Birth Accounts; Inoue, 1995), *Go-shūi ōjōden* (後拾遺往生傳; More Gleanings of Birth Accounts; Inoue, 1995) by Miyoshi no Tameyasu (三善爲康; 1049–1139), and *Honchō shinshū ōjōden* (本朝新修往生傳; New Edition of Birth Accounts from Japan; Inoue, 1995) by Fujiwara no Munetomo (藤原宗友), who completed this work in 1151.

A rather curious collection of *ōjōden* is the *Tenjiku ōjō kenki* (天竺往生驗記; Miraculous Records of Births [in the Pure Land] from India; *JZZ* 16), falsely attributed to Vasubandhu. Some doctrinal biases and the emphasis put on the practice of calling Amida's name, by which 35,900 people in the western part of India allegedly gained *ōjō*, suggests that the text was completed in the Kamakura period under the influence of Hōnen's teachings. Intertextual evidence as well as the usage of particular terms and concepts, however, indicates a production before 1111 (Fukagai, 1972; Blum, 2007).

Paradoxically, the fast spread of Hōnen's teaching of certain salvation by calling Amida's name in the Kamakura period made the production of *ōjōden* for the sake of proselytization unnecessary. New collections were not produced before 1685, when the monk Kōsai (向西; dates unknown) published his *Nyonin ōjōden* (女人往生傳; Accounts of Women Who Gained Birth). More *ōjōden* were produced in the 18th and 19th centuries:

- *Shinmon kenken ōjōden* (新聞顯驗往生傳; Recently Heard Accounts of Obvious Proves for Births; Kasahara, vol. II, 1978–1980), completed in 1711 by Shin'a Kanen (真阿珂然; 1669–1745);
- *Sesshū shiso ōjō kenki* (勢州緇素往生驗記; Marvelous Records of the Births of Monks and Laymen from Sesshū; Kasahara, vol. II, 1978–1980), written by Daishun (大順; 1711–1779) and published in 1780;
- *Shinsen ōjōden* (新撰往生傳; Newly Compiled Birth Accounts; *JZ* 17), completed around 1793 by Fūkō Ryōgin (風航了吟; ?–1802);
- *Shokoku kenmon kinsei ōjōden* (諸國見聞近世往生傳; Recently Heard Birth Accounts of Recent Times from Various Provinces; Kashiwahara, 1995), completed around 1820 by Ryū'en (隆圓; dates unknown);
- *Kinsei ōjōden* (近世往生傳; Birth Accounts of Recent Times), written by the same author in 1824 and supplemented in 1827 and 1830;
- *Nihon ōjōden wage* (日本往生傳和解; Japanese Birth Accounts Rendered in Japanese), written in 1851 by Shōshubō Sōjun (正聚房僧純; 1791–1872);
- *Sennen ōjōden* (專念往生傳; Accounts of Births by the Single-Minded *Nen*[*butsu*]), completed in 1863 by Onkū (音空).

Somewhat related to the genre of *ōjōden* are collections of stories about devout followers of the Jōdo Shin school, which first appeared during the late Edo period. These texts, known as "accounts of wonderful persons" (*myōkōninden* [妙好人傳]; Shinshū Shiryō Kankōkai, 2009), depict the humble and pious lives of people who perfectly embody the ideals of the Jōdo Shin – that is, to be modest, assiduous, and obedient in this world governed by the ruler's law (*ōbō* [王法]) while bearing the Buddha's dharma (*buppō* [佛法]) in their hearts and faithfully anticipating salvation in the world to come, namely, birth in the Pure Land. The first collection of *myōkōninden* was compiled by Gōsei (1721–1794), a priest of the Nishi Honganji Temple of the Jōdo Shin school, printed posthumously in

1842 and variously supplemented in the following years. More *myōkōninden* were published during the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taishō (1912–1926) periods (Kikufuji, 2003; Asaeda, 1987; Doi, 1981).

A collection of 129 edifying and often miraculous narratives fostering and glorifying the cult centered on the *Lotus Sūtra* was compiled in 1043 by Chingen under the title *Dainihonkoku hokkekyō genki* (大日本國法華經驗記; Records of Miraculous Events Related to the *Lotus Sūtra* from the Great Country of Japan; Inoue, 1995). In his preface, Chingen refers to a lost *Fahua yanji* (法花驗記; Records of Miraculous Events Related to the Lotus [*Sūtra*]) written by the Tiantai monk Yiji (義寂; c. 919–987). Like most *ōjōden*, the stories in Chingen's collection are less interested in biography than in marvelous events. In contrast to the *ōjōden*, many of the protagonists are hermits who practice strict asceticism on holy mountains.

Accounts of miraculous experiences of followers of other cults are also extant, for instance, the *Jizō bosatsu reigenki* (地藏菩薩靈驗記; Accounts of Miraculous Events Related to the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha; middle Heian period), *Sannō reigenki* (山王霊験記; Accounts of Miraculous Numinous Events Related to the [God] Mountain King; 1288), *Hasedera Kannon genki* (長谷寺觀音靈驗記; Accounts of Miraculous Numinous Events Related to Avalokiteśvara of the Hasedera Temple; 1200–1209), and *Kasuga Gongen reigenki* (春日權現靈驗記; Accounts of Miraculous Numinous Events Related to the Provisional Manifestation of Kasuga; 1309).

Sources

As Shinohara Kōichi (1988) has convincingly shown for China, the original source material of the hagiographers was mainly derived from grave inscriptions and orally transmitted miracle stories. Surprisingly, there are almost no examples of grave inscriptions in the Chinese style in Japan before the 17th century. Nevertheless, it was common practice to collect information on a deceased eminent monk among his disciples and have an official compile a biography (Schamoni, 2009, 190). Miracle stories were another important source. In contrast to China, however, biographies of monks in Japan were also included in secular historical writing, which served as a reservoir for hagiographers. Furthermore, temple archives, inscriptions at cultic centers, and local traditions were utilized. The authors or compilers of religious biographies rarely mention their sources in detail. Once hagiographical literature and edifying narratives were widely distributed, life accounts of charismatic figures as well as miraculous stories were "recycled" again and again.

Functions

As was the case in other religions, Buddhist hagiographies were produced and used for specific purposes such as proselytization and the popularization of Buddhist concepts, norms, and ideals; vitalization of particular cults; propaganda and fundraising (*kanjin* [勸進]) for the benefit of religious institutions; identity politics; and legitimation of religious authority. The charismatic figure portrayed in hagiography functioned as a model to be followed and/or as an object of worship.

Authors and Their Motives

Religious biographies and hagiographies in Japan were produced by monks, lay practitioners, literati, and state officials. Sometimes the authors remain anonymous, but evidently they all represent an intelligentsia, capable of writing classical Chinese. Accordingly they represented the norms and ideals of the ruling elite.

The authors' motives for producing hagiographic texts are closely related to the specific functions that the texts were designed to fulfill. In a few cases, the authors inform their readers about their personal motives and intentions, although these tend to be rather stereotypical. The following types of motives explicitly mentioned by the authors can be distinguished:

- to spread the Buddha dharma and to strengthen people's faith;
- to propagate moral norms by example of the virtuous protagonists;
- to assert certain claims vis-à-vis competing Buddhist groups;
- to stimulate a particular cult;
- to establish karmic ties with a buddha, a bodhisattva, a fellow practitioner, or a saintly person;
- to gain religious benefit; and so on.

Religious Ideals

The religious ideals propagated in hagiographical writing vary greatly in accordance with the genre,

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Recipients and "*Sitz im Le*
(Sociological Setting)

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the purpose, and the "*Sitz im Leben*" of the texts. In relatively few cases is strict asceticism idealized, and in these cases, asceticism functions primarily as a means to achieve paranormal faculties rather than being seen as an expression of moral conduct or adherence to the precepts. Many protagonists are portrayed as miracle workers. Accordingly, miracles figure prominently in hagiographic collections of the edifying type. Among the miracles depicted in the texts, the following are found most frequently:

- divination, clairvoyance, visions, and prophetic dreams;
- telekinetic, levitation, bilocation, and supernatural locomotion;
- control over ghosts and demons, exorcism, and spiritual healing; and
- strange occurrences accompanying conception, birth, and death of the protagonist.

Among the predominant virtues and talents ascribed to the protagonists, we find the usual set: not only scholarship, education, artistic skill, eloquence, and so forth but also modesty, humbleness, diligence, deep faith, obedience, and filial piety.

In some cases, the protagonist is depicted as lacking all virtues besides one, for instance, he or she is a notorious evil doer but has deep faith, or behaves immorally but is justified to do so because his or her spiritual achievements set him or her beyond moral standards.

Recipients and "*Sitz im Leben*" (Sociological Setting)

It is hard to tell how biographies and hagiographies were actually received and by whom. First of all, the "*Sitz im Leben*" of these texts depended on the specific genre to which they belonged and their specific functions. We may surmise that Buddhist historiographies were primarily used as repositories of historical information by scholarly monks who studied the history of a particular Buddhist school or tradition. Some texts were presented to the emperor with a view to gain support by the ruler once he recognized the magnificence of Buddhism and its representatives. Whether or not the rulers really read such texts is unknown. Likewise, collections of biographies of Buddhist virtuosi may have been produced with a view to gain support by the nobility, for Buddhist institutions in general but more likely for particular temples or monasteries, especially in the case of sectarian collections. Solitary biographies of famous Buddhist figures were probably studied by members of the respective tradition. In addition these biographies provided the materials for public preaching and proselytization. For these two purposes, illustrated texts on picture scrolls or hanging pictures were preferred. Accounts of spiritual salvation by a particular cult in all likelihood circulated among members of the respective cult as means of strengthening faith, practice, commitment, collective identity, and group solidarity.

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Teaching Literature

Tantric Prakaraṇas

Prakaraṇas are usually short or mid-length treatises on a particular aspect of doctrine and/or practice, either tacitly endorsing and promoting a viewpoint or phrased in an apologetic style; in other words, they are descriptive or argumentative, essay-style exegetical writings. While there is nothing specifically tantric about the term *prakaraṇa* itself, in the present article it refers to those related to esoteric literature. These treatises do not claim to be revelation: the author is known, or there is at least supposed to have been a human author, even if authorship is frequently debated. Examples of a treatise being attributed to an already well-known figure in order to increase its prestige abound. Some *prakaraṇas* proved to be very influential, as they are frequently quoted, endorsed, and debated.

The boundary lines between *prakaraṇas* and other genres such as commentaries or ritual manuals are not always so sharp, since works of the latter type often contain argumentative excursuses, which can be seen as mini-treatises (one such example is a treatise embedded in the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary to the *Kālacakratantra*; Gnoli, 1997). Moreover, some *prakaraṇas* were so prestigious and influential that later scriptural compilers took over from them entire paragraphs, thus "scripturalizing" passages that were presumably seen as important. In cultures in which tantric literature has been canonized (China, Tibet), there is no separate section dedicated to *prakaraṇas*; instead they are found dispersed among other genres of exegesis, sometimes affiliated to a particular cycle of scriptural revelation.

Topics can be varied. A popular theme is the surveying of Buddhist revelation, evaluating the virtues of one doctrine over another, and showing how the tantric revelation fits into the scheme. It did not escape the attention of authors that esoteric teachings were of a very different type when compared to mainstream Buddhism, and thus quite a lot of effort went into justifying not only their place but also their superiority. However, sometimes the theme of a treatise can be narrowly specialized, for example the precise number of initiations (*abhiṣeka*) and what they should consist of. For the historian these are very precious documents, since they are crucial for reconstructing the intellectual landscape of medieval Indian Buddhism in general and esoteric Buddhism in particular.

An argumentative *prakaraṇa* is typically written in prose, but the *kārikā* style, fully versified form is not unknown; some are written in mixed prose and verse. Following the age-old model, after the topic has been pointed out, possible objections are listed and refuted employing reasoning (*yukti*) and the authority of revelation and previous masters (*āgama*), either by allusion or direct quotation. Descriptive *prakaraṇas* are usually in verse, the density of which suggests that this is mainly a mnemonic device. These do not typically follow the argumentative style, but almost always endorse a particular doctrinal perspective, at the expense of competing views.

Even if a particular *prakaraṇa* is not openly argumentative, the designation is similar to the titles of those that are. The headings of both kinds of treatises employ terms such as *tattva* (reality) or a synonym thereof; other words commonly employed include *nirukti* (elucidation), *pradīpa* (lamp), *nirākaraṇa* (refutation), or *siddhi* (proof or accomplishment). Furthermore, not infrequently a descriptive treatise was followed by an argumentative commentary either by the author himself or a disciple.

Although quite a few *prakaraṇas* have survived in the original Sanskrit, some of the most important and influential ones can now be accessed only in Tibetan translations, many of which are of poor quality. The individual texts discussed below are for the most part those whose original is extant, but exception is made in those cases where the work is too important to ignore. The survey is not comprehensive.

Padmavajra's *Guhyasiddhi*

The *Guhyasiddhi* of Padmavajra (The Accomplishment of the Secret; *Gsang ba grub pa*; D 2217/P 5016) is very probably an 8th-century CE work. The Sanskrit original is available, but it is very poorly transmitted; the only edition thus far (Rinpoche & Dwivedi, 1987, 5–62) should be considered a very tentative

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attempt. The work is arranged in nine chapters and it is almost entirely in verse. The *Guhyasiddhi* seeks to elucidate a number of points about what it sees as the fundamental tantric scripture, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which is unequivocally seen as the culmination of Buddhist revelation. The author advocates a complete, unapologetically antinomian spiritual programme for practitioners of varying abilities and accomplishments based on that scripture, beginning with the service of a *guru*, receiving initiation followed by diligent meditative practice, sexual yoga beginning with a real woman and culminating with a visualized internal consort, and various kinds of post-initiatory observance (*caryā*). One such passage (ch. 8, esp. v. 12) betrays intimate familiarity with rival Śaiva cults (Tanemura, 2008, 55–58; Sanderson, 2009, 144–145).

Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi*

The *Jñānasiddhi* (Accomplishment of [Nondual] Gnosis; ed. Bhattacharyya, 1929, 31–100; Rinpoche & Dwivedi, 1987, 89–158; *Ye shes grub pa*; D 2219/P 3063) is confessedly a practical manual, but it is much more than that, as the author frequently digresses into supportive philosophical discussions, such as the Yogācāra controversy of *sākāra* and *nirākāra* (i.e. whether or not the perceiving mind "takes the form" of the perceived object). The work, which is structured in 20 chapters, is no doubt early, perhaps from the 9th century CE. Unfortunately, it is also rather badly transmitted (de Jong, 1998) in relatively late paper manuscripts. Just like Padmavajra, Indrabhūti promotes a unambiguously transgressive spiritual programme: the practitioner is free to do anything provided that he maintains meditative identity with the deity. The work is imbued with the spirit and diction of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, a scripture the author also frequently quotes and refers to (Sanderson, 2009, 155–156, 163).

Jñānapāda's *Ātmasādhanāvatāra*

Perhaps one of the earliest argumentative *prakaraṇas* of late tantric Buddhism is to be found among the works of Jñānapāda or *Buddhaśrījñāna (late 8th-early 9th cent. CE). His *Ātmasādhanāvatāra* (An Introduction to Accomplishment in the Body; *Bdag sgrub pa la 'jug pa*; D 1860/P 2723) is extant in Sanskrit (Kawasaki, 2004, 51) but remains inaccessible. More than half of the original can be recovered from two long excursuses in a still unstudied recension of a work called the *Sāramañjarī* (for the catalogue entry, see Sferra, 2008, 45). The work seeks to advocate, defend, and harmonize the fundamentally tantric practice of visualizing oneself as a deity with Yogācāra Buddhism.

Works of the Ārya School

The so-called Ārya school is one of the two most influential traditions of *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis. While the fundamental text of this group, the *Pañcakrama* (The Five Stages; *Rim pa lnga pa*; D 1802/P 2667) deals almost exclusively with practice (a comprehensive study, edition, and French translation can be found in Tomabechi, 2006), the *Sūtaka* or *Sūtakamelāpaka* (The Integration of *Sūtras*, *Tantras*, and *Kalpas*; *Spyod pa bsdus pa'i sgron ma*; D 1803/P 2668), better known under the otherwise unattested title as the **Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* of deutero-Āryadeva (most likely early 9th cent. CE) also deals with doctrinal matters, advocating a gradual path of tantric practice as the culmination of Mahāyāna in the form of a conversation between master and disciple (edited and translated into English in Wedemeyer, 2007). The *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* (A Treatise on the Purification of Mind; *Sems kyi sgrib pa rnam par sbyong ba zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa*; D 1804/P 2669) of presumably the same, tantric Āryadeva is a defense of antinomian practice and an attempt to show that in spite of all appearances, such a path is in perfect harmony with Mahāyāna philosophy (the latest edition and study, greatly in need of revision, is Varghese, 2008; for another translation, see Wedemeyer, 1999, 357–382). Attributed to the same author, the *Svādhiṣṭhānakramaprabheda* (An Elucidation of the Stages of Self-empowerment; *Bdag byin gyis brlab pa'i rim par rnam par dbye ba*; D 1805/P 2670) is another work on self-identification with the deity; it is deeply influenced by the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*. It has been edited (Pandey, 1997, 169–194) and translated into English in C.K. Wedemeyer, 1999, 383–391.

Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasiddhi*

The most widely known *prakaraṇa* is perhaps the *Tattvasiddhi* (A Proof of Reality; *De kho na nyid grub*

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293–294.

Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāyaviniścayas*

The chief idea of Anaṅgavajra
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pa; D 2218/P 3062; ed. Bhatt
Rinpoche & Dwivedi, 1987, 63–
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eality; *De kho na nyid grub*

pa; D 3708/P 4531) attributed to Śāntarakṣita. Both the Tibetan tradition and some modern scholars (e.g. Mishra, 1985–1986, 123–124) maintain that this author is the same as the first abbot of Bsam yas and the author of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, a philosophical work. However, it is much more likely that the author is a deutero-Śāntarakṣita, perhaps from the 9th century CE and not the 8th. The only complete edition of the Sanskrit text thus far is a draft by K.N. Mishra, which remains unpublished but available since 1986. A complete edition by T. Tomabechi incorporating the readings of a palm-leaf manuscript found in China is forthcoming (announced in Steinkellner, 2008, 291). Partial editions have been published in Moriguchi Kōshun, 1993 (with a Japanese translation and an examination of texts quoted by the work) and E. Steinkellner, 2001 (the passage is translated into English in Steinkellner, 2008). All the manuscripts used in these editions are rather poor paper witnesses. The overall goal of the *Tattvasiddhi* is to justify antinomian and anti-ascetic tantric practice, promoting the idea that great bliss (*mahāsukha*), which is supposedly enjoyed by liberated beings, can only be produced by sensual bliss (*sukha*). To this end, the author employs a variety of techniques, chief among which is a type of inference developed by the logician Dharmakīrti (Steinkellner, 1999, 355–360). Although the work lacks the sophistication and elegance of logico-philosophical authors, it proved important and influential, as parts of it were incorporated into at least one scripture fashioned in the late 10th or early 11th century (Szántó, 2013b, 349). At present, there is no complete translation of the text; a comprehensive summary can be found in E. Steinkellner, 2008, 293–294.

Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*

The chief idea of Anaṅgavajra's work (Establishing the Ascertainment of Wisdom and Means; *Thabs dang shes rab rnam par gtan la dbab pa'i sgrub pa*; D 2218/P 3062; ed. Bhattacharyya, 1929, 3–27; Rinpoche & Dwivedi, 1987, 63–87) is the importance and indispensability of a master and the initiations and instructions provided by him in order to obtain success on the tantric path. Large blocks of this text have been transformed into scripture, namely, the *Sampuṭodbhavatantra* (Szántó, 2013b, 353, 354, 356). The dating of the author is uncertain, but he must, on account of the mentioned adaptation, precede the end of the 10th century.

*Tripiṭakamalla's **Nayatrayapradīpa*

The **Nayatrayapradīpa* (A Lamp [to Elucidate the Respective Superiority of] the Three Ways; *Tshul gsum gyi sgron ma*; D 3707/P 4530) is a lengthy and sophisticated work now available only in Tibetan. The author's name has been transmitted and tentatively reconstructed in a variety of ways (*Tripiṭakamala, *Tripiṭakamāla, *Tripiṭakakamala) of which *Tripiṭakamalla ("Champion of the Three Canons") is the most plausible. A critical edition of the Tibetan is lacking but a substantial portion has been studied and translated in I. Onians, 2002, 92–139. The author presents the three ways – the way of hearers (Śrāvakayāna), the great way (Mahāyāna), and the *vajra* way (Vajrayāna) – in an inclusivistic model. His teaching on the superiority of Vajrayāna or tantric teachings over mainstream Mahāyāna is encapsulated in the following celebrated verse, which is often quoted and thus available in the original:

> *ekārthatve 'py asaṃmohād bahūpāyād aduṣkarāt* |
> *tīkṣṇendriyādhikārāc ca mantraśāstraṃ viśiṣyate* ||
> (the last quarter is also seen as *mantranītiḥ praśasyate*, or *mantranītir viśiṣyate*)
>
> Even if the aim is the same, the mantra teaching is distinguished [from that of the Perfections] by its lack of confusion, many methods, easiness and appropriateness for those of sharp faculties. (trans. Onians, 2002, 88)

The author argues that the tantric path does not have a different goal than that of the Mahāyāna, but it is supreme to it in these four ways. The text then proceeds to elaborate on these four kinds of superiority in great detail. The author must be quite early: his paradigmatic tantric scripture is the *Guhyasamājatantra* and he does not seem to quote any text later than the 9th century CE.

*Dharmendra's **Tattvasārasaṃgraha* and *Udbhaṭa's **Mantranayāloka*

The otherwise unknown authors *Dharmendra and *Udbhaṭa were master and disciple as is clear from the latter's testimony. *Dharmendra's **Tattvasārasaṃgraha* (A Compendium on the Essence of Reality;

De kho na nyid kyi snying po bsdus pa; D 3711/P 4534) is a long work on Mahāyāna soteriology. In the last section the author states that he chose not to engage with the Vajrayāna because although the tantric revelation is legitimate, in this degenerate age there are no suitable candidates for its practice. *Udbhaṭa's work, the **Mantranayāloka* (A Look at the Way of Mantras; *Gsang sngags kyi tshul gyi snang ba*; D 3710/P 4533) is an apology for this statement, which proved very controversial with contemporaries, although this author is not quite as dismissive as his master. Judging from the textual pool cited in the two works (e.g. the *Guhyendutilaka*, the *Paramādya*, already the **Nayatrayapradīpa*, as well as some now completely lost works), both must date from circa the 9th century CE.

Aśvaghoṣa/Vāpilladatta's *Gurupañcāśikā*

The *Gurupañcāśikā* (Fifty [Stanzas] on the *Guru*; *Bla ma lnga bcu pa*; D 3721/P 4544) is a short but very influential work already cited in the 10th century, in actual fact for the most part an anthology of scriptural verses, describing the qualities of a tantric master and how disciples should interact with him. At present we are aware of only two Sanskrit manuscripts, both fragments (Lévi, 1929, also contains a French translation; Szántó, 2013a; Pandey, 1997, 33–40 misleadingly prints the entire Sanskrit text, but the latter part is a back translation from Tibetan marked only by square brackets). There is also a rather inferior Chinese translation (事師法五十頌; T. 1687). The manuscript studied by S. Lévi also transmits two further small works, lists of the so-called fundamental (*mūlāpatti*) and gross trespasses (*sthūlāpatti*), essentially major and minor commandments for a tantric initiate. There are several other such works deserving closer attention (a preliminary overview is presented in Davidson, 2002, 322–327). In spite of their brevity, these texts allow valuable insights into the inner workings of a tantric community.

The works of Advayavajra and his followers

Nearly all the works of the early 11th-century author known as Advayavajra or Maitreyanātha (or even Avadhūtipāda and Maitrīpāda) may be considered as *prakaraṇas*. This famous master is among the first tantric authors to have come to the attention of modern scholarship, when a collection of nearly two dozen of his short treatises was published by H.P. Shastri (1927). A new edition of this corpus – with the exception of the *Tattvaratnāvalī*, for which see Ui Hakuju, 1952 – using new manuscript material accompanied by Japanese translations has been published by the Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai (Esoteric Scriptures Study Group; 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991). A comprehensive account of Advayavajra's thought is still lacking; the latest word on the subject is H. Isaacson and F. Sferra, 2014. At least two topics from his works merit and received special attention. The first concerns initiation: the author seems to have held a minority view concerning the correct sequence of blisses (*ānanda*) that are experienced during sexual initiation; this was one of the greatest debates among tantric authors of the period. His teachings on this theme were defended by one of his disciples, Rāmapāla, in his *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (A Commentary to the Instruction Concerning Initiation; *Dbang bskur ba nges par bstan pa'i dka' 'grel*; D 2253/P 4098). This latter work is comprehensively studied, edited, and translated in H. Isaacson and F. Sferra, 2014. The second topic associated with Advayavajra is the so-called non-tantric practice of the "great seal" (*mahāmudrā*; Isaacson & Sferra, 2014, 411–420).

The Works of Vāgīśvarakīrti

A close contemporary of Advayavajra was Vāgīśvarakīrti, who was best known for his argumentative works and passages concerning initiation, more specifically the fourth initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka*), of which he was an advocate. To this day, the most comprehensive study of Vāgīśvarakīrti's works is a monograph in Japanese (Sakurai, 1996), which includes an edition of his initiation manual containing a defense of sexual initiation for qualified monks (on which see Onians, 2002, 279–289). His *Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa* (An Elucidation of "A consideration of Precious Reality"; *De kho na nyid rin po che snang ba'i rnam par bshad pa*; D 1890/P 2754, 4793; Sanskrit and Tibetan edition in Pandey, 1997, 83–142) is for the most part an elaborate defense of the fourth initiation (Isaacson, 2010, 269–271), dispelling a variety of contradicting doctrines, whereas his **Saptāṅga* (On the Seven Ancillaries; *Yan lag bdun pa*; D 1888/P 2752) deals

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(Sakurai, 1996, 212–220), analyzing
views concerning the topic.

Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra*

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Jñānaśrī's **Vajrayānāntadvayanirā*

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Ratnavajra's *Caturthasadbhāvopade*

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chiefly with the same issue even more extensively (Sakurai, 1996, 212–220), analyzing no less than 17 views concerning the topic.

Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra*

Already cited by early 11th-century authors, the *Tattvāvatāra* of Jñānakīrti (An Introduction to Reality; *De kho na nyid la 'jug pa*; D 3709/P 4532) is a lengthy and comprehensive overview beginning by defining types of Buddhist practitioners according to ability, with the paths suitable for them, and culminating in a discussion of the highest spiritual attainment. The work is cited by later Tibetan authorities as one advocating the achievement of the "great seal" based on exclusively exoteric, *sūtra*-based practices. While many of the quotations from the text can be found in the original elsewhere, the work itself is lost in Sanskrit, and the Tibetan translation has still not received the attention it deserves.

Jñānaśrī's **Vajrayānāntadvayanirākaraṇa*

The authorship of the **Vajrayānāntadvayanirākaraṇa* (Dispelling the Two Extreme Views Concerning the Tantric Way; *Rdo rje theg pa'i mtha' gnyis sel ba*; D 3714/P 4537) has not been established with certainty. The work was probably written in the 11th century. It is a learned and sophisticated text that first seeks to prove that the tantric revelation is indeed the Buddha's teaching, and then proceeds to describe its superiority to exoteric Buddhism with great emphasis on the idea of "skill in means" (*upāyakauśalya*). The discussion of the tantric path's superiority closely mirrors the discussion of the superiority of the Mahāyāna in the classic *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. The critical edition of the Tibetan translation has not yet been published (the Sanskrit original has been lost), but two in-depth studies greatly facilitate access to this text (Kyuma, 2009; Tanemura, 2009).

Ratnavajra's *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*

Ratnavajra was a Kashmiri author also known as Sūkṣmāvartabhaṭṭa; his activity can be placed with certainty in the first half of the 11th century. The text entitled *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa* (A Teaching Concerning the True Nature of the Fourth [Initiation]; *Bzhi pa'i don rnam par nges pa'i man ngag*; D 2475) is extant in Sanskrit, but it is at present inaccessible (Kawasaki, 2004, 51). This fully versified, short and dense work seeks to refute the opinion of certain "Eastern scholars" (almost certainly Vāgīśvarakīrti and perhaps Ratnākaraśānti) that the fourth initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka*) is a separate rite. Ratnavajra points out that previously the "fourth" was unknown in Kashmir, but it is now practiced in spite of its spurious nature.

*Jñānākara's **Mantrāvatāra* and **Mantrāvatāravṛtti*

*Jñānākara is very likely another 11th-century author. His 60-verse **Mantrāvatāra* (An Introduction to the [Way of] Mantras; *Gsang sngags la 'jug pa*; D 3718/P 4541) and an autocommentary (*Gsangs sngags la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa*; D 3719/P 4542) seek to briefly introduce the tantric path under 15 headings, such as the appropriate practitioner, the types and nature of his accomplishment, the proper and improper way of practice, and so forth. The originals of both works have been lost. The **Mantrāvatāra* is not argumentative as such, but its introduction states quite clearly that it is intended to refute "perverted views." The commentary makes it clear that in the author's mind this meant a literal interpretation of the *tantra*s promoted by what he views as false teachers. Some verses of the root text (as quoted by the Tibetan scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub) have been translated in J. Hopkins, 2008, 227–230.

Jinasujayaśrīgupta's *Abhiṣekanirukti*

The *Abhiṣekanirukti* (An Explanation of [the Third and Fourth] Initiations; *Dbang bskur ba'i nges pa bstan pa*; D 2476/P 3301; *Dbang gi don nges par brjod pa*; D 2477/P 3302; ed. by Isaacson used with attribution in Onians, 2002, 349–368; trans. Onians, 2002, 322–348; new draft in Isaacson, 2008) is a complex and in some ways unusual treatise on viewpoints concerning the function of "knowledge of wisdom initiation" (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*), in which the initiand has to copulate with a consort. Jinasujayaśrīgupta lists three views of the *yogatantra*s (by which here the *Guhyasamājatantra* is meant) and three views of the *yoginītantras* (represented by the *Hevajratantra*), but unconventionally he does not commit himself to any of them; instead he exhorts the reader to select the appropriate one. The two Tibetan translations differ in attribution: the first is assigned to Ratnākaraśānti and the second to Jinasujayaśrīgupta, but it can be shown that the true author is the latter, probably a disciple of the former, and that the attribution was altered deliberately in order to increase the work's prestige (Isaacson, 2010, 267).

Śrīlakṣmī's *Advayasiddhisādhanopāyikā*

Although Śrīlakṣmī or Lakṣmīkarā is presented by the tradition as having lived at least three centuries earlier, it is unlikely that she dates from before the late 10th century. Her *Advayasiddhir nāma sādhanopāyikā* (A Practical Manual Called The Attainment of Nonduality; *Gnyis su med par grub pa'i sgrub thabs*; D 2220/P 3064) is a short, 36-verse work, a gnostic practical manual, for the most part a compilation of well-known aphorisms (for the best edition, see Rinpoche & Dwivedi, 1987, 159–164). The practitioner is exhorted to give up external methods and focus on worshipping the *guru*, sexual yoga with a consort, and the cultivation of nonduality. Perhaps the only truly distinctive feature of the work is that it is signed by a female author.

The anonymous *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*

The *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* (A Collection of Aphoristic Statements) was one of the earliest tantric Buddhist works published in Europe, with profuse apologies for and a condemnation of its contents (Bendall, 1903; 1904a; 1904b). The text is available only in Sanskrit and it is poorly transmitted. As the title shows, the author did not mean to be original and his work is for the most part indeed a collection of quotations. However, the manner in which these are strung together is significant, as is the fact that many of these passages are not available in the original elsewhere. By making reference to authorities both scriptural and exegetical, the compiler wished to present a comprehensive map of tantric practice underpinned by Madhyamaka philosophy. The work is greatly inspired by Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra*.

The anonymous *Yuktipradīpa*

A completely unknown *prakaraṇa* by an anonymous author entitled *Yuktipradīpa* or *Yuktidīpa* (A Lamp of Reasoning) was discovered by R. Sāṅkṛityāyana (1937, 27–28) on his second journey to Tibet. The current state of the manuscript is unconfirmed, and it is accessible only through very low quality, sometimes barely legible photographs in the Tucci collection (Sferra, 2008, 42). There is no edition of the text and it is doubtful whether one could be produced at this stage. From what is legible, it would seem that the author's main opponents were subitists who claimed that liberation is possible merely by having received a *guru*'s teaching, without the need for gradual and constant meditative and ritual practice. Judging by the quotations, the author was a follower of the so-called Jñānapāda school.

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PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ

Doxography: Tibet

In the Tibetan context, the term "doxography" refers mainly to surveys of tenets (*grub pa'i mtha'*; Skt. *siddhānta*) or philosophical views/opinions (*lta ba*; Skt. *darśana*/*dṛṣṭi*) of the Indian Buddhist and Hindu traditions (Hopkins, 1996, 170; Mimaki, 1982, 2). In a broader sense, it encompasses the systematization of tantric systems and spiritual approaches (Dalton, 2005, 119–120; Dalton & van Schaik, 2003, 154–155; Mimaki, 1994, 121–126). In the classical sense of the term, however, Tibetan doxographical (*grub mtha'*) works capture the philosophical quintessence of the Indian Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools of thought in so far as these works represent a delineation of an author's perspective on the framework of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious-philosophical schools of India in its current state of exegesis. The overall value of these compilations was immediately tangible when substantial knowledge of Tibet's literature reached the West for the first time during the first half of the 19th century. Doxographical works occupied a key role in pioneering studies on the literary and philosophical outlines of Tibetan Buddhism, its internal structure and traditions, and the framework of Indian Buddhist philosophy as it was perceived and codified in Tibet. Apart from early sketches (Csoma de Kőrös, 1834, 276; 1838) and a summary based thereon (Burnouf, 1844, 445–452), the doxograpical system of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism was mapped for the first time by V.P. Vasil'ev (1860, 285–367) based on the doxographies of the Dge lugs pa scholars 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1648–1721) and Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786). As a philosophical codification of Buddhism, doxographical works and doxographical knowledge are an integral part of the spectrum of Tibetan Buddhist knowledge, literature, and education.

Doxographical Texts in Tibet: Origin, Function, and Stylistics

In the Western scientific tradition, the term "doxography" has been coined by H. Diels (Runia, 2010, 272–274; Meijer, 2006, 24). Understood since then also as "the broader tradition of discussion and summary of ancient philosophical doctrines" (Runia, 2010, 273), the doxographical process in ancient Greece as such emerged out of a problem-oriented approach to handling different opinions (*doxai*) of previous philosophers in the light of one's own discussions and philosophical explorations (as e.g. done by Aristotle) and discussing them within a certain frame of topics such as physics, ethics, and logic (Runia, 2010, 275).

In contrast to the historical diversification of Buddhism in India, the origin of philosophical or doxographical systematization and composition in Tibet as well as in China (as far as it concerns Buddhist philosophy) is inherently connected with their overall reception of Buddhism. Just as the translation of a doctrinally heterogeneous corpus of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese up to the time of Kumārajīva (350–409/413 CE) led to the formation of *panjiao* systems – a conclusive systematization of the translated Buddhist scriptures according to hermeneutical, diachronic, and doctrinal aspects (Wun, 2006, xix–xxi; Gregory, 1991, 115; Ocho Enichi, 1981, 71) from the early 5th century onward (Wun, 2006, 9–16), likewise the origin of the Tibetan doxographical tradition coincides with the first systematic reception of Indian Buddhism on the brink of the 8th century CE. Tibet's knowledge of India, its philosophical landscape and discourses among and between the Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions, and thus the fundament of the Tibetan doxographical tradition rests on the translation of constitutive works of the Indian Buddhist tradition such as Bhāviveka's (6th cent.) *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, its autocommentary the *Tarkajvālā*, Śāntarakṣita's (725–788) *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the *Jñānasārasamuccaya*, Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin's (c. 9th cent.) *Viśeṣastava*, and Jitāri's (10th cent.) *Sugatamatavibhaṅgakārikā* (Mimaki, 1982, 2). The Tibetan translations of these works and their respective Indian commentaries constitute the prime sources for doxographical information insofar as they preserve, in varying quantity and detail, the discourses of the Indian Buddhist tradition with and the polemics against their opponents, which had developed and flourished in an intellectual setting of debate between the Buddhist and Hindu traditions. Although

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the older Buddhist tradition preserved a set of unfavorable or unacceptable views (Qvarnström, 1999, 172–173), the decisive intellectual and literary impulse for later developments might have taken place around the 6th century due to Bhāviveka (Qvarnström, 1999, 176–177), who depicts a range of religious-philosophical traditions according to their views (*darśanas*) on topics such as valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) and categories of realities/principles (*tattvas*) – an approach that took even more concrete shape in the Tibetan doxographical literature (Eckel, 2008, 27–38).

With the advent of Buddhism, Tibet's culture began to be formed and transformed through waves of reception of Buddhist knowledge that reached Tibet through the translation of Buddhist literature from Sanskrit and Chinese, as well as the intellectual exchange between Tibet and its geographical neighbors over the subsequent centuries. The reception of Indian Buddhism and the translation of the constitutive works of several generations of Indian Buddhist thinkers stimulated the development of literary autochthonous genres that reflect these influences, ranging from scholastic commentaries on esoteric and exoteric texts to poetry, grammar, epics, law, and medicine, among other (Cabezón & Jackson, 1996, 13–15, 23–31). Besides comprehensive commentaries on classical Indian Buddhist works, Tibetan doxographies systematize and highlight various positions and questions in and derived from Indian Buddhist literature as well as the (hypothetical) school affiliations of their prominent scholars (see Mimaki, 1982, 29–40; 1983, 161–162; 1992, 12n27; 1994, 119). Especially in view of the exegesis of the Mahāyāna schools (i.e. Yogācāra and Mādhyamaka), Tibetan doxographical texts mirror the hermeneutical progress of Tibet's intellectual culture, exegetical developments, and sectarian discrepancies.

Doxographies were written by scholars of all major religious orders, including scholars of the indigenous Bon tradition (for an overview, see Mimaki, 1982, 6–9), varying in size from comprehensive treatments of several hundred pages in prose to summaries that are hardly more than a structural outline – a diversity that might reflect their purpose and usage, ranging from reference books to short summaries that are used as a template (for memorization) within the monastic curriculum (Hopkins, 1996, 173; 2003, 6). In view of its place in monastic education (Dreyfus, 2003, 112; 1997, 34), which revolves around principles of studying (*thos pa*; Skt. *śruta*), contemplation (*bsam pa*; Skt. *cintā*), and meditation (*sgom pa*; Skt. *bhāvanā*; Wangchuk, 2006, 227; Hopkins, 1996, 171), Tibetan scholars occasionally remark that studying (lit. hearing) includes the knowledge of doxographical systems in order to learn the basics of what shall be accepted and abandoned (*blang ba dang dor ba*; Skt. *heyopādeya*) in terms of philosophical views (Dorje, 2012, 99–100).

Despite the fact that the Tibetan tradition preserves narratives on the development of Buddhism in India as well as the spread of Buddhism in their own country, and that Tibetan scholars were aware of a relative chronology of the Buddhist schools (Jackson, 1987, 411–412n120), the core of doxographical expositions is concerned neither with the historiographical background, that is, the origin of the respective schools or traditions, nor with the history of Buddhism in general. These topics are confined to the genre of *chos 'byung* (history, genesis of Buddhism; Vostrikov, 1970, 139–179; van der Kuijp, 1996, 46–57) or *bstan rtsis* (chronology of the [Buddhist] doctrine; Vostrikov, 1970, 101–137). And even though larger doxographies might contain historiographical material, they are clearly confined to self-contained chapters, as can, for instance, be seen in the works of Rog bande Shes rab 'od (1166–1244; Cabezón, 2013, 16) and Klong chen pa (1308–1364; Butters, 2006, 708). The increasing differentiation of Tibet's religious landscape, however, brought about literary compositions that treat the history and doctrines of the main religious orders (*chos lugs*), minor religious movements, and the indigenous Bon tradition under the same nomenclature *grub mtha'* (Mimaki, 1982, 2; 1994, 115). Hence, doxographical key issues and classifications are not restricted to the domain of doxographical texts but were, for instance, incorporated in works that come close to the concept of an encyclopedia (*bshad mdzod*), such as Don dam smra ba seng ge's (late 15th or early 16th cent.) *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*, a compendium written for the laity (Smith, 2001, 216).

From a structural perspective, classical doxographical works reify the grand lines of the philosophical landscape as well as basic philosophical principles, including a depiction of the difference between Buddhism and everything that is not Buddhist, from a treatment of non-Buddhist traditions, through the clarification of the difference between the most salient characteristics of "Hīnayāna" (*theg dman*) and Mahāyāna (*theg pa chen po*), down to their main theme: the successive treatment of the four Buddhist schools of the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, and Mādhyamaka as well as their respective subclassifications (Hopkins, 1996, 174; Jackson, 1987, 411–414n120; Mimaki, 1982, 18).

The non-Buddhist systems are basically summarized according to their depiction in the works of Bhāviveka and Śāntarakṣita (and their commentaries). Within the Tibetan scholastic literature, the "five dialectical schools" (*rtog ge sde lnga*) form a heterogeneous set that represents the major non-Buddhist traditions. It might, for instance, comprise the Sāṃkhya, "Īśvara" (incl. Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya), Vaiṣṇava, Jaina, and Lokāyata/Cārvaka, as they were adduced by Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169; Jackson, 1985, 9n7). Other doxographers, however, occasionally included sections on Vedānta, Mīmāṃsa, or *vaiyākaraṇa* (relating to grammar), as is evident, for instance, in the *Grub mtha' chen mo* (Hopkins, 2003, 8–9).

The non-Buddhist schools are, from the Buddhist perspective, categorized according to their individual attitude toward a notion of eternalism (*rtag par smra ba*; Skt. *śāśvatavāda*) or nihilism/annihilationism (*chad par smra ba*; Skt. *ucchedavāda*), who recognize neither the nonessentiality of phenomena (*chos kyi bdag med pa*; Skt. *dharmanairātmya*), nor the nonessentiality of the person (*gang zag gi bdag med pa*; Skt. *pudgalanairātmya*) and thus lack the proper notion of the middle way (*dbu ma'i lam*; Skt. *madhyamā pratipat*).

The exposition of the Buddhist schools of philosophy follows the successive treatment of the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, and Mādhyamaka – from the oldest to the highest system of philosophy. This scheme and sequence represents the *de facto* standard, which has been corroborated by Tibetan doxographers on the basis of Indian sources such as the *Hevajratantra*, Vajragarbha's *Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā*, and the *Jñānasārasamuccaya* (Jackson, 1987, 411–414n120).

Doxographical accounts of Buddhist schools generally follow a fixed exegetical scheme such as the following:

1. philosophical views (*lta ba*; Skt. *darśana/dṛṣṭi*);
2. conduct (*spyod pa*; Skt. *caryā*; or *spyod lam*; Skt. *īryāpatha*);
3. form of meditation (*bsgom pa*; Skt. *bhāvanā*); and
4. aspired soteriological result (*'bras bu*; Skt. *phala*).

An alternative, slightly reduced form of a school's doxographical account covers the following:

1. philosophical premises (*gzhi*; lit. basis/ground);
2. (spiritual) path (*lam*; Skt. *mārga*); and
3. result (*'bras bu*; Skt. *phala*).

Finally, doxographical accounts might apply the following fourfold scheme:

1. definition (*mtshan nyid*; Skt. *lakṣaṇa*);
2. subdivision (*dbye ba* or *rab tu dbye ba*);
3. etymology (*sgra bshad* as synonym of *nges tshig*; Skt. *nirukti*); and
4. the philosophical positions (*grub mtha'i 'dod tshul*) according to the philosophical basis, path, and result.

The greater part of doxographical texts is devoted to the analysis of philosophical views that focus on ontological and epistemological questions. Certain positions such as the acceptance of external entities (*phyi rol gyi don*; Skt. *bahirārtha/bāhyārtha*), or the question whether cognition is endowed with an image of the perceived object (*rnam pa dang bcas pa*; Skt. *sākāra*) or not (*rnam pa med pa*; Skt. *nirākāra*), were of such an importance that they led to independent doxographical perspectives (Mimaki, 1994, 117) as well as various subclassifications of the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra school in Tibet (on the latter, see Mimaki, 1992, 12; 1994, 117).

In order to depict each school's philosophical positions, Tibetan scholars deploy a set of ontological models. Despite exemptions and overlappings, the philosophical positions of the "Hīnayāna" schools (i.e. Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika) are rendered according to "five topics of knowables" (*shes bya'i gzhi lnga*), a delineation of the major ontological categories of the Abhidharma literature, which serves as a framework to capture each school's positions regarding the following:

1. sense data (*gzugs*; Skt. *rūpa*);
2. the mind (*sems*; Skt. *citta*);
3. mental factors or retinues (*sems las 'byung ba*; Skt. *caitta/caittasika*);
4. conditioned factors dissociated from thought/the mind (*'ldan min 'du byed*; Skt. *viprayuktasaṃskāra*); and
5. unconditioned factors (*'du ma byas*; Skt. *asaṃskṛta*).

Whereas the question of the substantial existence (*rdzas su yod pa*; Skt. *dravyasat*) and/or nominal existence (*btags par yod*; Skt. *prajñaptisat*) of entities is a central problem within the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika context, the Yogācāra school is the predominant ontological model for the "three-nature" model (*mtshan nyid gsum/ngo bo nyid gsum*), which classifies the ontological status of phenomena as follows:

1. imaginary (*kun tu btags pa*; Skt. *parikalpita*);
2. dependent (*gzhan gi dbang ba*; Skt. *paratantra*); or
3. perfect (*yongs su grub pa*; Skt. *parinispanna*).

The ontological positions within the Mādhyamaka school are usually analyzed by way of the "two-truths" model or "two (modes of) reality" (*bden pa gnyis*; Skt. *dvayasatya*), which focus
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gnyis; Skt. *dvayasatya*), which focuses on the question of whether the status of phenomena is conventional (*kun rdzob*; Skt. *saṃvṛti*) or absolute/ultimate (*don dam*; Skt. *paramārtha*).

When they do not interweave them in the exposition itself, doxographical works usually contain a section in which objections of opponents (*rgol ba*), rebuttals, or controversies (*rtsod pa*) are adduced and repelled or which explicitly deal with the refutation (*dgag pa*) of other schools – structural elements that mirror the Indian stylistic device of an opponent's objection (*pūrvapakṣa*) and its rebuttal (*uttarapakṣa*; Qvarnström, 1999, 174; Halbfass, 1981, 410). To what extent the Tibetan doxographical tradition reproduced arguments of the Indian discourse and which lines of thought are clearly intrinsic to the domain of the Tibetan intellectual tradition are questions yet to be fully answered. However, to some extent it is clear that distinctive Indian arguments were absorbed by Tibetan scholars and integrated into the autochthonous scholastic literature, as, for instance, the arguments of Kumārila and Śubhagupta (Mimaki, 1992, 3; 1982, 24).

Doxographical Composition in Tibet

In view of the otherwise voluminous corpus of Tibetan literature, the (known) number of doxographical texts predating the 13th century is relatively small. The first examples of doxographical writing stem presumably from the mid-8th/early 9th century. How comprehensive the Tibetan autochthonous literature has been during and especially in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Tibetan Empire from the mid-9th century CE onward (see Petech, 1994) can to some extent only be conjectured. A number of manuscripts found in Dunhuang (Mimaki, 1983, 6) and palace library records indicate early doxographical writing in Tibet (Mimaki, 1983, 9–10; Seyfort-Ruegg, 1981, 211n20). The few available texts that were written before the 9th century already bear witness to a broad approach to classify Buddhist thinking and practice.

One of the oldest transmitted works of doxographical character is the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* of (or ascribed to) Padmasambhava, a central figure in the early days of Buddhism in Tibet. Written on the basis of chapter 13 of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, the text presents an exposition of some non-Buddhist systems and the Buddhist doctrines, leading from the Śrāvakayāna to Vajrayāna (and ultimately Rdzogs chen ["Great Perfection"]) by way of nine spiritual vehicles (Karmay, 2007, 137–138, 152–155). The work retained its prominence especially within the Rnying ma school, which is underscored by commentaries of the 11th-century scholar Rong zom pa (1012–1088; Karmay, 2007, 138) as well as of the 19th-century polymath Mi pham Rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912; Phuntsho, 2007, 199; partly translated in Guenther, 1976). The *Bsam gtan mig sgron* of Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (8th cent.), though not very influential in later centuries, distinctively confirms the existence of various approaches to structuring the heterogeneous forms of Buddhist thinking and practice in 9th century Tibet. Being perhaps partly influenced by Chinese sources, the work treats the different forms of Buddhist practice according to four paths based on their nonconceptual meditation:

1. a gradual approach ("not conceptualizing appearances"; *snang ba mi rtog pa*);
2. a simultaneous approach ("not conceptualizing non-appearances"; *mi snang ba mi rtog pa*);
3. Mahāyoga ("non-dual non-conceptualization"; *gnyis su med pa'i mi rtog pa*); and
4. Atiyoga ("spontaneously present non-conceptualization"; *lhun gyis grub pa'i mi rtog pa*; Dalton & van Schaik, 2003, 154–155, 160–161).

Another work of that period (8th or 9th cent.) comes from the hand of a Tibetan translator. In contrast to the tantric source of Padmasambhava, Ye she sde's *Lta ba'i khyad par* is based on exoteric literature (Seyfort-Ruegg, 1981, 226–227). The work became part of the Tanjur and was basically transmitted with it. Still topically rather than hierarchically organized, it covers a spectrum of themes and structural elements that became an inherent part of later doxographical works:

1. philosophical views (*lta ba'i bye brag*);
2. the three Buddhist vehicles (*theg pa*; Skt. *yāna*): Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna;
3. the four-gnosis model (*ye shes bzhi*; Skt. *caturjñāna*);
4. the three emanated bodies of the Buddha (*sku gsum*; Skt. *trikāya*);
5. the eight types of consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*; Skt. *vijñāna*);
6. the two modes of truth/reality (*bden pa gnyis*; Skt. *satyadvaya*);
7. the two kinds of nonessentiality (*bdag med pa*; Skt. *anātmaka/nairātmya*);

8. the three-nature model (*mtshan nyid gsum/ ngo bo nyid gsum*); and
9. the process of dependent origination (*rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba*; Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*; Seyfort-Ruegg, 1981, 215–225).

After the collapse of the Tibetan Empire and a transitional period, religious, scholastic, and monastic activities were reorganized in Tibet's periphery and later in central Tibet from the late 10th century onward. The doxographical compositions in the Rnying ma school were continued by the 11th-century scholar Rong zom pa, who wrote at least three smaller works of immediate doxographical concern (Almogi, 2013, 1331). The Rnying ma pa author Rog bande Shes rab 'od (1166–1244) wrote a work of a rather hybrid genre. His *Grub mtha' so so'i bzhed tshul gzhung gsal bar ston pa* consists of two major parts. The first part is dedicated to a range of topics that are otherwise confined to religious-historiographical works (*chos 'byung*), while the second half of his work constitutes a survey of the Buddhist vehicles from the Śrāvakayāna to the Mantrayāna (Martin & Bentor, 1997, 38–39; introduced and translated in Cabézon, 2013). A similar approach can be seen in Klong chen pa's (1308–1364) *Grub mtha' mdzod*, an extensive and central work in the Rnying ma school. Klong chen pa, too, starts with a history of Buddhism in general before he depicts the respective spiritual vehicles and schools, stretching from the conservative (and historically older) Śrāvakayāna to the Mantrayāna (Butters, 2006, 76–77). His work has been rendered into English twice (Butters, 2006; Barron, 2007).

Within the Bka' gdams pa tradition, the doxography of Dbus pa blo gsal (14th cent.) surely constitutes a culmination of doxographical composition in the Bka' gdams pa school, whose oldest conceivable layer is represented by Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge's (1109–1169) *Bde bar gshegs pa dang phyi rol pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa*, also known as the *Phyi nang gi grub mtha'* (Tauscher, 2010, 4–5), and Bya 'chad kha ba Ye she rdo rje's (1101–1175) *Grub mtha' chen mo* (Kapstein, 2009). As a student of Rig pal ral gri (1227–1305) and partly responsible for the constitution of the Tibetan canon at the Snar thang Monastery, Dbus pa blo gsal wrote his *Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod*, also known as the *Blo gsal grub mtha'* (partially edited and translated in Mimaki, 1979; 1982; 1985; 1993), in 13 chapters, and shows, in comparison to Ye she sde's *Lta ba'i khyad par*, the hierarchical structure that was characteristic of doxographies at least since the 12th century.

The structure of the *Blo gsal grub mtha'* is as follows:

1. short summary;
2. detailed exposition;
3. Lokāyata ('Jig rten rgyang phan pa);
4. Sāṃkhya (Grangs can pa);
5. Śaiva (Dbang phyug pa);
6. Vaiṣṇava (Khyab 'jug pa),
7. Digambara (Gcer bu pa);
8. The formation of the 18 "Hīnayāna" schools (e.g. Mahāsaṅghika schools: 1. Pūrvaśaila, 2. Aparaśaila, 3. Haimavata, 4. Lokottaravāda, 5. Prajñāptivāda; Sarvāstivāda schools: 6. Mūlasarvāstivāda, 7. Kāśyapīya, 8. Mahīśāsaka, 9. Dharmaguptaka, 10. Bahuśrutīya, 11. Tāmraśāṭīy, 12. Vibhajyavāda; Sthavīra schools: 13. Jetavanīy, 14. Abhayagirivāsina, 15. Mahāvihāravāsina; Sāṃmitīya schools: 16. Kaurukullaka, 17. Avantaka, 18. Vātsīputrīya);
9. Vaibhāṣika (Bye brag tu smra ba);
10. Sautrāntika (Mdo sde pa);
11. Yogācāra/Cittamātra (Sems tsam pa);
12. Mādhyamika (Dbu ma pa); and
13. the path and result in the theories of the Buddhist schools (*lam dang 'bras bu'i tshul*; adapted from Mimaki, 1982, 18).

As far as it can be estimated at the present state of scholarship in the field, the number and interrelations of doxographical texts became increasingly complex in the 14th century. Although a thorough investigation of the respective issues is a desideratum, it has been suggested that works by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), Klong chen pa (1308–1364), and Stag tshang Lo tsā ba (b. 1405) share an intellectual relationship that reflects exegetical and sectarian discrepancies of the 14th and 15th centuries (Hopkins, 1996, 172; 2003, 4–5). Hence 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje's (1648–1721) *Grub mtha' chen mo* (translated in Hopkins, 2003), one of the most comprehensive works of the genre and a core text of the Dge lugs pa tradition, was allegedly written in order to rebut certain points in Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's doxography (Hopkins, 1996, 172). The *Grub mtha' chen mo*, completed in 1689, was supplemented by an autocommentary ten years later (Hopkins, 2003, 6–8) and immediately influenced future doxographical compositions such as Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's (1717–1786) *Grub mtha' thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan* as well as his compendium *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*, chapter 5 of which is devoted to the discussion of the four Indian Buddhist schools. Both texts were equally

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influential during the early days of
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rin chen phreng ba (discussed in H
182) of Dkon mchog 'Jigs med dba
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Structure of the *Grub mtha' ri*
(simplified adaption from Hopkins

Non-Buddhist schools:

- Vaiśeṣika (Bye brag pa) and N
- Sāṃkhya (Grangs can pa);
- Mīmāṃsā (Dpyod pa ba);
- Nirgrantha (Gcer bu pa); and
- Lokāyata ('Jig rten rgyang 'ph

Buddhist schools:

- "Hīnayāna" (Theg dman);
- Vaibhāṣika (Bye brag [tu] sm
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3. Haimavata, 4. Lokottaravāda,
la; Sarvāstivāda schools: 6. Mūla-
7. Kāśyapīya, 8. Mahīśāsaka,
ka, 10. Bahuśrutīya, 11. Tāmraśāṭīy,
la; Sthavīra schools: 13. Jetavanīy,
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influential during the early days of Western research on Tibet's philosophical traditions. The *Grub mtha' rin chen phreng ba* (discussed in Hopkins, 1996, 174–182) of Dkon mchog 'Jigs med dbang po (1728–1791) continues the composition of Dge lugs pa doxographies under the sway of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje's text and represents a prototypical dGe lugs pa-doxography of the 18th century.

Structure of the *Grub mtha' rin chen phreng ba* (simplified adaption from Hopkins, 1996, 174):

Non-Buddhist schools:

- Vaiśeṣika (Bye brag pa) and Nyāya (Rig pa can);
- Sāṃkhya (Grangs can pa);
- Mīmāṃsā (Dpyod pa ba);
- Nirgrantha (Gcer bu pa); and
- Lokāyata ('Jig rten rgyang 'phan pa).

Buddhist schools:

- "Hīnayāna" (Theg dman);
- Vaibhāṣika (Bye brag [tu] smra ba);
- Sautrāntika (Mdo sde pa);
- Mahāyāna (Theg chen pa chen po);
- Yogācāra/Cittamātra (Sems tsam pa); and
- Mādhyamika (Dbu ma pa).

Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma's (1737–1802) *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* (Clear Mirror of Philosophical Systems) is an exception among Tibetan philosophical writings. The text is rather "historico-philosophical" (Vostrikov, 1970, 154) than classically doxographical, in so far as it covers the religious-philosophical landscape of Central Asia instead of presenting a technical analysis of the Indian philosophical systems. Each tradition is roughly depicted along the lines of its origins and teachings, concluded by an evaluation in view of the author's own philosophical affiliation (Smith, 2001, 147–149; Vostrikov, 1970, 154–158). Even though Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma clearly attempted a fair-minded depiction of each tradition, his evaluation and critique are strongly influenced by his own Dge lug pa school affiliation (Jackson, 2006, 14). Thanks to its unique focus on the origins and tenets of the religious and philosophical traditions in India, Tibet, China, and Central Asia, his work's value was soon noticed by non-Tibetan scholars, first of all in Russia (Jackson, 2006, 2). The text has been studied for more than one and a half centuries (reviewed in Smith, 2001, 147–148; Vostrikov, 1970, 154–158; Jackson, 2006, 2–3), and an English translation was finally published in 2009 (see Jackson, 2009).

The general outline of the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* is as follows:

1. Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools of India;
2. the spread of Buddhism in Tibet and the Rnying ma pa school;
3. the Bka' gdams pa school;
4. the Bka' brgyud pa school;
5. the Zhi byed pa and Gcod tradition;
6. the Sa skya pa school;
7. the Jo nang pa school;
8. the Dge lugs pa school;
9. the Bön religion;
10. Confucius and Laozi;
11. Chinese Buddhism; and
12. Buddhism among the Mongols in Khotan and Shambhala (adapted from Smith, 2001, 148–149).

The composition of doxographical works in Tibet spans more than 1200 years. Works of classical Tibetan scholarship continue to be written, despite the cultural caesura of the 1960s and a tangible influence of modernity on Tibetan secular and religious culture. Doxographical composition in the Tibetan culture is therefore neither an early medieval nor a premodern relict but a living genre that has its roots in the inception of Buddhist culture on the roof of the world. As works that reflect the systematization of Buddhist philosophy, they have become an invaluable source for Tibetan and Buddhist studies and continue to be an important subject for academic research on Tibet's history of thought, insofar as they reflect the philosophical and exegetical development, as well as sectarian controversies surrounding, key philosophical issues explored by generations of Tibetan thinkers.

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ERIC WERNER

Historiography

Historiography: South Asia

The first historical texts known from ancient South Asia are the Buddhist chronicles composed in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Consequently, from a very early period, the history of Buddhism on the island is known much better than in any other part of South Asia. Besides texts on the general history of Buddhism, there are specialized chronicles on relics and so on, written in both Pali and Sinhala languages or in Southeast Asian vernaculars.

The traditional historiography of Buddhism begins in all schools with the reports on the first and second councils, held at Rājagaha (Skt. Rājagṛha) and Vesāli (Skt. Vaiśālī), respectively, which were handed down mostly in appendices to the *Vinayapiṭaka* of different schools (Demiéville, 1950, 241ff.). This is also the background and starting point of the sources of Sinhala Buddhist (Theravāda) historiography (Bechert, 1969), which comprises three basic texts extant in Pali: the historical introduction to commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, and two chronicles – *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Island [of Ceylon]) and *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great Chronicle). The sources and the development of these three texts were investigated in groundbreaking researches by W. Geiger (1856–1943) and E. Frauwallner (1898–1974). Recently, J.S. Walters tried to look at the chronicles from a very different angle in considering "the Vaṃsas as 'successions' of the Buddha's presence rather than mere 'chronicles' of events" (2000, 99; comp. Scheible, 2010).

Both *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* recount the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, beginning with its prehistory in India starting from the first two councils and continuing with the third council held at Pāṭaliputta (Skt. Pāṭaliputra; present-day Patna) under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa at the time of Aśoka and, according to the chronicles, 236 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa (Dīp 7.37; comp. Mhv 5.280). This "council," which is known only to the Theravāda tradition, was, as convincingly argued by E. Frauwallner, a synod of a single school, at which the foundations of Theravāda were laid by Moggaliputta Tissa (Frauwallner, 1952, 258; 1982, 667). Much attention is paid to Mahinda as the person who was sent by Aśoka to bring Buddhism to Sīhaladīpa (Sīhala x [Tam.] Ilam > Por. Cillam, C[e]ilão > Ceylon).

Both chronicles contain much common material, including an important note in two verses of identical wording (Dīp 20.20–21 = Mhv 33.100–101) on the Tipiṭaka being committed to writing together with the commentary (*aṭṭhakathā*) for the first time during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (89–77 [29–17] BCE; for the dates, comp. Geiger, 1986, xx). Theravāda is the only school to remember this important turning point in the textual tradition, when orality gradually began to cede to the use of scriptures. The histories of other schools do not date back to a comparably early period, having been composed only much later, when a written canon (Tripiṭaka) had become a matter of course, which is most likely the reason why they are silent on this event. Occasionally, the recitation of individual Buddhist texts from the canonical scriptures is mentioned (von Hinüber, 1996, §182).

Besides the early ecclesiastical history of Buddhism, there is also a chronicle of kings, which begins with an enumeration of the rulers of the present world age down to the time of the Buddha and continues with the kings of Sri Lanka up to the 4th century CE. The same combination of religious and (to a certain extent) political history is also found in the 8th-century (?) Buddhist Sanskrit text, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Gupta, 1974, 121; Willis, 2005, 141) or in the Nepalese chronicles, about which hardly anything is known so far (Wright, 1877; Bajracharya & Michaels, 2012).

Although the frame of both chronicles is by and large the same, the older anonymous *Dīpavaṃsa* comprising 22 chapters called *Bhāṇavāra* (Units of Recitation) is much shorter. The introduction to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Dīp 1.1) enumerates four points, which are treated in the following text according to the analysis by E. Frauwallner (von Hinüber, 1996, §184):

1. the visit of the Buddha to Ceylon (*dīpāgamana buddhassa* [the arrival of the Buddha on the island]) including the story of the relics and of the Bodhi tree (*dhātu-*, *bodhiyāgamana* [arrival of the relics, of the Bodhi (tree)]);

2. the history of the kings preceding the time of the Buddha (*rājavaṃsa* ["succession of kings"]);

3. the history of Buddhism beginning with the first council in India, continuing with Mahinda's

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visit to the island, and including information on prominent monks and nuns from ancient Sri Lanka (*sāsanāgamana* ["the arrival of the teaching"]; *saṃghācariyavāda* ["opinion of the teachers of the saṅgha"]);

4. a chronicle of events under the kings ruling Sri Lanka (*narindāgamana* ["arrival of kings"]), adding political to ecclesiastical history and starting from an immigration from northwestern India to be dated perhaps to the 5th century BCE (Geiger, 1986, §42).

The leader of this immigration was Vijaya, the mythical first king of Sri Lanka. According to legend, Vijaya's hands (Pal. *pāṇi*) became as red as copper (Pal. *tamba*) when he touched the ground landing in Sri Lanka. Therefore, according to this popular etymology, the island is also called Tambapaṇṇi (Mhv 7.41; Skt. Tāmradvīpa; Grk. Ταπροβάνη [Taprobánē]; Por. Taprobana [que ora é Ceilão – "which today is [known as] Ceilão"; de Camões, 1572, x, 107]). The succession of the kings ends with the rule of Mahāsena (334–362 CE). Therefore, the *Dīpavaṃsa* may be dated to the second half of the 4th century CE.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* is composed in 1,334 verses in *śloka* (Geiger, 1901, 15; 1973, 247) and *jagatī* meters (4 times 8 and 4 times 11 syllables, respectively) with interspersed prose passages. The basis also of the metrical parts are the prose texts of the old *Aṭṭhakathā* "commentary." The style is often terse and clumsy to such a degree that the text becomes comprehensible only by comparing the corresponding passages from the later *Mahāvaṃsa*. These unusual features of the *Dīpavaṃsa* are mostly understood as pointing to an oral recitation of the text with accompanying explanations. The division of the text into *Bhāṇavāras* (recitations) seems to support this assumption. However, it should be kept in mind that some of these singular stylistic and linguistic peculiarities of the Pali used in the *Dīpavaṃsa* may reflect distinctive features of the Sinhala Prakrit used in its sources rather than orality or the inability of the author (von Hinüber, 1996, §183; Tsuchida, 1987).

Some events are told twice in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, rarely even three times. As E. Frauwallner following W. Geiger (1905) was able to demonstrate, these repetitions are due to material drawn from two different texts put together in a rather mechanical way. By the help of the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (see below), it is possible to identify the various sources of these different versions as the old and lost *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa* (see below) in the recensions of two different monasteries, the Mahāvihāra and the Uttaravihāra, which is generally supposed to be identical with the Abhayagirivihāra (Frauwallner, 1984, 21). Both these versions seem to have drawn their material from a still older chronicle enumerating kings and, in addition, from an independent ecclesiastical history, which helps to explain certain differences in style in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. The chronicle and the ecclesiastical history sometimes refer to the same events, what also explains occasional duplications in the text (Frauwallner, 1984, 23). The older parts of both – the history of Buddhism up to the third council and the chronicle, dating back to the history of northern India – were imported in Sri Lanka, while the genuine Sinhala ecclesiastical history begins with the conversion of the island to Buddhism during the 3rd century BCE. These observations on the prehistory of the *Dīpavaṃsa* are possible because the unknown author did not make any attempt to harmonize his sources, when he composed perhaps the first Pali text in Sri Lanka after an interruption of two centuries of general decline in scholarship from about 150 to 400 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, 206).

At the same time, there is a striking similarity in the overall structure, the compilation of sources, and the arrangement of the text between the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the early tradition of Hindu Purāṇas, which might date back roughly to the same period. Verses incomprehensible without help from parallel Purāṇa passages occur (Rocher, 1986, 98) as they do in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (see above) due to the same method of compilation. Moreover, the topics dealt with – a succession of kings combined with mythological events – are not totally different, once Buddhist and Hindu concepts are interchanged (on the concepts in Jaina history, see Cort, 1995).

The usual chronological framework of both chronicles, and most likely already of their common source, as far as political history is concerned is the length of the reign of the various kings (Falk, 2002). In contrast, the events concerning the saṅgha are calculated by the time elapsed since Buddha's nirvāṇa (on the Buddhist and Indian concept of time, see Prasad, 1991; Malinar, 2007). Both political and religious history are connected in a famous synchronism, the "consecration" (Pal. *abhiseka*; Skt. *abhiṣeka*; anointing) of Aśoka, when 218 years had elapsed since the Buddha's nirvāṇa (Dīp 6.1; Mhv 5.21).

The *Mahāvaṃsa*, which covers the same period of time as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, is approximately twice as long, about 2,900 verses (Geiger, 1905, 29: 2915; but see also Geiger, 1901/ 1073, 15/247: 2904), mostly in

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Mahānāma greatly increased
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by various kings to commemo
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the *śloka* meter, except for one final verse in each of 35 out of the 36 sections (*pariccheda*) composed in different elaborate meters to mark the end of a chapter. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is earlier than the *Samantapāsādikā*, which in turn knows and quotes from the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Geiger, 1905, 78).

Next to nothing is known about Mahānāma, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary, he lived in the monastery built by a certain general Dīghasanda. All attempts to connect this Mahānāma to other persons bearing the same and very common name have failed (von Hinüber, 1996, §185). His style is much superior to that of the author of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, and according to W. Geiger, he "deserved the name of a poet, was not a genius, but possessed taste and skill" (Geiger, 1901, 24; 1973, 256). In his introduction, Mahānāma criticizes his predecessors for being too verbose and inconsistent without, however, quoting any name. This criticism seems to be directed to either the *Dīpavaṃsa* or the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa*, if not to both.

Mahānāma greatly increased the text of the *Mahāvaṃsa* by including what originally seems to have been an independent epic of 861 verses on the ultimately victorious wars waged by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya ("The Fearless"; 161–137 [101–77] BCE; see Geiger, 1986, xx) against the Tamil king Eḷāra (Geiger, 1901, 14ff.; 1973, 246ff.; Bretfeld, 2001, xxiff.). However, Mahānāma eliminated almost all passages belonging to the tradition of the Abhayagirivihāra. At the very end, Mahānāma recounts how the Mahāvihāra was destroyed and even briefly deserted under King Mahāsena (334–362) but reestablished under his son and successor Sirimeghavaṇṇa. Consequently, the *Mahāvaṃsa* is much more a genuine Mahāvihāra text than the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

After several centuries, Mahānāma's chronicle was continued and updated in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Little Chronicle), which, however, in the end grew longer than the original *Mahāvaṃsa*. Although this text is commonly known as *Cūḷavaṃsa*, there is no evidence for this title in the manuscript tradition. The first addition to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which ends with the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186), was compiled by Dhammakitti, who used different annals as well as *puññapotthakas* (merit books) kept by various kings to commemorate their donations to the saṅgha (von Hinüber, 1996, §187). Similar to the composition of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which in a way celebrates the resurrection of the Mahāvihāra under Sirimeghavaṇṇa, Dhammakitti's share in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (37.51 to 89.84) was composed at an important turning point in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, when the reforms of Parakkamabāhu merged the different forms of Buddhism and united them in a uniform tradition, which follows the orthodoxy as practiced in the Mahāvihāra.

The text of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* continued to grow in three further steps. An anonymous author added chapter 80, verse 1 to chapter 90 verse 102 up to the time of Parakkamabāhu IV (1302–1332). His successor was Tibboṭuvāvē Sumaṅgala in the late 18th century, who brought the chronicle up to date until the reign of Kittisirirājasīha (1747–1781) in chapter 90 verse 105 to chapter 100 verse 301 (Geiger, 1929/1973, 260/274). This was also a time of reforms. The king reconstituted the almost extinct Buddhist order of monks at the initiative of the monk Välivitiyē Saraṇaṅkara (1698–1778), who, after a new lineage of ordination was imported from Siam in 1753, became the first Saṅgharāja (1753–1778) of the newly founded Syāmanikāya (group of monks within the *saṃgha* following the Siamese tradition).

When preparing the first print of the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, which appeared in 1877, the editors, Hikkaduvē Srī Sumaṅgala and Paṇḍita Devarakkhita Baṭuvantudāvē, added a brief chapter, 101, of only 29 verses, and closed the book (for the time being) with the British conquest and the subsequent end of the Buddhist kingdom of Kandy in 1815. The text ends with *iṅgirīsināmakā sabbaṃ rajjaṃ karagataṃ karuṃ* ("the [people] called Iṅgirīsi [English] took the whole kingdom into their hands").

The *Mahāvaṃsa* is explained in an anonymous commentary called *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* ([Commentary] Revealing the Meaning of the [Great] Chronicle) of uncertain date (von Hinüber, 1996, §188). Because it was composed before the first enlargement of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and after the time of the great canon commentaries, a date around 7th or 8th century as proposed by G.P. Malalasekera (1899–1973), in his important introduction to the edition of the commentary, is generally accepted, although without any firm evidence. The commentator still had access to material lost today and, consequently, was able to include important additional information – for instance from the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa* (see below), which the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* presupposes as the immediate source of Mahānāma (Frauwallner, 1984, 17). Of particular interest are the references to a second version besides the *Mahāvaṃsa* of the Mahāvihāra – that of the Uttaragirivihāra or Abhayagirivihāra (Frauwallner, 1984, 21) preserved in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*. Moreover, different lost chronicles are mentioned. The relevant material is collected in G.P. Malalasekera's introduction mentioned above (lxviiiff.). The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* furthermore underlines that Mahānāma turned the prose text of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa* into verses, as presumably did his anonymous predecessor in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. Therefore, the *Mahāvaṃsa* is also called *Pady(!)apadoruvaṃsa* (Large Chronicle in Metrical Words) in the commentary (Geiger, 1905, 47ff.), and the full title of the commentary is *Pajj(!)apadoruvaṃsavaṇṇanā Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (Commentary on the Large Chronicle in Metrical Words Revealing the Meaning of the [Great] Chronicle), according to the colophon.

A much larger version of the *Mahāvaṃsa* was composed by an otherwise unknown Moggallāna in Southeast Asia at an unknown date. He expanded the text to 5,791 verses in 27 chapters (*paricchedas*; Geiger, 1905, 29). This extended *Mahāvaṃsa* is also known as the "Cambodian" *Mahāvaṃsa*, because all known manuscripts from Thailand are in Cambodian script, the script used for Pali texts in Siam (Central Thailand; von Hinüber, 1996, §189).

In contrast, there is also an abbreviated (*saṅkhepa*) version of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the (*Mahā*) *Vaṃsamālī*(*nī*)*vilāsinī* (Graceful Garland of the Great Chronicle [?]), in only 13 chapters, which, however, also include a chapter on Buddhaghosa and a section called *Milindapañha*. Only two chapters are edited in Thailand – one containing the story of Buddhaghosa and the other that from King Bhātika (38–66 [98–126] CE) to King Mahāsena, abbreviating chapters 34 to 37 of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (von Hinüber, 1996, §190; Balee Buddharaksa, 2001). Therefore, little can be said about this text at present.

Besides the two chronicles, the early history of Buddhism is preserved also in the historical introduction (*Bāhiranidāna*; External [Circumstances] of the Origin [of the Vinaya]) to the *Samantapāsādikā* (The in Every Respect Pleasing [Commentary]) to the *Vinayapiṭaka* (von Hinüber, 1996, §208–220). This text focuses on the story of the development of the Tipiṭaka, particularly of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, which is described in great detail. The story begins with the events immediately after the nirvāṇa and ends with the recitation of the *Vinayapiṭaka* by Mahinda in Anuradhapura, thus handing the text over to the first genuine Sinhala Vinaya teacher, the monk Ariṭṭha, born from parents living on the island, as it is emphasized. With this event, the teaching (Pal. *sāsana*) of the Buddha "put down roots" (Pal. *mūlāni … otaranti*) in Sri Lanka.

The prose story with interspersed verses is structured along the lines given in a summary (Pal. *mātikā*) at the beginning and repeated at the end:

> Said by whom, when, why; remembered [*dhāritaṃ*: held] by whom and handed down [*ābhata*: brought, recited], and where it was established [*patiṭṭhita*: to which kind of persons was the *Vinaya* entrusted]. And having described this process … I shall compose the explanation of the meaning of the *Vinaya*. (Sp 3.17*–20*; trans. Jayawickrama 1962, 2)

According to this plan, almost all material from the chronicles referring to kings disappears, and the history of Sri Lanka ends at the time of Aśoka during the reign of the Sinhala king Devānaṃpiya Tissa, including some prophecies pointing to future meritorious deeds and works of kings to come such as Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (von Hinüber, 1996, §212).

The *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* converted the introduction to the lost old Sinhala *aṭṭhakathā*, the (*Porāṇa*) *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa* (The [Old] Great Chronicle in the Commentary [Written] in Sinhalese; see Geiger, 1905, 48) into an independent text. In contrast, the *Samantapāsādikā* seems to have preserved not only the original prose of the lost Sinhala *aṭṭhakathā*, the commentary on canonical texts supposed to have been brought to the island by Mahinda, but also the original position of the historical introduction at the very beginning of the new *aṭṭhakathā* in Pali.

Among the texts referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary are the *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā* and (*Mahā*)*cetiyavaṃsakathā*. If the *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā* is identified following W. Geiger (1905, 53) with the undatable (10th-cent.[?]) *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (Story of the Great-Bodhi Tree), which tells the story of the of the Bodhi tree and the transfer of an offshoot from Bodh Gaya to Anuradhapura in the elaborate style of ornate poetry (*kāvya*), then the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* must be dated later than the 10th century, which is unlikely (von Hinüber, 1996, §191).

It is, however, certain that the (*Mahā*)*cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* ([Great] Commentary on the Chronicle of the *Cetiya*[s]) cannot be identical with the extant *Thūpavaṃsa* composed by Vācissara during the second half of the 13th century (von Hinüber, 1996, §192). Vācissara describes the construction of the Mahāthūpa (Great Stūpa; Snh. Ruvanväli "Sovaṇṇamālī-thūpa" [Stūpa of the Golden Wreath]) at Anuradhapura by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi

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Abhaya (101–177 [161–137] BCE). The history of relics enshrined in this stūpa is traced back to the division of the Buddha's relics immediately after the nirvāṇa. Among other important buildings mentioned is the famous Lohapāsāda ("Brazen Palace") in Anuradhapura. Furthermore, Mahinda's mission to Sri Lanka and the planting of an offshoot of the Bodhi tree in Anurādhapura are described. Both the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* and the *Thūpavaṃsa* were translated into Sinhalese at an early date. (The relation between the Pali and the Sinhalese *Thūpavaṃsa* was investigated in detail by S. Berkwitz [2004, 81ff.])

There is a number of smaller chronicles of various relics such as the *Dāṭhavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Tooth [of the Buddha Preserved at Kandy]) by Dhammakitti during the 13th century (von Hinüber, 1996, §193), the so-far-unedited *Naḷātadhātuvaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Forehead Bone Relic [of the Buddha]; 10th or 11th cent. [?]; von Hinüber, 1996, §194), or the *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Six Hair Relics [of the Buddha, which were given to six arhats to build stūpas in faraway places]). As merchants and sailors are mentioned, this was perhaps a text used by a seafaring community. The text begins with "thus have I heard." Therefore, it should be classified as an apocryphal *suttanta* (discourse) rather than a *vaṃsa* "chronicle" in spite of the title (von Hinüber, 1996, §195; Das, 1994).

Similarly, the *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Hattavanagalla Monastery; Snh. Attanagalu; in the village Hunupola, c. 30 km east of Colombo), composed about 1260 and concerning the history of a monastery, holds an intermediate position between chronicle and hagiography (von Hinüber, 1996, §196ff.). It centers on the story of King Sirisaṅghabodhi's (247–249 [307–309] CE) self-sacrifice, after his abdication, at the spot where the monastery was built. There are two Sinhalese adaptations of this text, which is proof of its popularity (Godakumbura, 1955, 121).

Finally, one *vaṃsa* is directed toward the future. The *Anāgatavaṃsa* (Chronicle of What Has Not Yet Arrived), of varying length in different recensions, describes in about 150 verses the events that will happen when Metteyya (Skt. Maitreya), the future Buddha, will be reborn on earth (von Hinüber, 1966, §200).

The latest Pali chronicle is the *Saṅgītivaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Councils) completed by Vimaladhamma, who later received the title Vanaratana ("Jewel of the Forest"), in Siam in 1789, at the end of the ninth council (von Hinüber, 1996, §199). The text, written in a mixture of prose and verse, covers in nine *paricchedas* much more than the history of the nine councils of the Siamese Theravāda tradition as the title suggests.

Sections 1 and 2 recall the usual seven councils of the Theravāda tradition beginning with that in Rājagaha (1), Vesāli (2), and Pāṭaliputta (3) in India, then continuing with the councils held in Ceylon and the establishing of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda. The first council on the island is the recitation of the sacred texts at the site of the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura (4). Next come the important events of the writing down of the Tipiṭaka at the Ālokavihāra (or Aluvihāra) in Mātale (5), the creation of the new Aṭṭhakathā by Buddhaghosa at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura (6), and the reforms by Parakkamabāhu I, when a new set of subcommentaries was written (7). Sections 3 and 4 of the *Saṅgītivaṃsa* turn to the construction of the major stūpas after the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. Next, the transfer of Buddhism from the island to Southeast Asia, particularly northern Thailand (Lānnā), is retold in sections 5 and 6. The text describes the beginnings starting from the foundation of the city of Haripuñjaya (present-day Lamphun) in the north and including the eighth council held under King Tiloka (or Tilaka; 1442–1487) in Chiang Mai in 1477/1478. Sections 7 and 8 are devoted to the events of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok (Rattanakosin) periods, respectively, including the ninth council held after the destruction of the old Siamese capital Ayutthaya by the Burmese in 1767 and the restitution of the Buddhist canon during the first reign of the Cakri dynasty at Rattanakosin under Rāma I (1782–1809) in 1788/1789 (Flood, 1990, vol. I, 152–164; vol. II, 78ff.). Section 9 describes the eventual disappearance of Buddhism in the future.

One of the major sources exploited in the *Saṅgītivaṃsa* is the *Jinakālamālī* (or sometimes *Jinakālamālinī* [*pakaraṇa*]; The Wreath of the Time of the Jina; usually translated as Epochs of the Conqueror) by an author known as Ratanapañña (1473 [?]–later than 1527; it is not clear whether Ratanapañña is a personal name or a title), who lived in the Vat Pā Deeṅ (Redwood Grove Monastery) in the vicinity of Chiang Mai. The original version can be dated to 1516/1517, which Ratanapañña enlarged in 1527. The text briefly dwells on the early history of Buddhism in India and Sri Lanka before concentrating on the events in Lānna (northern Thailand), particularly in the Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai areas. There seems to be a gap in all manuscripts, because the text covering the events between 1455 and 1476 – the crucial years of the eighth council under King Tiloka –

is lost. Curiously enough, no manuscript of the *Jinakālamālī* has been found in northern Thailand (von Hinüber, 1996, §428).

An earlier chronicle with a more limited scope and originally written in Thai is the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (The Chronicle of Queen Cāmā; Queen Cāmā is considered to have been the first ruler of Haripuñjaya [Lamphun]during the 9th cent.). The anonymous author devotes more than half of the 15 sections (*pariccheda*) of his work to Queen Cāmā, paying little attention to the earlier history of Buddhism. The author's major concern is the origin of relics enshrined in Haripuñjaya (von Hinüber, 1996, §426; trans. in Swearer & Premchit, 1998).

In addition, there is a number of smaller and still more specialized chronicles either composed originally in Pali or translated from Thai into Pali as in the case of the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* by Mahāthera Bodhiraṃsi. They deal with the history of images and relics, drawing their material largely from the *Jinakālamālī*. Outside Thailand these texts are hardly known and little studied so far (von Hinüber, 1996, §427).

Three chronicles stand apart, because they pay particular attention to the tradition of Theravāda literature, both canonical and noncanonical, or are totally devoted to this aspect of the history of Buddhism.

1. The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Compendium of the Good Doctrine) by Dhammakitti, who spent some time in Ceylon, before writing this chronicle, most likely in Ayutthaya in central Siam (Thailand). The ninth of 11 chapters lists the Theravāda literary works known to the author. As the most recent title quoted by Dhammakitti was composed during the 13th century, a date for the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* approximately during the 14th century seems to be likely (von Hinüber, 1996, §4). Moreover, there are accounts of the first four councils, of the writing down of the *Tipiṭaka*, and of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya. The text ends with the compilation of the subcommentaries during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I.

2. The *Gandhavaṃsa* (Chronicle of Books) by Nandapañña, who might have lived in the 17th century, concentrates on texts and authors. It was, particularly during the period immediately after its discovery by the Russian Indologist I.P. Minaev (1840–1890) near Prome (Pyay) in Burma on Jan 17, 1886, an important source on Theravāda literature at the beginning of Pali studies (von Hinüber, 1996, §4).

3. The *Sāsanavaṃsappadīpikā* (Light among the Chronicles of the Teaching; mostly quoted under the abbreviated title *Sāsanavaṃsa*) was compiled from sources written in Burmese and translated into Pali by Paññāsāmi in Burma in 1861 in order to remove a linguistic barrier and to grant Buddhists of countries other than Burma easy access to the text. The same reason led much earlier to the translation of the Sinhala *aṭṭhakathā* and the compilation of a "new" *aṭṭhakathā* at the time of Buddhaghosa. Although the complete history of Buddhism from its beginnings is retold, more than half of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is devoted exclusively to Buddhism and its history in Burma.

In all Theravāda countries, there are, moreover, numerous chronicles composed in different vernacular languages. The major chronicles in Sinhala are the *Nikāyasaṃgrahaya* (Compendium of the School [i.e. Theravāda]) composed in the late 14th century by Jayabāhu Devarakkhita (Fernando & Gunawardhana, 1908), the *Rājaratnākaraya* (Ocean of Kings) written in the mid-16th century, or the *Rājāvaliya* (Gunasekera, 1900; Suraweer, 2000) and others (Godakumbura, 1955, 122–134).

A particularly rich "historical" literature is preserved in Southeast Asia. These chronicles are mostly concerned with political history including information on events in the Buddhist saṅgha. The *Hmannān maha yazawintawkyī* (Bur. *Mhannan mahārājavaṅ-tó-krī*; Glass-Palace Chronicle) was compiled by order of the Burmese king Bagyidaw (1784–1846; r. 1819–1837) in 1829. This voluminous compendium on political and ecclesiastical history aims at providing all information that can be gathered from inscriptions and older chronicles. The introduction to the English translation gives a useful survey of earlier Burmese chronicles including the *thamaing*s (Bur. *samuiṅ*; histories of a pagoda [stūpa]), which also contain the local history of monasteries or towns (Pe Maung Tin & Luce, 1923).

In Thailand, there are basically two different, but not very clearly defined types of chronicles, the *phonsāvadān* (*baṅśāvatāra*; lineage, story of a dynasty), mainly dealing with rulers, and the *tamnān* (*tāṃnān*; story, legend), devoted to local and Buddhist history (Wyatt, 1976; Penth, 1977) – thus corresponding to the Burmese *yazawin* (*rājavaṅsa*) and *thamaing* (*samuiṅ:*), respectively. A voluminous edition of both kinds of chronicles began to appear in Bangkok in 1996 to mark the 50th anniversary of the coronation of the present king of Thailand Rama IX or Bhumibol Adulyadej (b. 1927; r. 1946–)

in the series Praḥjum baṅśā
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5, 122–134).
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ere are basically two different,
rly defined types of chronicles,
baṅśāvatāra; lineage, story of a
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tt, 1976; Penth, 1977) – thus cor-
urmese *yazawin* (*rājavaṅsa*) and
:), respectively. A voluminous
ds of chronicles began to appear
6 to mark the 50th anniversary
of the present king of Thailand,
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in the series Praḥjum baṅśāvatāra chapáp kāñcanābhiṣek (Collection of Chronicles: Volumes [in Honor of] the Golden [Jubilee of] the Consecration), planned in 30 volumes.

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Historiography: China

Chinese Buddhist historiography was profoundly influenced by the rich indigenous tradition of secular historical writing. Accurate records kept by officially appointed historians date back to approximately 2,500 years ago, to the period preceding the unification of the empire under the Qin (秦). In fact, the earliest testimonies of this practice can be found in oracle bone inscriptions, which represent the earliest form of writing in China. These documents, predominantly religious in character and extremely concise, often contain the three key elements of personages, time, and a basic narrative structure.

These features are developed with great sophistication in the oldest surviving histories proper: the *Shujing* (書經; Book of Documents, the earliest strata of which date to the early Zhou [周] dynasty), the *Chunqiu* (春秋; Spring and Autumn Annals, covering the period 722 to 481 BCE, traditionally considered to have been edited by Confucius), the *Zuo Zhuan* (左傳; a commentary on the former work), as well as the *Guoyu* (國語; Discourses of the States), which collects the sayings of rulers and other prominent individuals from roughly the same period. Later, between the 3rd and 1st century BCE, the *Zhanguo* (戰國策; Intrigues of the Warring States) recorded the strategies used by the competing kingdoms during the turbulent period leading up to the Qin unification. During the Former Han dynasty (206 BCE–9 CE), Sima Qian (司馬遷; 145 or 135 BCE–86 BCE), widely regarded as the father of Chinese historiography, wrote his masterpiece, the *Shiji* (史記; Records of the Grand Historian), whose format was later adopted, with only minor modifications, in the compilation of official dynastic histories (*zhengshi* [正史]) of subsequent dynasties.

This sophisticated native historiographical tradition was the rich soil on which Buddhist historiography later grew. Authors of the great works of Buddhist historiography worked in the vast majority of cases as ordained monks. However, prior to entering the saṅgha, they would have received traditional Confucian education, an arduous process of training that involved mastering a vast body of texts, including the main works of secular historiography. (For an overview of the non-Buddhist learning of monks in the early period, see Cao, 1994, and the discussions in Zürcher, 1959.)

While for the Chinese Buddhist historians their expertise in secular mainstream literature was a matter of course, they frequently used it programmatically for the purpose of proselytizing among the educated public. Further, especially during the religion's first few centuries in China, its followers faced recurrent attacks against their theory and practice from hostile elements at court, which at times led to anti-Buddhist persecutions. In this environment of fierce contestation Buddhists found themselves having to constantly reassert their claims to authority, which they did, among other means, by refining and redefining their own historical self-understanding and its public presentation (for one discussion of a "Buddho-Daoist conflict," see Zürcher, 1959, ch. 6).

Finally, the development of Chinese Buddhist historiography was closely linked to the formation of the Chinese Buddhist canon: at stake was the problem of scriptural authenticity. When Buddhism first reached China, texts in exotic Indic languages transmitted orally or in written form would naturally be seen as imbued with an aura of authenticity, and thus with power. From then on, the concern with authenticity was central to the tradition. Buddhist historians, especially Vinaya specialists – who, as pointed out by Cao Shibang (1999), played a crucial role in the formation of Buddhist historiography in China – took up the herculean task of safeguarding against intrusions into the canon of texts perceived to be of questionable authorship, or as plain forgeries. The scriptural catalogues they wrote, an important branch of Chinese Buddhist historiography, combined the function of inventorying the ever growing numbers of translations with the more politically charged task of establishing the authenticity of scriptures.

Periodization

The history of Chinese Buddhist historiography is long and complex, which makes difficult any attempt at periodization. For the purposes of this

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entry, one may divide Chinese B
raphy into five periods: (1) from
(25–220 CE) to the end of the Six
(220–589 CE); (2) the Sui (581–
(618–907 CE) and the Five Dynas
(3) the Song (960–1279); (4) the
the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qi
(5) the modern period (1912-prese

First Period

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entry, one may divide Chinese Buddhist historiography into five periods: (1) from the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) to the end of the Six Dynasties period (220–589 CE); (2) the Sui (581–618 CE), the Tang (618–907 CE) and the Five Dynasties (907–979 CE); (3) the Song (960–1279); (4) the Yuan 1279–1368), the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911); and (5) the modern period (1912-present).

First Period

The first period marks the beginning of Chinese Buddhist historiography proper in the 4th century. Among the Buddhist historians of the first period, five major figures deserve special mention as founders of a great historiographical tradition.

The first is the scholar-monk Dao'an (道安, 312–385), author of the earliest comprehensive scriptural catalogue, the *Zongli Zhongjing Mulu* (綜理眾經目錄; Comprehensive Catalogue of Scriptures), also known as *Dao'anlu* (道安錄; Dao'an's Catalogue), a record of translations of Indic texts produced by the 4th century. This work, though no longer extant in its original form, was later largely incorporated into the first extant catalogue, the *Chu sanzang jiji* (出三藏記集, T. 2145; Collected Notes on the Production of the Tripites) compiled by Sengyou (僧祐) by 515 CE, and on this basis has been reconstructed by Hayashiya Tomojirō (1941, 387–428). Dao'an's work initiated the great tradition of the scriptural catalogue that developed down to the Northern Song (960–1127), when large-scale Buddhist translation projects were still being carried out (see Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 15–28; Chen Yuan, 2002, 1–3). It also set a precedent of using catalogues to safeguard the "authenticity" of translations by labeling select items either as suspicious (*yi* [疑]) or as forgeries (*wei* [偽]; Link, 1960; Tokuno, 1990).

After Dao'an, Sengyou, a Vinaya master (*lüshi* [律師]) like most other Chinese Buddhist historians, may be seen as the founding father of full-fledged Chinese Buddhist historiography. A prolific writer, in addition to his above-mentioned catalogue, he also compiled historical works such as the *Shijia pu* (釋迦譜; Genealogy of the Śākya Clan; T. 2040; Durt, 2006), the *Hongming ji* (弘明集; Collection on the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]; T. 2010; Makita, 1973–1975; Schmidt-Glintzer, 1976; Li, 2005), the *Shijie ji* (世界記; Records of the World), the *Sapoduo bu xiangcheng zhuan* (薩婆多部相承傳; Genealogical Biographies of the Sarvāstivāda School), the *Fayuan ji* (法苑集; Collected Essays of the Dharma Garden), and the *Faji zaji ming* (法集雜記銘; Diverse Inscriptions from Buddhist Collections). All but the first two are lost. Of the two extant, the *Hongming ji* is perhaps the more important work, containing precious material for the study of early medieval Chinese Buddhism. It comprises 185 essays including pro-Buddhist apologetic writings as well as works of anti-Buddhist polemic, dating from the Eastern Han to the Tianjian era (天監, 502–519 CE) of the Liang dynasty. These works reflect such themes as the hostility of Confucian and Daoist circles towards Buddhism (Chen Yuan, 2002, 37–39; Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 1079–1089); debates concerning the postmortem fate of the consciousness or "spirit" (Liebenthal, 1952; Radich, 2014), and the struggle for independence of the Buddhist community from secular authority. Some of the more recognizable essays in the collection include the *Mouzi lihuo lun* (牟子理惑論; Mouzi's disquisition on Settling Doubts; see Pelliot, 1920; Keenan, 1994), as well as Huiyuan's (慧遠; 334–416 CE) *Shamen bujing wangzhe lun* (沙門不敬王者論; On Why Monks Should Not Bow Down Before Kings; Hurvitz, 1957) and *Da huan xuan shu* (答桓玄書; A Response to Huan Xuan; Li, 2013).

Another genre to emerge in the early period is the travel record. The earliest surviving example of this genre, the *Foguo ji* (佛國記; Record of Buddhist Kingdoms), was written by the pilgrim Faxian (法顯, 337?–422? CE), the third major figure of the early period. In 399 CE Faxian left the Chinese capital Chang'an and headed to India intent on bringing back a complete text of an Indian Vinaya. After his return in 413 CE, he left a meticulous record of his pilgrimage, equipping us with precious documents on the geographical, political and social circumstances of early 5th century Central and South Asia (Zhang 1986, 2–8; Deeg, 2005; Drège, 2013).

The fourth important Buddhist historian of this period was Sengyou's disciple and fellow Vinaya specialist, Baochang (寶唱; 466?–516? CE). His compilations include the *Mingseng zhuan* (名僧傳; Biographies of Famous Monks), the *Zongjing mulu* (眾經目錄; Catalogue of Canonical Scriptures, lost), the *Faji* (法集; Compendium of Dharma, lost), the *Xu falun* (續法論; Further Collection of Essays on Buddhism, lost), the *Biqiuni zhuan* (比丘尼傳; Biographies of Nuns, T. 2063), the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相; Strange Tales from the Scriptures and the Monastic Codes; T. 2121), and the *Fan fanyu* (翻梵語; Indic-Chinese Lexicon; T. 2130). For a lucid overview of Baochang's ouvre, see T. de Rauw (2005). Among Baochang's writings, the *Mingseng zhuan* stands out as the earliest collection of biographies of Chinese Buddhist monks. The text no longer survives *in extenso*, but fragments are preserved in the 13th century Japanese compilation *Meisiōdenshō* (名僧傳抄; ZZ 1523; for details, see Wright, 1954) by the monk Shūshō (宗性). The *Mingseng zhuan* was a large collection of 30 fascicles, about twice the size of the *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks) compiled slightly later by Huijiao (慧皎; 497–554 CE), a work heavily dependent on Baochang's (see below). The *Biqiuniu zhuan* (translated into English in Li, 1981, and Tsai, 1994) is important as the only premodern Chinese Buddhist work devoted to female monastics. Tradition points to Baochang as the author and 516 CE as the date of compilation, although this attribution has been challenged by modern scholars (Cao, 1995; De Rauw, 2005, 215–218). The *Jinglü yixiang* is an encyclopedic work that preserves many fragments from early translations and apocrypha not attested elsewhere (Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 745–757). The *Fan Fanyu* is the earliest Buddhist bilingual dictionary, containing some 4,700 items of Buddhist Indic terminology, mainly transcriptions (translated into English in Vira *et. al.*, 2007).

Although Baochang achieved eminence during his lifetime, for unknown reasons (but perhaps due to a power struggle between him and Huichao [慧超, 475–526 CE], another leading protagonist of the Buddhist community in the capital Jiankang), his fame soon waned and his *Biographies* were eclipsed by Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*. On the basis of earlier works of his predecessors (especially that of Baochang), Huijiao, the fifth great historian of the early period, was able to compile his masterpiece at the prodigiously young age of 23. His work largely consisted in reorganizing the material already collected by Baochang and others and rendering it into elegant narratives. Some of the many studies of the *Gaoseng zhuan* include A. Wright (1954), Ji Yun (2009), and R. Shih (1968). A translation into modern Japanese is Funayama Tōru and Yoshikawa Tadao (2009–2010).

The early period also saw the emergence of the genre of miracle tale. The earliest collection of Chinese Buddhist miracle tales is the *Guanshiyin yingyan ji* (觀世音應驗記; Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara) compiled by Xie Fu (謝敷; 313–362 CE), a pious Buddhist layman. Lost at an early date, the text was partially reconstructed from memory soon thereafter. A manuscript of the text was discovered in the Shōren'in (青蓮院) Temple in Kyoto in 1943 (Dong, 2002; Makita, 1970). These narrative documents found their way into later Buddhist biographies and became one of the important sources of Chinese Buddhist historiography. As these narratives are presented as records of real events, they can be said to reflect, at least in part, a historical approach. For an overview of Buddhist miracle tales in Early Medieval China, see R.F. Campany (2012) and Zhang Zhenjun (2014).

Second Period

The second period begins in the Sui (581–618 CE), when Fei Changfang (費長房, n.d.) compiled his controversial catalogue, the *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀; Records of the Three-Jewels in Successive Dynasties; T. 2034). This catalogue begins with three volumes of chronological records spanning a millennium from the 10th year of King Zhuang of the Zhou Dynasty (周莊王, 687 BCE) to the 17th Year of the Kaihuang Era (開皇) of the Sui Dynasty (597 CE). Volumes 4 through 12 list translations from the 16 previous dynasties, while the last part of the catalogue consists of a roster of scriptures recommended for introduction into the canon (*ruzang lu* [入藏錄]) and a list of scriptural catalogues of the various dynasties up to the Sui (*dailu* [代錄]). The *Lidai sanbao ji* stands out for a number of reasons: it is the first work to include a *ruzang lu*; it takes account of translations from the northern parts of China, whereas earlier works, influenced by the political divide prior to the Sui unification, tended to privilege the south; it features a chronicle of Buddhist history; and it preserves valuable data on early translations. A significant flaw of Fei Changfang's work is his tendency to arbitrarily attribute many of the early anonymous translations or apocrypha to well-known translators (Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 36–43; Chen Yuan, 2002, 4–10; Huang, 2009).

The Tang period (618–907 CE), which enjoyed long periods of stability and cultural flourishing, was also a period of great development of Chinese Buddhism. Daoxuan (道宣; 596–667 CE) was the most prolific Buddhist historian of this period, as well as a patriarch of the Vinaya school (*Lüzong* [律宗]). Apart from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳; Further Biographies of Eminent Monks; T. 2060), he also compiled the *Ji gujin fo dao lunheng* (集古今佛道論衡; Collection of Critical Evaluations of Buddhism and Daoism Past and Present; T. 2104; see Assandri, 2009), the *Guang Hongming ji* (廣弘明集; Expanded Collection on the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]; T. 2103), the *Shijia fangzhi* (釋迦方志; Gazetteer on the Land of the Śākya; T. 2088), the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao* *gantong lu* (集神州三寶感通錄; Assembled Records of Spiritual Resonance of the Three Jewels in China; T. 2106), the *Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu* (道宣律師感通錄; Assembled Records of Spiritual Resonance of the Vinaya Master Daoxuan; T. 2107), the *Datang Neidian Lu* (大唐内典錄; Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures [Compiled] in the Great Tang Dynasty; T. 2149; Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 47–48). Among these works, the one most strictly historiographical in nature is the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, which follows the format established by Huijiao's earlier work (Shinohara, 1988).

Apart from the above–mentioned compilations, other historiographical texts from the Tang bear mentioning. The 100-volume magnum opus *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林; Forest of Gems in the Garden of the Dharma; T. 2122; Zhou & Su, 2003) complied in 668 CE by Daoshi (道世; *fl.* 656–668 CE), a collaborator of Daoxuan, is perhaps the greatest Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedia of all time. This enormous work houses the quotations from more than 500 Buddhist and secular literary works, including those from no longer extant early translations and apocrypha (Teiser, 1985). Another work of great importance is the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄; Catalogue of Buddhist Texts Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era; T. 2154) compiled by Zhisheng (智昇; 669–740 CE) in 730 CE, which later became the definitive standard list of texts of the medieval Chinese Buddhist Canon (for a discussion of Zhisheng's influence on the canon, see Fang, 2006).

This period also witnessed the production of two great travelogues written by Xuanzang (玄奘; 600/602–664 CE) and Yijing (義凈; 635–713 CE). More will be said about these works below.

Third Period

China in the Song period witnessed the peak of Buddhist historiography. This was largely due to the momentous political, economic and cultural developments of the period, in spite of a general political and military weakness. A particularly important factor was the spread of papermaking and printing, which made publications much more affordable than ever before. In this milieu, Buddhist historiography blossomed, with new genres emerging, and old forms being brought to new heights.

Meanwhile the Chan (禪) school along with Pure Land (*Jingtu* [淨土]) gradually displaced Tiantai (天台), Huayan (華嚴), Yogācāra (*weishi* [唯識]), the Vinaya schools and "esoteric" Buddhism (*mijiao* [密教]) to become the two most important schools of Chinese Buddhism. Chan followers used the *Chuandeng lu* (傳燈錄; Records of the Transmission of the Flame) and other unique forms of quasi-historical texts to create ideal images of legendary Chan patriarchs in order to establish and defend their lineage's claims to orthodoxy (Jan, 1964; Cao, 2006, 13–58, esp. 20–22, 56–58; examples of the copious English-language scholarship on this topic include Faure, 1997; McRae, 2003; Jia, 2006; Schlutter, 2008).

During this third period, we still meet great Buddhist historians such as Zanning (贊寧; 919–1001), who was a scholar-monk from the Nanshan (南山) tradition of the Vinaya school and held an important post during the Song Dynasty. In the year 982 CE he received an order to compile the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (宋高僧傳; Song Biographies of Eminent Monks; T. 2061), a project that took six years to complete (Cao, 1999, ch. 9). Then he compiled another important work on Buddhist institutional history titled the *Dasong sengshilüe* (大宋僧史略; A Brief Account of Buddhist Saṅgha History Written in the Great Song; T. 2126). In addition, Zanning authored another 18 works, most of which are lost (Jan, 1964, 362–363; Chen, 1992, 341; Dalia, 1987; Morrison, 2010). Another major figure was Zhipan (志磐, 1220–1275; for more on Zhipan, see Jan, 1964; 1966).

Fourth Period

By 1127 northern China had been taken by the Jurchen Jin (金) armies, causing the blockage of the overland route to India. Large-scale state-sponsored Buddhist translation projects came to a halt. Although communications between China and India resumed during the Yuan (1279–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing Dynasties, Indian Buddhism had by then faded out from the subcontinent. For the first time, Chinese Buddhists found themselves at the center of the Buddhist world. In the meantime, they seem to have gradually became less keen on historical writings. For example, the dominant genre for the Chan school, perhaps the most important Buddhist institution at that time, was the "recorded sayings" (*yulu* [語錄]): works of this type documented dialogues of Chan masters with their disciples, rather than the biographical records of historical figures.

Fifth Period

The last days of the Qing empire in the late 19th and early 20th century, marking the fifth and last period of Chinese Buddhist historiography, saw a paradigm shift in historical writing. Chinese Buddhist historiography was transformed into a modern academic discipline as a result of direct influence from

Japanese Buddhist scholars who adopted a western (mainly German) research paradigm after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, replacing the traditional format of biographies and annals with critical examination of archives. At first, the new generation of Chinese Buddhist scholars could only imitate the works of their Japanese counterparts, as exemplified by the two earliest histories of Chinese Buddhism written by Jiang Weiqiao (蔣維喬; 1873–1958) and Huang Chanhua (黃懺華; 1890–1977), both titled *Zhongguo fojiao shi* (中國佛教史; History of Chinese Buddhism). It bears emphasizing that for the first time in China the motivation of recording Chinese Buddhist history was, nominally at least, not religious but academic.

The pioneering efforts of the first generation of modern Chinese scholars of Buddhism prepared the ground for the much more mature scholarship of such figures as the great Tang Yongtong (湯用彤, 1893–1964). Tang received his formal training in the West, and in 1938 he published his magnum opus (Tang, 1938) which quickly became a classic in China, and later influenced the most important Western language study of early Chinese Buddhist history, E. Zürcher's *Buddhist Conquest of Chin* (1959).

The other great Chinese Buddhist historian of this period was Chen Yuan (陳垣; 1880–1971). The first draft of his *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun* (中國佛教史籍概論; An Overview of Chinese Buddhist Historical Works) was completed by 1942. His other important work was the *Shishi yinian lu* (釋氏疑年錄; Record of Dubious Dates of Buddhists), which remains a useful reference work for biographical materials on Chinese Buddhist monks.

Roughly contemporaneous with Chen Yuan was Hu Shi (胡適; 1892–1962), who authored pioneering studies on Chan Buddhism. Hu, who was also educated in the West and studied philosophy under the guidance of J. Dewey at Columbia, found himself engaged in a protracted debate with the great Zen popularizer D.T. Suzuki (鈴木大拙) about the historicity of Zen and the proper method for its study (Hu, 1953; Suzuki, 1953 [1978]).

But these promising beginnings were soon cut short by the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China. This ushered in a period of stagnation in Buddhist studies that would last until roughly 1979, when the Party began to depart from its Maoist version of a centrally planned economy. During this 30-year period, studies of the humanities, especially of religion, were all but completely subordinated to Party politics and to Marxist views on religion. Buddhism along with other religions was viewed as the opium of the masses. Not surprisingly, the main purpose of research was to critique religious phenomena within a Marxist framework (Welch, 1972). At the same time, the study of Buddhism was administratively subordinated to philosophy departments in research institutions throughout China, an arrangement that privileged the philosophical over other, more properly historical, aspects of the tradition. One of the few felicitous exceptions was Ren Jiyu (任繼愈, 1916–2009), whose Marxist interpretation of traditional Chinese Buddhist thought gained the appreciation of Mao Zedong himself, a backing that enabled Ren to establish the Institute for World Religions at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 1964 (Defoort & Zinda, 2010, 5–10).

In and after the 1980s, with the relaxation of the Marxist grip over the nation, Chinese Buddhist scholars once again were able to engage in freer research. Primary sources became increasingly accessible, thanks to hundreds of new archaeological digs, the growing use of computer technology to edit, analyse, index, and disseminate research, as well as to digitalized textual archives available online. Prominent examples of the latter include the CBETA database of Buddhist texts (http://www.cbeta.org/), the massive "Scripta Sinica" database hosted by Academia Sinica (中央研究院, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan*) in Taiwan (http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/), and the electronic version of the enormous *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書; Egan, 2001).

Since the early 1980s, tens of original works in the field of Chinese Buddhist history have emerged, including Lai Yonghai (2010) in 15 volumes, as well as comprehensive histories of each of the eight Chinese Buddhist schools (Du & Wei,1993; Wei, 1998; Chen Yangjiong, 2000; Pan & Wu, 2001; Zhu & Wei, 2002; Dong, 2008; Wang, 2008; Yang, 2008).

Four Main Genres of Chinese Buddhist historiography

In addition to the chronological survey above, we can also view the field thematically. In traditional Chinese Buddhist historiographical writing we can identify four dominant genres: biographies, catalogues, travelogues, and gazetteers. The four genres are discussed below.

Biographies

In standard Chinese dynastic histo
Shiji, biographies often took the
of "exemplary biographies" (*liezh*
designed to exemplify some moral p
filial conduct, and grouped together
of persons representing a particular
as upright officials (*liangli* [良吏]),
[隐逸]), or knights errant (*youxia* [
degree, Buddhist biographies may be
ing the *liezhuan* model, with the n
between them and their non-Bud
parts being their exclusive focus
Buddhism. A lucid study of this genre
J. Kieschnick (1997).

The previously-mentioned *Gaose*
prises "main biographies" (*zheng*
of 257 monks, as well as "ancilla
(*fuzhuan* [附傳], short recordings
not covered in the former category
nine lay Buddhists, two nuns, and o
the Eastern Han to the early Liang
122–129). Unlike Baochang's *Mingse*
groups its subjects into two classes
raphies divides them into ten cate
translators (*yijing* [譯經]); exegete
divine wonders (*shenyi* [神異], or
practitioners of meditation (*xichan*
tors of regulations (*minglü* [明律]);
ficed themselves (*wangshen* [亡身
sacrificed their bodies to feed ani
of spiritual self-advancement); cha
(*songjing* [誦經]), benefactors (*x*
sponsors of Buddhist projects); h
shi [經師]); and proselytizers (*ch*
To each category there is attached
[論]) and a poem of praise (*zan*
1997, 8–10; Chen, 2002, 17–21; Ji, 20

Huijiao's masterpiece set a mod
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Biographies

In standard Chinese dynastic histories since the *Shiji*, biographies often took the specific form of "exemplary biographies" (*liezhuan*' [列傳]), designed to exemplify some moral pattern such as filial conduct, and grouped together into categories of persons representing a particular lifestyle, such as upright officials (*liangli* [良吏]), recluses (*yinyi* [隱逸]), or knights errant (*youxia* [游俠]). To some degree, Buddhist biographies may be seen as following the *liezhuan* model, with the main difference between them and their non-Buddhist counterparts being their exclusive focus on followers of Buddhism. A lucid study of this genre in provided by J. Kieschnick (1997).

The previously-mentioned *Gaoseng zhuan* comprises "main biographies" (*zhengzhuan* [正傳]) of 257 monks, as well as "ancillary biographies" (*fuzhuan* [附傳], short recordings of personages not covered in the former category) of 262 monks, nine lay Buddhists, two nuns, and one Daoist, from the Eastern Han to the early Liang period (Ji, 2009, 122–129). Unlike Baochang's *Mingseng zhuan*, which groups its subjects into two classes, Huijiao's *Biographies* divides them into ten categories (*ke* [科]): translators (*yijing* [譯經]); exegetes (*yijie* [義解]); divine wonders (*shenyi* [神異], or thaumaturges); practitioners of meditation (*xichan* [習禪]); elucidators of regulations (*minglü* [明律]); those who sacrificed themselves (*wangshen* [亡身], i.e. those who sacrificed their bodies to feed animals as a means of spiritual self-advancement); chanters of scripture (*songjing* [誦經]), benefactors (*xingfu* [興福], or sponsors of Buddhist projects); hymnodists (*jingshi* [經師]); and proselytizers (*changdao* [唱導]). To each category there is attached a discussion (*lun* [論]) and a poem of praise (*zan* [贊]; Kieschnick, 1997, 8–10; Chen, 2002, 17–21; Ji, 2009, 117–122).

Huijiao's masterpiece set a model for future generations, and directly inspired subsequent collections such as the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Their authors, Daoxuan and Zanning respectively, only made minor adjustments to Huijiao's ten categories format. For example, Daoxuan combined hymnodists and proselytizers into one category, changed the names of three categories, and added a new category of "Dharma protectors" (*hufa* [護法]) for monks who defended Buddhism from opponents at court and from hostile Daoists (Kieschnick, 1997, 8–9).

These three biographical collections, together with the *Bu xu gaoseng zhuan* (補續高僧傳; Supplement to the Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks, X. 1524,) from the late Ming and the *Xin xu gaoseng zhuan Siji* (新續高僧傳四集; New Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks in Four Volumes) compiled in the late Qing and early Republican periods (Yu, 1967) are major sources for the study of Chinese Buddhist historiography (Chen Yuan, 1992, 317–352, 364–374).

The compilations listed above were designed not merely to record historical facts, but to set up ideal models for members of the Buddhist community to follow, as well as to make new converts. It is thus not surprising to find them saturated with religio-poetic imagination: deeds supposed to have been performed by the Buddha or by his direct disciples reappear in novel garb, mingled with the elements of the medieval Chinese socio-cultural context, miracle stories are inserted into larger biographies to demonstrate the divine powers of Buddhist figures (Ji, 2009, 279–322). The genre of Chinese Buddhist biography, though not simply pseudo-history, does function as more than history (Shinohara, 1994; Kieschnick, 2011).

Catalogues

Catalogues, or *jinglu* (經錄), generally recorded all the minute details of the translation activities pertaining to a Buddhist scripture, including the titles of the text, the name(s) of the translator(s), the number of scrolls, the time(s) and place(s) of translation; whether the text is extant or not, expanded or abridged; its authenticity; and so on. Over 70 scriptural catalogues were produced in the Chinese Buddhist tradition, the majority of which date from the period up to the Northern Song. Among them, some recorded only the works of a particular translator (譯人錄; *yirenlu*), those from a particular monastery (寺錄; *silu*), or those from a specific dynasty (代錄; *dailu*), while some focused on scriptures to be included in the canon (*ruzanglu*). Overall, the catalogues vividly reflect the historical circulation of Buddhist writings in China at a particular time or place (for studies of the genre, see Hayashiya, 1941; Storch, 1995; 2014).

Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji* is one of the most important examples of this genre. Following in Dao'an's footsteps, Sengyou's main purpose was to record all historical information available in his day regarding Buddhist texts introduced from the Indian subcontinent, taking great care to determine the authorship of the translations (Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 15–28; Chen Yuan, 2002, 1–4), and to reject attempted infiltrations by apocryphal texts. For this purpose, in addition to the lists of titles of translations, Sengyou included in his text prefaces (*xu* [序]) to the translations documenting the circumstances of their production, as well as substantial biographies of monks involved in this work. All this material is indispensable for the study the early stages of Buddhist translation in China (Link, 1960; Ji, 2009, 234–252).

The afore-mentioned *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* by Zhisheng listed 2,278 Buddhist translations and indigenous works produced by 176 individuals between 67 and 730 CE. It can roughly be divided into two parts. The first part arranges in chronological order works from each dynasty, with brief biographies attached of the translators or authors, all of which is followed by a discussion of previous catalogues. The second part lists dubious and definitely spurious scriptures, and includes a *ruzang lu*. This catalogues' accuracy and high standards of textual criticism make it the perhaps most important catalogue in Chinese Buddhist historiography (Cao, 1999, ch. 20; Chen Yuan, 2002, 10–14; Chen Shiqiang, 1992, 74–84; Chao, 2012).

Travelogues

Chinese pilgrims played a key role in the exchanges between the Indian subcontinent and China. They were normally monks, occasionally lay persons, who journeyed west seeking the dharma (*qiufa* [求法]). Their travelogues (*youji* [遊記]) preserve the pilgrims' rich observations from their journeys, and constitute an important genre of historiographical writing in China.

The most famous text of this sort is the *Datang xiyuji* (大唐西域記; Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty; T. 2087) by Xuanzang. It provides a comprehensive overview of the geographical, social and religious environment of the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia in the mid-7th century. Its great value for scholarship became apparent soon after its first translation into English more than one century ago, as historians and archaeologists relied on it to in their attempts to locate important Buddhist historical sites (Beal, 1884; 1911; Ji, 2000; Chen, 1992, 1210–1219).

Yijing's (義淨; 635–713 CE) *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* (南海寄歸內法傳; Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas; T. 2125) highlights the differences in the adoption of monastic rules between Chinese and Indian Buddhists (Chen, 1992, 901–912; Wang, 1995; Takakusu, 1986). However, it is not strictly speaking a record, since it incorporates extensive material directly from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and thus it must be used a historical source only with great care. The same author's *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* (大唐西域求法高僧傳; Biographies of Eminent Monks from the Great Tang Dynasty in Search of Dharma in the West; T. 2066) records 56 pilgrims who went to India during the early Tang Dynasty (Lahiri, 1986; Wang, 2000).

It was also during the Tang Dynasty that China became an important Buddhist center in its own right. In this context, the Chinese tradition of recording pilgrimages influenced Japanese Buddhists who travelled to sacred sites in China, such as Ennin (圓仁; 793/794–864 CE) who visited Tang China in 840 CE and wrote the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* (入唐求法巡礼行記; Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Dharma). From this work we learn first-hand, among others, of Emperor Wuzong's anti-Buddhist persecution in the years 842–846 CE (Ono, 1989a; Reischauer, 1955).

About two centuries later, Jōjin (成尋, 1011–81) documented his journey to Song China in the *San Tendai Godai san ki* (参天台五臺山記; Account of a Pilgrimage to Mount Tiantai and Mount Wutai). For a study of this text, see C. von Verschuer, 1991.

Gazetteers

During long stretches of Chinese history, especially between the Han and Tang periods, due to political fragmentation, historical writing tended to focus on regional history. Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*, for instance, gives a much fuller coverage of monks from the south than to those from the north. Even when China was united politically, its geographical variegation and territorial vastness still encouraged, as a matter of convenience, detailed studies of local traditions. Buddhist scholars too used to compile collections of documents on a particular region or even on a specific site, steeped in history and legend: the gazetteers.

Buddhist gazetteers, especially those from important monastic centers, contained information on the geography and architecture of the site, its cultural and political history, as well as often substantial additional biographical materials on figures associated with it. Just like a noble family or clan, a temple with an established tradition would often commission a text that could stand as a monument to its own history (Bingenheimer, 2012). Gazetteers form a vast body of literature, selected examples of which were recently digitized by the Temple Gazetteer Project at Dharma Drum Buddhist College in Taiwan, and can be accessed online at http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/fosizhi.

Characteristics of Chinese I
Historiography

(1) The historiographical genres discu
lize a variety of forms or styles, many
undeniable affinities with standard f
historiography:

(a) Composite "annal-biography'
ti [紀傳體]): represented by the *Shi*
(釋門正統; True Lineage of Buddhis
Zongjian [宗鑑] in 1237) and the *Fo*
統紀; Chronicle of the Buddhas and
T. 2035; compiled by Zhipan [志
so forth. The *jizhuan ti* is perhaps
of secular historiography, exemplif
histories;

(b) Chronological style (*bianni*
represented by the *Shishi tongjian* (
prehensive Mirror of Reference of t
Lineage, ZZ 1516), the *Fozu lidai to*
通載; Comprehensive Record of the
erations of the Buddhas and Patria
Nianchang [念常, 1282–1344]), and t
(釋氏稽古略; An Outline of Histo
into the Śākya Family Lineage; T. 20

(c) General biographical style
體]): represented by the three colle
phies of Eminent Monks discussed a

(d) Classified biographical style
體]): represented by the *Biqiuni zh*
xiyu qiufa gaosengzhuan, and so fo

(e) Individual biographical style
傳類]): represented by such works
zhizhe dashi biezhuan (隋天台智
vidual Biography of the Great Mast
of the Sui; T. 2050), and the *Datang*
fashi zhuan (大唐大慈恩寺三藏
of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Grea
of the Great Tang Dynasty; T. 205
English in Li, 1995).

Other biographical categories
phies of laypersons (*jushizhuan*
phies of individuals reborn in the
on. Nonbiographical works cent
topics as Buddhist geography –
Shijia fangzhi and the *Lushanji* (
the Lu Mountain).

(2) The vast amount of data pr
Buddhist historiographical wor
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Characteristics of Chinese Buddhist Historiography

(1) The historiographical genres discussed above utilize a variety of forms or styles, many of which show undeniable affinities with standard forms of secular historiography:

(a) Composite "annal-biography" style (*jizhuan ti* [紀傳體]): represented by the *Shimen zhengtong* (釋門正統; True Lineage of Buddhism, compiled by Zongjian [宗鑑] in 1237) and the *Fozu tongji* (佛祖統紀; Chronicle of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs; T. 2035; compiled by Zhipan [志磐] in 1269), and so forth. The *jizhuan ti* is perhaps the main form of secular historiography, exemplified by dynastic histories;

(b) Chronological style (*biannianti* [編年體]): represented by the *Shishi tongjian* (釋氏通鑒; Comprehensive Mirror of Reference of the Śākya Family Lineage, ZZ 1516), the *Fozu lidai tongzai* (佛祖歷代通載; Comprehensive Record of the Successive Generations of the Buddhas and Patriarchs; T. 2036; by Nianchang [念常, 1282–1344]), and the *Shishi jigu lüe* (釋氏稽古略; An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage; T. 2037), and so forth;

(c) General biographical style (*zhuanjiti* [傳記體]): represented by the three collections of *Biographies of Eminent Monks* discussed above;

(d) Classified biographical style (*leizhuanti* [類傳體]): represented by the *Biqiuni zhuan* and *Datang xiyu qiufa gaosengzhuan*, and so forth; and

(e) Individual biographical style (*biezhuan lei* [別傳類]): represented by such works as the *Sui Tiantai zhizhe dashi biezhuan* (隋天台智者大師別傳; Individual Biography of the Great Master Tiantai Zhizhe of the Sui; T. 2050), and the *Datang daci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* (大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳; Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty; T. 2053; translated into English in Li, 1995).

Other biographical categories include biographies of laypersons (*jushizhuan* [居士傳]), biographies of individuals reborn in the Pure Land, and so on. Nonbiographical works centered around such topics as Buddhist geography – for example, the *Shijia fangzhi* and the *Lushanji* (廬山記; Records on the Lu Mountain).

(2) The vast amount of data preserved in Chinese Buddhist historiographical works allows for easy and productive cross-referencing. Such work has recently been made much easier by the development of a series of sophisticated online tools for the study of Chinese Buddhist biographies (http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/gaosenggis/), place and person names (http://authority.ddbc.edu.tw/), and gazetteers (http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/fosizhi/), all of which rely on data from Chinese Buddhist historiographical works.

(3) Most Chinese Buddhist historiographical texts were compiled by or for private religious institutions or individuals without court support. Officials and historians at court responded frequently with distrust or outright hostility. This became especially true after the Middle Tang period. Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修, 1007–1072), one of the greatest Chinese historians, did not conceal his thorough disdain towards Buddhism. In revising earlier versions of both the *Jiu Tang shu* (舊唐書; Old Tang History) and the *Jiu wudai shi* (舊五代史; The Old History of the Five Dynasties), he removed almost all accounts that he considered not in line with Confucian thought, including many references to Buddhism, so that even Xuanzang did not win a place in his official history of the Tang Dynasty. In a similar vein, the *Songshu* (宋書; History of the Song Dynasty), while including biographies of Buddhist monks, placed them in the chapter on "barbarians" (夷蠻列傳; *manyi liezhuan*), a choice that reflects the official compiler's view of the religion. This view prevailed especially in the various southern courts, which saw themselves as protectors of the Han Confucianism patrimony against foreign powers in the north.

At the same time, the political and cultural upheaval in the period between the Eastern Han and the Sui dynasties temporarily eroded Confucian domination over official historiography. This resulted, for example, in the compilation of the *Shilao zhi* (釋老志; Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism), and its inclusion in the *Wei shu* (魏書; History of the Wei Dynasty) compiled in 554 CE by Wei Shou (魏收; 506–572 CE) The *Shilao zhi* serves as a brief history of Chinese Buddhism from the Yuanshou era (元狩; 122–117 BCE) of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty to the Wuding era (武定; 543–550 CE) of Emperor Jing of the Eastern Wei dynasty, and records, among other matters, the main development of Buddhism, the organization of Buddhist communities, and prominent Buddhist historical figures (for English translations, see Ware, 1933; Hurvitz, 1956). The *Shilao zhi* remained, all the same, an exception. The only other work of its type is found in the *Yuan shi* (元史), the official dynastic *History of* *the Yuan*. Titled *Shilao zhuan* (釋老傳; Biographies of Buddhists and Taoists), it highlights important religious figures from the Mongol dynasty.

(4) One of the main sources for traditional Chinese Buddhist historians were commemorative writings, that is texts produced in connection with the death of a person of renown. Commemorative writings include epigraphical inscriptions (*beiwen* [碑文]), tomb tablets (*muzhi* [墓誌]), funerary orations (*jiwen* [祭文]), and eulogies (*leiwen* [誄文]; Ji, 2009, 187–198; Liu, 1995). For a convenient reference book on this issue, see Jiang Liangfu, 1959. The preoccupation with death reflects a broader Chinese concern with genealogy. Starting from as far back as the 2nd millennium BCE, genealogies of royal clans were kept and can be reconstructed from oracle-bone inscriptions and later historical records. During the Han, and especially from the Six Dynasties period onwards, genealogical records of aristocratic lineages (*shizu* [士族]) and of the comparatively subélite families known as "magnate lineages" (*haozu* [豪族]) became a recognized historical genre. Against this backdrop it makes sense that Chinese Buddhist historians would attempt to (re)construct the genealogy of the Śākya clan of the historical Buddha. Sengyou's *Shijia pu* and Daoxuan's *Shijia shipu* (釋迦氏譜; Clan Genealogy of the Śākyas; T. 2041) are typical of this form (Durt, 2006).

(5) Chinese Buddhist historians more often than not had a sectarian affiliation, which led them to approach their material selectively so as to justify the particular ideology of their own school. Furthermore the, different schools seemed to prefer particular styles of historical writing. For example, the above-mentioned official annal-biography form (*jizhuanti*) was a favorite of Tiantai historians. As an illustration, Zhipan, in his *Fozu tongji*, adapted the form of imperial annals (*benji* [本紀]) – which in its original context of official historiography recorded biographies of emperors and empress dowagers – and used it to record the lives of the Buddha and of the Tiantai patriarchs. In works such as his, where the historian acts on behalf of one sect in competition with others, other schools of Chinese Buddhism are often relegated to inferior positions. For example, Zhipan's work places Pure Land related materials in the relatively marginal section on miscellaneous essays (*zhi* [志]).

By contrast, the Chan sect preferred the chronological style. An early Chan work exemplifying this style is the *Chanlin Sengbao zhuan* (禪林僧寶傳; Biographies of Saṅgha Treasure of the Chan School; ZZ 1560,) compiled by Huihong Juefan (慧洪覺範; 1071–1128), which documents 81 Chan masters from the late Tang dynasty to the Zhenghe (政和, 1111–1118) era of the late Northern Song (Chen 1992, 393–397). This trend was continued by the *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan* (僧寶正續傳; Continued Biographies of Saṅgha Treasure), compiled by Zuxiu (祖琇) in the years 1165–1173, which documented a further 28 Chan masters from the late Northern Song to the early Southern Song periods, and later yet by the *Nan Song Yuan Ming chanlin sengbao zhuan* (南宋元明禪林僧寶傳; Biographies of the Saṅgha Treasure of the Chan School of the Southern Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties; ZZ 1562), which documented 98 Chan masters active between the Jianyan (建炎; 1127–1130) era of the Southern Song to the Shunzhi (順治; 1644–1661) era of the Qing (Chen, 1992, 397–408).

(6) Chinese Buddhist historiography has the tendency both to rationalize legendary and fabulous elements, and simultaneously to sanctify ordinary events by imbuing them with the transcendent and the magical. In response to this, one approach we can take is to winnow out the fabulous in order to get at the robust historical fact. Another approach (Kieschnick, 1997, 1–2) is to take the fabulous elements seriously as precisely what deserves study as meaningful expressions of the religious imagination.

(7) Chinese Buddhist historiographers not only appropriated the models of official Confucian historiography, but at times actively responded to it. This can be seen for instance in their handling of the problem of political legitimacy. Legitimizing the current regime was an enduring primary concern for official Chinese historians, and involved often intricate negotiation of such concepts as mandate of heaven (*tianming* [天命]), grand unification (*da yitong* [大一統]), blood lineage (*xuetong* [血統]), and the distinction between the culturally Chinese and the "barbarians." Buddhist historiographers responded to these concerns by carefully choosing the politically charged terminology they used to refer to the regimes they supported and those they wished to mark as morally or politically suspicious. For example, Huijiao, as a loyal subject of a Southern regime, naturally saw China's Northern rulers as illegitimate (Ji, 2009, 58–59). Accordingly in his *Gaoseng zhuan* he exhibited utmost care in dealing with era name (*nianhao* [年號]), so as to reflect his political judgment. This strategy of using dating formats as a subtle yet potent form of political criticism would continue into modern times.

(8) Last, even if we take into consideration the patriarchal nature of traditional Chinese society, the

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YUN JI

Historiography: Thailand

Written primary sources about the history of Buddhism in premodern polities within what is today Thailand were documents generated, circulated, and archived by different local Buddhist communities and monastic schools. They were preserved in the numerous monastic libraries of the Thai kingdoms and principalities of the early modern period, the *ho tham* (edifice for the *dhamma*) or *ho trai* (edifice for the Tipiṭaka). These sources were compiled, recorded, and recopied in manuscripts from early times up to the mid-20th century in northern Thailand (a polity formerly known as Lanna) and in the Tai principalities (e.g. of the Tai Khuen and Tai Lue) but only up to the early 19th century in central Thailand (former Siam). All these documents were intended to bring new local elements to preexisting Buddhist literature and to enrich the many stories of the Buddha, *dhamma*, and saṅgha in a new temporal sequence and in lands far removed from Buddhist India. These elements are composite in nature and their complexity is nothing short of disconcerting for the modern historian: facts and fables can be presented together, at the crossroads of historical and mythical modes.

In the modern era, and especially since the early 20th century CE, religious historiography has been consistently collected, preserved, and studied by both Thai and international experts but largely outside of their original contexts, the monasteries and centers of local knowledge. These experts – laymen or monks – have unavoidably used them for different purposes, less and less religious or ritual but increasingly political or academic. The result has been the search – beyond the historical level – of an inflexible historicity quite noticeable, for instance, in modern biographies of the Buddha Gotama, in contrast to the *jātakas* (miraculous lives of the Bodhisatta) that had been compiled, enriched, and transmitted for hundreds and even thousands of years. Historicity came at the expense of mythological and religious elements that were later more fully appreciated by anthropologists and sociologists as scientific data.

In fact, a balanced understanding of the historiography of Buddhism only emerges when we take into account two factors. The first factor is that the Western concept of history did not exist at the time of our premodern primary sources, since the corresponding Thai term (*prawatisat*) was only coined during the reign of King Rama V of Siam (1868–1910) in the early years of the 20th century. The second factor is that a distinctively Buddhist notion of time was deeply imbedded in the local culture, directly inherited from circa 5th-century CE Pali commentaries such as Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the *Manorathapūranī* (von Hinüber, 1996, 43). According to this text, the current Buddhist era (i.e. the period during which the teachings of Buddha Gotama exist in the world) will last five thousand years, years of inexorable decline leading to the total extinction of Buddhism. The commentary says that the last millennium will be the time of the disappearance of the relics of the Buddha caused by the lack of public veneration. The complete vanishing of Buddhism was therefore prophesized, and for the Buddhist people of the region, there was a constant need to understand to what phase of this period of decline they actually belonged.

According to E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1962, 47), the characteristic feature of historicist methodology is a tendency to explain "any institution in terms of its origins, or at any rate of its antecedents." With regard to the historiography of Buddhism, *historicity* has been imposed on the biography of the Buddha as much as the history of his institution, the saṅgha. P. Skilling (2006, 19) referred to the modern invention of the historicist Buddha, the universal figure eventually revealed when all miraculous elements have been scrubbed from the original sources. This reductionist tendency imposed by Western academics and quickly adopted by local elites reframed and reified the history of Buddhism in light of privileged categories (Theravādin, canonical, classical, and cultivated) while undervaluing or excising core features of the premodern tradition as magical, superstitious, popular, or degenerate.

Nowadays the study of Thai Buddhist historiography is also done with the methods of the history of religions (mixing philology, history, anthropology, and sociology), an approach respectful of historicity and mythology, acknowledging facts as well as fictions and taking into consideration, as much

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Sources, Languages, and Genres

Historiographical documents were mostly written using two different scripts (Tham or Dhamma script in northern and eastern Thailand; Khom or Khmer script in central and southern Thailand), both specially designed to perfectly record the classical Indic texts (substantially all in Pali but also, in only rare instances, in Sanskrit) and all new texts composed in the different Thai/Tai languages. They were readable and easily adaptable – not to say translatable – from one to the other script and language. This remarkable linguistic unity – today less effective between Thailand and parts of Burma and southern China – led to many exchanges and facilitated the transmission of texts. Textual trading was sometimes direly needed: for instance, after the destruction of Ayutthaya by the Burmese in 1767, many Pali texts considered as part of the Tipiṭaka were copied in Khom from originals in Tham and Mon scripts in order to restore the Siamese collections (Wenk, 1968, 40).

Historical sources mentioned in this article were transmitted through manuscripts belonging to the Siamese and Lanna Pali manuscript traditions. In these traditions, it was customary to use and keep these documents alongside Pali Buddhist texts nowadays referred to as the "Theravāda canon." But it is important to underscore that in the premodern period, histories or locally composed narrative sources were not necessarily regarded as documents outside the category of Tipiṭaka, especially when they were written in Pali. At the beginning of the modern period, one of the first catalogues of manuscripts, presenting the collections of the newly founded Vajirañāṇa National Library (founded in 1905), classifies Buddhist historiographical texts in the Tamnan category. The Pali Tamnan – apparently highly regarded – is placed third in the traditional sequence of the Tipiṭaka, just after the Suttanta and before the Abhidhamma (i.e. Vinaya, Suttanta, Tamnan, and Abhidhamma; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2004, 63–70; for the original, see website of the Chulalongkorn University Library). These Siamese catalogues (prepared at the initiative of Siamese princes) show that even at that time, perceptions of the historical status of Thai Buddhist literature as a whole did not confer a special importance to the notions of canonical or extracanonical.

All genres that we may call Buddhist historiography were classified as *vaṃsa* in Pali (a word that became *wong* and *phong* in Thai) or as *tamnan* in Thai (Wyatt, 1976, 107). *Vaṃsa* refers to lineage or tradition, whereas *tamnan* is a Thai word from Khmer (*ṭāl* and *ṭamnāl*) meaning communicate, narrate. Political or royal chronicles were known as *phongsawadan* (from Sanskrit *vaṃsāvatāra*) but only in Siam and, at a later date, in Laos. Charnvit Kasetsiri (1976) clearly defines the nature and concept of premodern Thai historiography; he divides it into two types – traditional and religious history (*tamnan*) and premodern or even modern dynastic history (*phongsawadan*). He notes the decline of the *tamnan* type from the 17th century onward and the development of *phongsawadan* from this period (coinciding with the reign of King Narai of Siam [r. 1656–1688] and the first major contact with the West). The bibliometric study of the manuscripts of the northern region, however, shows that the decline in *tamnan* was neither simultaneous nor of equal importance. Traditional stories continued to be written, or at least widely recopied and distributed, throughout 19th-century Lanna, and the *tamnan* perception of history continues to be present in the contemporary Buddhist culture of Thailand (Lagirarde, 2014).

Tamnan is a form of narrative literature, and the word only occasionally deserves to be translated as "chronicle." This is indeed a wide genre, and often original titles further specify their orientation – various prefixes and suffixes employed include *tham* (*dhamma*) *tamnan* for narratives dealing with the history of Buddhist teachings, institutions, or objects; *tamnan ṅithan* (Pal. *nidāna*) for texts dealing with mythic history; and *tamnan phuen* (or *tamnan phuen mueang*) for narratives about political or dynastic histories.

Reciters, Scribes, Chroniclers, and Chronicles

The Sri Lankan *vaṃsa* literature in Pali began to appear at an undisclosed time (13th–14th cent.[?]) in the monastic communities of the Thai world. We do not know by whom, how, and under what conditions the texts were transmitted. Starting in the 15th century, the names of some chronicle authors and the names of many sponsors and scribes as mentioned in the colophons of manuscripts become known, but we know almost nothing of the methods employed by the earliest local scholars to learn, copy, and transmit texts.

Historians face a major problem when they realize the gap between the given dates of the foundation of the first political Thai centers of power (Sukhothai in c. 1240, Chiang Mai in 1296, and Ayutthaya in 1351) and the appearance of the first Buddhist historiographical texts in the region. This gap of nearly two centuries (at least, and clearly measurable in Lanna) poses the fundamental question of what kind of Buddhist literacy was operating in that period. In the north, one of the last Mon inscriptions from Lamphun suggests that the copying of texts (and the making of manuscripts from palm leaves) was certainly well underway since the pre-Thai period when the region was inhabited by Mon speakers (this inscription LB 01, in Mon and Pali, dated 1213–1219, tells of "golden [gilded] Tipiṭakas" ordered by King Sabbhādhisiddhi of Lamphun; see Cœdès, 1925, 190–191).

D. Veidlinger (2006, 37) has argued that textual transmission in Hariphunchai and Lanna was oral and performed by reciters of scripture (using the word *bhāṇakas* in analogy to ancient Pali usage) for several hundred years before the oldest manuscripts ever found in the region (15th cent.), and that we also have evidence of textual compositions for the same early period.

The oldest *vaṃsa* manuscript ever found in Thailand is a copy of the *Buddhavaṃsa* dated 1551, kept in the library of Wat Lai Hin near Lampang and copied at Wat Pa Yuak of unknown location (von Hinüber, 2013, 124). The oldest dated Pali manuscript from Thailand – fragments of a *jātaka* – comes from the same monastery and is dated 1471 (von Hinüber, 2013, 102). Another important historical landmark is a Chiang Rai inscription (JR 6; dated 1605), which states the following:

> [in Pali] *Dhātuvaṃsam pavakkhamī*... [in Thai] I am going to tell the *tamnan* of the relic that was left here... the Buddha came by air in Mueang Yuan [Lanna], sat on a rock, went for alms, made a prediction. (Prasert na Nagara *et al.*, 1991, 14–16)

This inscription – which confirms the use of the Thai word *tamnan* to gloss Pali *vaṃsa* – appears like a summary of the *Tamnan Doi Tung* (Penth, 1993) and an abstract of many other *tamnan* related to the foundation of reliquaries and the legendary travels of the Buddha in Lanna (Nakharit, 2002).

This kind of narrative celebrating relics (bodily relics and footprints left by the Buddha) falls naturally within the tradition of mainstream Buddhism and the forms of devotion known in continental Southeast Asia. H. Penth (1993, 6) suggests that many themes and texts could have a Burmese or Shan origin. The most common historical text of Lanna – the most circulated in manuscript form – remains the story of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda (located in modern Yangon, Burma) and is known under the title *Tamnan Takong*. It should also be noted that the tradition of Buddha footprints in reference to the hermit Saccabandha and the hill bearing this name seems to be connected with ancient Burmese sites (Shwesettaw near modern Minbu); the *Buddha Tamnan* specifically cites the mountain called Saccabandha and regards it as the place where the four buddhas have left their footprint and where the future buddha will do the same (Lagirarde, 2014, inv. no. 003_018).

The situation is very different between the north and northeast (the Tham script tradition) and the central plain and the south (the Khom script tradition). In the north, chroniclers were obviously affiliated with different monastic lineages, and competition among these lineages led to the writing of histories with different perspectives on Buddhist history. In Siam, the Buddhist historiographical tradition – often produced by high-ranking officials, court members, and royalty – was seen as a very appropriate tool to address dynastic, domestic, and regional issues (Reynolds, 2006).

Pali Chronicles and Histories of the Buddha(s)

In the sense given in Southeast Asia, a *vaṃsa* narrates the origin, lineage, or genealogy of a particular figure, group of figures, site, object, or event. They include chronicles of kings; past or future buddhas; the saṅgha; and individual monastic lineages, monasteries, or monks. They also comprise narratives concerning the history of shrines, images, relics, and sacred sites. Most Pali and vernacular historical texts from Thailand have not been fully studied, critically edited, or published, and it is quite conceivable that new texts await discovery.

In premodern Thailand, the Pali *vaṃsa* tradition comprises first of all copies of exogenous and transregional treatises written in local scripts.

It is also represented by many texts
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It is also represented by many texts written locally around local themes. Some of these were originally composed in Pali, while others were likely initially compiled in Mon or a Tai language and then translated and reworked in a Pali version (e.g. the famous *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*; see below). The attribution of some Pali *vaṃsa* texts still remains uncertain or controversial: this is the case, for example, with the *Sadhammasaṅgaha*, which traces the history of Buddhist councils and the history of Buddhist literature until the 12th century and ends with an enumeration of the benefits gained with particular pious actions (a genre that greatly developed later in the vernacular literature called *anisong* [Pal. *ānisaṃsa*; see Law, 1941). If the *Sadhammasaṅgaha* does not recall any Thai context, however, its colophon seems to mention that the author has written the book in Ayutthaya, the capital of Siam, possibly around the year 1400 (Penth, 1977).

The classical chronicles from Sri Lanka – the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*, and so forth (von Hinüber, 1996, § 182–188, 193) – have been known since an early time, then glossed and translated in full or abridged versions. Partly on the basis of such "classical" *vaṃsa* models, new titles appeared, for example the *Vaṃsamālinī* (see von Hinüber, 1996, § 190), possibly composed in Chiang Mai in the 15th or 16th century and borrowing most of its content from the *Mahāvaṃsa*. This text depicts some episodes of the deaths of the main disciples of the Buddha that might have inspired another local genre, the stories of the *nibbānas* of the 80 principle disciples of the Buddha Gotama (*mahāsavakas*; important listeners [i.e. followers]), of which we know many versions both in Pali and in the vernacular. The *Mahāvaṃsa* itself has been "extended" locally either in Burma or in Thailand under the title "(Extended or Cambodian) *Mahāvaṃsa*" (von Hinüber, 1996, § 189).

Genre boundaries are loosely fixed; therefore, many historical texts may be classified as belonging in part to other families, for example *parittas* (protective recitations), *jātaka* tales, hagiographies, and prophecies. This is the case, for instance, with the *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa* (Martini, 1969; von Hinüber, 1996, § 429), which is both a *jātaka* and the story of the visit to Thung Yang, in Uttaradit province, by the five buddhas of this era, and the *Uppātasanti* (a *paritta* text written in Chiang Mai in the 16th cent. that contains historiographic elements). Locally composed Pali narratives of the abovementioned *nibbānas* of the 80 disciples were an opportunity to gather together historical material in works like the *Mahākaccāyanatheranibbāna* and *Mahākassapatheranibbāna* (Lagirarde, 2006). "Chronicles of the future," such as the *Anāgatavaṃsa* (see von Hinüber, 1996, § 200; Norman, 2006), which tells of the coming future buddha Metteyya, have been highly popular in Southeast Asia, and it is not impossible that it was composed locally, like the *Dasabodhisatta uddesa* (Martini, 1936; von Hinüber, 1996, § 201) on the ten (future) *bodhisattas*.

Because of all the uncertainties related to the disappearance of the manuscript collections after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, it seems that the Pali school of Chiang Mai was predominant in the development of *vaṃsas* – or at least that the number of ancient texts and old copies is better represented in that region than anywhere else in Thailand (because the Siamese manuscripts did disappear, because they have not yet been identified, or because there never were such texts in the first place). This characteristic is even more striking in the vernacular literature: *tamnans* from Lanna have been rewritten and copied and amount to tens of thousands of surviving manuscripts.

The *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (for the Siamese edition and translation of ch. 7, see Cœdès, 1925; von Hinüber, 1996, § 426; for a translation of the Thai version, see Swearer & Sommai, 1998) and the *Sihiṅganidāna* (for the Siamese edition and translation, see Notton, 1933b; von Hinüber, 1996, § 427) are early 15th-century works compiled by Mahāthera Bodhiraṃsi. The *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* gives a good example of composite genre since it tells the legendary story of Queen Cāmadevī and the story of the establishment of the religion and relics in the former kingdom of Hariphunchai (Pal. Haripuñjaya, modern Lamphun). The *Sihiṅganidāna* tells the history of the Phra Singh Buddha image. In the same period, Brahmarājapañña composed the *Ratanabimbavaṃsavaṇṇanā* (Explanation of the History of the Jewel Image; for the Siamese edition and translation, see Notton, 1933a; von Hinüber, 1996, § 427), the story of the "Emerald Buddha," nowadays sumptuary kept in Bangkok.

The *Jinakālamālī* (see von Hinüber, 1996, § 428) – compiled in Chiang Mai in 1516 or 1517 – is probably the best-studied chronicle: it has been translated into French (Cœdès, 1925) and into English (Jayawickrama, 1968) and extensively indexed and annotated (Penth, 1994). It is considered a general history of Buddhism, starting with early origins (from the *cittuppāda* or rise of thought to become a buddha and the story of the Bodhisatta to the story of the Buddha, the councils, and the development of the teaching in Sri Lanka) and becoming very detailed about the Thai period, up to the early 16th century, when this chronicle ends. The *Jinakālamālī* bears the point of view of its author, the monk Ratanapañña, who belonged to the Wat Pa Daeng ("Redwood Grove Monastery") school of Chiang Mai, the second Sinhala order established in the region. It may be contrasted with earlier histories compiled in the vernacular that represent the perspective of the first Sinhala-inspired order (see below). No copies in the local Tham script have survived, and the text is known from a Siamese manuscript in Khom script dated 1788 (Penth, 1994, 335).

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* (see von Hinüber, 1996, § 391; Kieffer-Pülz, 2010) is a unique compilation of episodes from the life of the Buddha Gotama. This text apparently developed between Lanna and Siam over a period of four centuries. Its oldest copies date from 1574 and have been found in Wat Lai Hin, near Lampang (von Hinüber, 2013, 142), while the last episodes appear only in the 1845 recension of Prince Paramānujit of Siam (or Suvaṇṇaraṃsi, his name as a *bhikkhu*), a work commissioned by King Rama III (r. 1824–1851). It forms a continuous narrative that begins with the marriage of the parents of the Buddha and ends with the story of the decline of the religion and the disappearance of the relics (*dhatu antaradhāna*). The English biography of the Buddha published in 1871 by H. Alabaster as *The Wheel of the Law* was taken from the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, and most of the murals depicting the life of Buddha in the monastic buildings in Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia are directly inspired by this text.

The *Saṅgīti[ya]vaṃsa* (for a translation of ch. 7, see Cœdès, 1914; von Hinüber, 1996, § 199), which is directly inspired by the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Jinakālamālī*, is the first text composed in the Ratanakosin era of Siam (1782 to present). It is dated 1789 and gives a full account of the history of Buddhism, from its beginning in India, through its developments in Sri Lanka and Lanna, up to the Buddhist council patronized by King Rama I (r. 1782–1809) in the new capital, Bangkok. The same author, Phra Vanarata, also wrote the *Mahāyuddhakāravaṃsa*, a Mon chronicle, and the *Cūlāyuddhakāravaṃsa*, an Ayutthaya chronicle.

Two *tamnans* in Pali, both about Buddha images, were composed or recomposed by King Rama IV (r. 1851–1868) in 1854 and 1857 (the *Gāthā Tamnan Phra Kaeo Morakot* and the *Gāthā Tamnan Phra Sāyana*; Nun Vimuttiya, 2009, 101–102).

Vernacular Buddhist Historiography: Lanna and Siam

The majority of historiographical texts from premodern Thailand were compiled in vernacular languages (Siamese, Yuan, Khuen, and Lue). The history of literature and the history of books have known different developments between the north (Lanna) and the central plain (Siam). Charnvit Kasetsiri (1976, 6–7) claims that traditional historiography vanished in the 18th century in Siam, whereas *tamnan* history survived up to the 20th century in Lanna. While very little is known about Siamese *tamnans*, Lanna *tamnans* are now much more studied and accessible. Udom Roongruangsri (1999) provides a list of 206 titles known in Lanna in the *Encyclopedia of Thai Culture* and an abstract for many of them. Some texts began to be known to the outside world in the early 20th century thanks to the pioneering work and translations of G. Cœdès (1914; 1925) and C. Notton (1926; 1930; 1932; 1933). The most accurate and historical *tamnans*, such as the *Tamnan Chiang Mai* (The Chiang Mai Chronicle), have been widely published, translated, and studied in all their versions, including Burmese (the *Zimme Yazawin*). However numerous important *tamnans*, including some of those mentioned here, still remain unpublished and even uncatalogued, although manuscripts of a large number of such texts have recently been made accessible via a database posted on the website of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/); many texts in their Tham Lao version (almost identical with Lanna versions) are also available via the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (http://www.laomanuscripts.net).

Most *tamnans* cover a time defined by the eras of different buddhas of the past and the era of the Buddha, which lasts 5,000 years: they extend it with a history of the future buddha, centered on the coming of Metteyya, the last of the five buddhas of our eon, the *bhaddakappa* (auspicious eon). Yet, beyond this immensely long time, the references to other *bodhisattas* and buddhas in future eons are also given. The temporal and spatial dimensions within this historiography both expand and contract, cleverly mixing mythic, human geographic, and chronological scales. Moreover, a few texts deal with the history of the origins of the world during the absence of a buddha, like the *Paṭhamamūlamūlī* translated by A.R. Peltier (1991) as *The Origin of the World in the Lan Na Tradition* and the unpublished *Pathomkap* (First Eon).

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The first chronicle from Thailand intended to be a general history of the religion of the Buddha – from its beginnings (even before the era of Gotama) up to events in Chiang Mai in the 15th century – is the *Tamnan Mūlasāsanā*. It was started by Buddhañāṇa, the abbot of Wat Suan Dok in Chiang Mai, around 1425. It is a long text, between 300 and 400 folios in palm-leaf manuscript form, reflecting on the Wat Suan Dok school (Fai Suan), the first local Sinhala-inspired order founded by Sumāna Bhikkhu in the late 14th century.

Other texts bearing the generic title *Mūlasāsanā* (Foundations of the [Buddha's] Teaching) belong to the second school of Sinhala-trained *bhikkhus* of the Wat Pa Daeng school (Fai Daeng); although undated, they are probably contemporary to the *Jinakālamālī*, written 90 years after the *Mūlasāsanā*, and seem to be a direct response or reaction to the original *Mūlasāsanā*. In the vernacular, we find many versions of this text mentioning Wat Pa Daeng (*Tamnan Mūlasāsanā Wat Pa Daeng* in Lanna; for the Chiang Tung version, see Sao Sāimöng Mangrāi, 1981), some of them clearly centered on the personality of the second reformer of the Sinhala *bhikkhus*, the Thai monk reordained in Sri Lanka Dhammagambhīra or Ñāṇagambhīra (*Mūlasāsanā Ñāṇagambhīra*; *Ghambhīrabhikkhu* [see Bizot, 1993, 38–49]).

Stories about reliquaries (*that*; Pal. *dhātu*) and footprints of the Buddha (*buddhapāda*) are among the most popular *tamnans* of the Thai world (Lagirarde, 2012). They have been put together into manuscripts collections with interchangeable titles like *Tamnan Phra That Phra Bat* (Stories of the Reliquaries and Footprints of the Buddha) and *Phuttha Tamnan Phra Chao Liap Lok* (The Story of the Buddha's Journeys around the World), exposing the multiple stories of the Buddha travels outside of India to the mainland of Southeast Asia and Greater Lanna in particular. The stories tell how the Buddha traveled through the air, accompanied by his disciples and often by King Asoka. Usually the Buddha discovers a site and predicts its future role in the development of his religion, leaving a relic (usually of his hair) and/or a footprint and announcing that his bodily relics will be kept in the premises after his *parinibbāna*. The list of the texts built on this scheme is quite long.

Most famous *that* (reliquary) stories are the *Tamnan Phra That Hariphunchai* (History of the Holy Relic at Haripunchai) and the *Tamnan Phra That Doi Tung* (History of the Holy Relic of Mount Tung [i.e. Chiang Saen])" written between the 16th and the 17th century probably on the basis of older oral narratives (Penth, 1993). Equally famous are the *Tamnan Doi Suthep* (History of the Holy Relic of Mount Suthep [i.e. Chiang Mai])," the *Tamnan Cho Hae* (i.e. Phrae), the *Tamnan Chae Haeng* (i.e. Nan), the northeastern *Tamnan That Phnom* (i.e. Isan; Pruess, 1976), and the southern *Tamnan Phra That Nakhon Si Thammarat* (History of the Holy Relic of the City Nakhon Si Thammarat (i.e. Srī Dhammarāja).

From the early 15th century to the late 18th century, stories of Buddha images were very popular; they clearly form one of the oldest and most significant categories of *tamnan*. Some of these may have been translated from Pali sources, although they are mostly works originally written in the vernacular. The *Tamnan Phra Kaen Chan* (known as The Chronicle of the Sāvatthi Sandalwood Buddha Image; 15th cent.; Penth, 1994), the *Tamnan Phra Sila*, the *Tamnan Phra Chao Kaeo Setangkhamani*, the *Tamnan Mahamuni Rakhaeng* (unpubl.), and the *Tamnan Phra Chao Ton Luang* (five manuscripts available; Lagirarde, 2014) should be noted, among many others.

Less known are the texts dealing with prophecies, predictions, and histories of the future: they all share a common cosmological and eschatological worldview and are therefore subject to the imposed timeframe of the disappearance of Buddhism mentioned above. They seem to have been more popular in Lanna, especially from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. Most texts claim to report predictions made by the Buddha Gotama after he experienced a vision of the future. Titles might explicitly signal the content of the *tamnan* by mentioning *byākaraṇa* (Pal.; Skt. *vyākaraṇa*; Tha. *Phayakon*; "prediction") or *tamnai/thamnawai/buddha thamnawai* (prophecies [of the Buddha]). They sometimes give a clear indication about the theme addressed in the text (*Tamnan Pancha Buddha Sasana* [Story of the Five [Thousand Years] of the Buddha's Teaching]; *Tamnan Phra Chao Sip Ton* [Story of the Ten Buddhas]). But some others appear like chronicles of cities (*Tamnan Kapilawatthu* [Story of Kapilavastu], *Tamnan Rawaek* [Story of [the Unidentified City of] Rawaek) or kings (*Tamnan Thammikarat* [Story of the Dhammikarāja; for abstracts, see Lagirarde, 2007). This rich literature, still almost unknown to scholarship, has complex intertextual links with other Pali and vernacular texts transmitted in the region.

In Siam the story of the future has also been told in verses, like in the *Phleng Yao Phayakon Krung Si*

Ayuthaya (Verses of Prediction about the City of Śrī Ayutthaya) and the *Phleng Yao Buddha Thamnai*; both texts are connected to the *Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao* (Testimony of the People of the Old Kingdom). In fact, the royal chronicles of Siam (*phraratcha phongsawadan*) might be regarded as a form of Buddhist historiography, insofar as they deal in part with works of merit undertaken by kings and other lords and with various royal efforts to propagate the teaching of the Buddha (for the most elaborate synoptic translation, see Cushman, 2000).

Many *tamnan*s in the Lanna tradition give a relative precedence to the Mon-Khmer peoples in Thai history, who inhabited the region before the appearance of Tai-speaking communities, in order to acknowledge the role that they have played in the introduction of Buddhism and the foundation of the first principalities (*mueang*). Historical texts are sometimes clumsily trying to find etymologies of possibly non-Tai toponyms without clear results, as many local names likely derive from Mon-Khmer languages not understood by the Thai themselves. In this respect, religious historiography does admit – albeit with often a heavy dose of condescension – the presence of Buddhist communities prior to the establishment of the Thai saṅghas, ancient communities whose origin and traditions are very poorly known aside from scattered epigraphic traces in the region. The *Tamnan Suwanna Khamdaeng* (Story of Suwanna Khamdaeng; trans. into French by Notton, 1926) does assert that the story of Chiang Mai was even written in Lua (Mon?) to be translated for King Mangrai (r. c. 1263–1317), the founder of the northern Thai dynasty.

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François Lagirarde

Historiography: Burma

Burmese historical literature is a corpus of several hundred texts with a fairly defined division into genres (Tet Htoot, 1961; Blackmore, 1967). Key among them are royal and monastic chronicles, histories of Buddhist sacred sites and objects, recensions of Pali historiographic (*vaṃsa*) literature, accounts of royal military campaigns and other achievements, records of construction of royal cities or palaces and of holding of court ceremonies, and historical bibliographies of the Pali canon (Bur. *piṭakat*; Pal. *tipiṭaka*) as it was understood in Burma. The corpus did not have exclusive boundaries and was related to certain types of administrative and ceremonial documents by virtue of shared textual genealogies and use in administrative practice. At the same time, various genres of historical works served different purposes and had different modes of circulation. Thus, despite textual and conceptual links, all these types of histories were not perceived as parts of a single knowledge domain or type of literature.

Aside from accounts focused exclusively on court ceremonies or construction projects, all other genres may be considered Buddhist historiography either because they relate histories of things Buddhist or because they construct a moral discourse with the help of Buddhist notions. Histories of Buddhism or Buddhist institutions did not dominate Burmese historiography, with a variety of other subjects serving as a focus of literary activity. In general, systematic production of historical literature and continuation of a dozen different historiographic genres were mostly the result of the interest of the royal court. Though monastic authors were also active, they were involved with a narrower range of genres. Other social agents made no perceptible contributions to history writing until the late 19th century.

Most Burmese historical texts remain unpublished, while even those published have not been edited critically. Very little, if anything, is known about the context of production and circulation of these texts. The earliest surviving works date to the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Tin Ohn, 1961, 85), though they most likely had predecessors. It is not yet possible to reconstruct the early phases of development of this literature or explain why historiography might have had better chances at survival from the 16th century onward. In light of the available sources, what follows below outlines the developments between the 16th and early 20th centuries.

Genres Focused on Kingship and Royal Court

Royal chronicles known as *rājavaṅ* (pron. *yazawin*; Pal. *rājavaṃsa*) are primarily concerned with tracing successions of rulers (Kirichenko, 2009, 5–15). More than one hundred texts, either in prose or in verse, were written from the 16th century onward. In terms of textual genealogy and scope, these works may be divided in three broad types, of which two are differentiated by their treatment of royal succession in the historical "country of Burmans" (*mran mā praññ*; pron. *myanma-pyi*), that is, the dry zone of Upper Burma, while the third covers lords of foreign people and countries.

In dealing with Burmese kings, the compilers of *rājavaṅ*s worked either as narrators having no direct relationship with the dynasties that they accounted for or as court historiographers and archivists whose retelling of history was rooted in a dynastic context. The first type of activity was usually based on circulating historical texts, while official historiography relied primarily on reworking and editing of both archival and formal court documents, such as royal annals (which were kept on a daily basis but never circulated) and accounts of ceremonies and events (which were circulated among the courtiers). Due to the cumulative development of major official *rājavaṅ*s and their high degree of intertextuality, both types of compilation process were usually involved in the production of lengthier historical texts. However, shorter sources usually represented only one type.

Chronicles written to trace royal succession in retrospect on the basis of existing texts may be further subdivided into three distinct subtypes, namely chronicles of the city of Toṅ ṅū (pron. Taungngu), of the city of Pu gaṁ (pron. Bagan), and of the full

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sequence of cities recognized as roya
(pron. Thayekhittaya; i.e. Śrīkṣetr
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and present-day Pinya), Cac kuiṅ
present-day Sagaing), Ava (present-d
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Buddha traveling up the Irrawaddy
dictions about such sites (Kirichen
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the *Rājavaṅ kyau* (pron. *Yazawin-g*
Chronicle) of Sīlavaṃsa, written i
century (Sīlavaṃsa, n.d.). This type
adopted in official historiography
in later locally produced *rājavaṅ*s
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Burma continued as late as 1870s an

Chronicles based on court anna
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and Konbaung (1752–1885) dynast
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tau krīḥ, and the *Muṃ rveḥ ma*
(pron. *Monywe-mahayazawin-gy*
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sequence of cities recognized as royal: Sarekhettarā (pron. Thayekhittaya; i.e. Śrīkṣetra; present-day Pyay), Pu gaṁ (present-day Bagan), Paṅḥ ya (pron. and present-day Pinya), Cac kuiṅḥ (pron. and present-day Sagaing), Ava (present-day Inwa) – capitals of the Konbaung dynasty. The latter conception of the sequence of royal cities rested on the idea that the Buddhist teaching (*sāsana*) always reposes in a certain city, one at a time, and that a number of sites would alternate as the mainstay of the *sāsana* during the five thousand years of its existence. This idea, which most likely emerged in the 14th century to conceptualize the decline of Pu gaṁ as the primary center of political power and the rise of the new royal city of Ava, was substantiated by stories of the Buddha traveling up the Irrawaddy and giving predictions about such sites (Kirichenko, 2005b). The narrative tracing this sequence is first attested in the *Rājavaṅ kyau* (pron. *Yazawin-gyaw*; Celebrated Chronicle) of Sīlavaṃsa, written in the early 16th century (Sīlavaṃsa, n.d.). This type of narrative was adopted in official historiography and replicated in later locally produced *rājavaṅ*s – production of brief works of this type in provincial towns of Upper Burma continued as late as 1870s and 1880s.

Chronicles based on court annals represent the official historiography of the Nyaungyan (1597–1752) and Konbaung (1752–1885) dynasties. The earliest extant work that belongs to this category is known as the *Mahārajavaṅ krīḥ* (pron. *Mahayazawin-gyi*; Extensive Great Chronicle) or the *Mahārājavaṃsa* (pron. *Mahayazawuntha*; Great Chronicle; Lieberman, 1986). Written in circa 1720, it is attributed to Ūḥ Kulāḥ (pron. U Kala), a little-known official and the author of two other *rājavaṅ*s. The text itself claims no authorship, but the attribution is supported by references in later texts and by shorter versions of the *Mahārājavaṃsa* that mention Ūḥ Kulāḥ as their compiler. The *Mahārājavaṃsa* builds on earlier texts, incorporating sections of at least two of them (*Rājavaṅ kyau* and an unnamed chronicle surviving in ms. no. 40 from Ūḥ Bhuiḥ Sīḥ Library in Sa thuṁ) almost verbatim and having parallels with many others (Kulā, 1960–1961). It also served as a textual basis for later updated official chronicles, such as the *Mahārājavaṅ sac*, the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ*, and the *Muṃ rveḥ mahārājavaṅ kyau* (pron. *Monywe-mahayazawin-gyaw*; Celebrated Great Chronicle of Monywe). The *Mahārājavaṅ sac* (pron. *Mahayazawin-thit*; New Great Chronicle) was written in the late 18th century by Ūḥ Thvanḥ Ññui (pron. U Htun Nyo), the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ* (pron. *Hmannan-mahayazawin-daw-gyi*; Royal Extensive Great Chronicle [Compiled in front of] the Glass Palace) was composed in 1829–1831 by a specially appointed committee, and the *Muṃ rveḥ mahārājavaṅ kyau* was written under the supervision of Muṁ Rveḥ Jetavan cha rā tau (pron. Monywe Zetawun Hsayadaw) Ariyāvaṃsa Ādiccaraṃsī, simultaneously with the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ*. All these sources covered the full sequence of cities recognized as royal, though the sections dealing with the current dynasty were the most detailed.

A separate type of *rājavaṅ* deals with the succession of "foreign" kings. Extant are the chronicles of the Mon kings of Lower Burma (see Tun Aung Chain, trans., 2010), of Ra khuiṅ (Arakan), the Shan states, Ayutthaya (see Tun Aung Chain, trans., 2005), Chiang Mai (the *Zinme yazawin*), China, Sri Lanka, Portugal, and Great Britain. In the first five cases, the production of *rājavaṅ*s also involved the translation of native sources and/or the recording of testimonies of natives of these areas, reflecting one of the many aspects in which Burmese historiography was embedded into a larger Southeast Asian tradition (see McCormick, 2011, 129–146).

Several other typologies of *rājavaṅ*s have been proposed, suggesting that earlier texts were local chronicles written from the standpoint of a single region or dynasty. However, the early 18th century saw the emergence of a national historiography that produced more comprehensive texts focused on the entire Irrawaddy basin and western mainland Southeast Asia (Tin Ohn, 1961, 86; Blackmore, 1967, 314–315; Lieberman, 1986, 252; Charney, 2003, 211).

A more complex trajectory than a shift from local to national history is suggested by A. Kirichenko (2003; 2009; partly based on Hla Pe, 1985, 46–47), who identifies several major developments in *rājavaṅ* writing. The earliest was the appearance of a concept of history that traced royal succession through a sequence of cities acting as mainstays of the *sāsana*. This idea provided the framework to structure chronicle narratives and to sequence a number of locations starting with cities in Majjhimadesa (i.e. central India) and culminating in the Burmese royal city of Ava built in 1365 (Kirichenko, 2005b). It also established the basis for counting up the royal succession of more than 300,000 rulers starting with Mahāsammata (the first king recognized by Pali Buddhist cosmology) and ending with the currently reigning Burmese overlord.

In developing this conceptual framework, Burmese historiographers adapted materials from the Pali canon and Pali chronicles. However, the argument that Burmese historiography had Pali chronicles of Sri Lanka as its model (Pe Maung Tin, 1923, xiii; Sarkisyanz, 1965, 3–5; Hla Pe, 1985, 37–38) results from quite superficial comparison, for, even in those cases in which Burmese authors have drawn on Sri Lankan Pali materials, their works carry messages different from those of the original Pali texts. Instead of writing the history of Buddhism-cum-the history of Sri Lanka, compilers of the *rājavaṅ*s focused on Burmese *rājavaṃsa* and recycled Pali-derived materials to emphasize the mission of this lineage of rulers as the custodians of the *sāsana* (Kirichenko, 2009, 25). It also appears that the immediate source shaping Pali-derived sections of the *rājavaṅ*s was the *Vaṃsamālīnivīlāsinī* (or another very similar text), that is, an abridged adaptation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* known in Southeast Asia, and not the parent chronicle compiled in Sri Lanka (see *Rājavaṅ kyau*; *Jātā tau puṃ rājavaṅ* [1960, 23–31]; *Mahāvaṃsamālīnivīlāsinī* [2001]; *Mahāvaṃsa* [1908]).

Apart from materials serving to introduce paradigmatic concepts of royal succession going back to Mahāsammata and defined by the movements of the *sāsana* from one city to another, sections of *rājavaṅ*s that dealt with the kings of Sarekhettarā and Pu gaṁ, that is, the lords who were believed to have ruled from the 5th century BCE to the 14th century CE, were a pastiche of origin stories of local spirits (*nat*; Pal. *deva*; the majority of which were either kings or courtiers who suffered violent and/or unjust deaths, thus rendering the subject within the scope of royal chronicles), Buddhist monuments and images, and legends of royal exploits (see e.g. Pe Maung Tin & Luce, 1923). The textual history of these elements, that is, their earlier existence as independent sources or production in the context of *rājavaṅ* writing, requires further research.

Sections of *rājavaṅ*s dealing with the 14th to the mid-16th century have a different mix of information. They do not contain origin stories of spirits or Buddhist monuments but mostly comprise materials adapted from the sources focused on the wars that the rulers of Ava waged between 1365 and 1527 and on the counsel by learned ministers supposedly given to these rulers and their predecessors who reigned in Pinya and Sagaing in the early to mid-14th century.

Later non-*rājavaṅ* versions of such materials survive as independent texts, for example the *Rājādhirāj areḥ tau puṃ* (pron. *Yazadarit ayedawbon*; The Account of Affairs of [King] Yazadarit) and *Maṅḥ rājā puṃ* (pron. *Min yaza bon*; The Precedents [Told by Minister] Min Yaza), but they differ from *rājavaṅ*s that share this content in many details, suggesting long independent revision paths. Inclusion of these sections into royal chronicles most likely occurred in the 17th century or earlier. However, currently available versions of the *Rājādhirāj areḥ tau puṃ* (in Burmese, Mon, and Thai [McCormick, 2011, 127]) and *Maṅḥ rājā puṃ* (in Burmese) do not predate the 18th century, so nothing can be said with certainty about the way in which these sections appeared or what the origins of these sources are.

The next major transition in the production of *rājavaṅ*s was the development of court annals, which may have appeared as early as the mid-16th century. As a result, later *rājavaṅ*s remained structured around the sequence of royal cities described as the mainstays of the *sāsana*, but, as a literary enterprise, they ceased to be conceptual works and became more straightforward records of events.

Sections covering the reigns of the kings Maṅḥ ta rāḥ rhve thīḥ (pron. Mintaya Shwehti; r. 1531–1550) and Chaṅ phrū myāḥ rhaṅ (pron. Hsinbyumyashin; r. 1551–1581) still retained or imitated the characteristics of preceding sections; they largely narrated war episodes mentioning, in particular, how strategic decisions were made on the basis of discussions with ministers (e.g. the *Mahārājavaṅ krīḥ* [vol. I, 350–440; vol. II, 1–66, 163–439; vol. III, 1–69, 1960–1961). At the same time, they incorporated new features, such as brief records of ceremonies involving members of royalty, the arrival of foreign envoys, court merit making, and conspicuous events that occurred in the capital city. Together with the narratives of military campaigns, which in the 17th century no longer featured dialogues among leaders that were so central in the earlier sections, these records comprised the bulk of materials made available in *rājavaṅ*s until the disappearance of the genre after the 1930s.

Another feature apparent in the sections that cover the events from the 17th century onward is a more official and reserved style of narration that results in a more depersonalized treatment of royalty. This reflects a transition to historiography created by officials in active service. The editing characteristic of official historiography becomes apparent once one compares different versions of *rājavaṅ* and parallel nonofficial or less official sources. An example of an official chronicle in which such editorial interventions are least apparent is the concluding sections of the *Mahārājavaṃsa* that cover the years 1661–1711. While official court chronicles composed since the late 18th century provide aggregated summary descriptions, written or edited long after the actual events, records of 1661–1711 are chronological notes capturing quotidian life as it is. As a result, this period is the only part of Burmese royal chronicles that features information on, for example, the changes of abbots in royally supported monasteries or repairs made there and reports on all key phases of religious and civil-construction projects instead of merely noting the completion of a few of them.

Editing and aggregation resulting in the lesser depth of detail are evident in the *Mahārājavaṅ sac*, the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ*, and the *Dutiya mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ* (pron. *Dutiya mahayazawin-daw-gyi*; Second Royal Extensive Great Chronicle), a continuation of the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ* released in 1869 (Kirichenko, 2003, 90–91, 97n117; Allot, 1994, 82–86). It is similarly found in non- *rājavaṅ* sources, such as the two versions of the *Aloṅḥ maṅḥ ta rāḥ areḥ tau puṃ* (pron. *Alaungmintaya ayedawbon*; The Account of Affairs of [King] Alaungmintaya) and the *Chaṅ phrū myāḥ rhaṅ areḥ tau puṃ* (pron. *Hsinbyumyashin ayedawbon*; The Account of Affairs of [King] Hsinbyumyashin), both by Ūḥ Ne (pron. U Ne).

For reasons that remain to be investigated, between the 1760s and 1830s, multiple authors worked on overlapping projects, as a result of which Burmese kingship was spoken about in many voices (Tun Aung Chain, 2004). After the 1830s, the output of official historiography decreased, and significantly fewer titles came into circulation between 1840 and 1885. Perhaps, some of these works were lost as a result of the pillage of royal archives after the British takeover of Mandalay in 1885, yet, the generally sparing and relatively uneven coverage of events after the 1760s even in those chronicles that appeared before 1840 suggests that the court felt rather uneasy about documenting contemporary history.

This is illustrated by the fate of the *Muṃ rveḥ mahārājavaṅ kyau*, a more detailed chronicle as compared to the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ*, compiled at the same time and at the same place but with very limited circulation afterward. Moreover, the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ* – the text recognized by the court as the main authority – did not manage to supplant the earlier and outdated chronicles of Ūḥ Kulāḥ in circulation (overall, Ūḥ Kulāḥ's *rājavaṅ*s remained the most common of official chronicles until the 20th cent.). Finally, many more manuscript copies of the first volumes (covering the pre-17th century events) of any official *rājavaṅ* survive as compared to the ones dealing with the 17th to the 19th centuries. This suggests that the interest in contemporary kingship was generally limited. The decline in chronicling contemporary events, however, did not affect the enterprise of retrospective overviews of royal succession, and the production of synoptic *rājavaṅ*s continued.

Fluctuations in the compilation of royal chronicles are also indicative of varying demands for different types of historiographic works at the court. For example, few overlords were deemed worthy of an *areḥ tau puṃ*, an account of royal achievements, usually military. This honor was given mainly to the founders of dynasties or capital cities. "Accounts" (*cā tamḥ*; pron. *sadan*) of anointment, wedding, ear boring, consecration, cremation, and other ceremonies were produced routinely. However, as such events were usually modeled after the most recent occasions, older accounts were rarely consulted and rapidly fell out of circulation. An exception to this rule was works on the construction of royal cities, which emerged and endured as a particular subgenre in the Konbaung period due to frequent transfers of the capital during that time. Dozens of such accounts appeared between 1753 and 1859, the years when the first and the last of Konbaung seats of power were built (Tainturier, 2010, 32–36).

Genres Focused on Buddhist Monasticism

While palatial records such as those discussed above were produced by courters and circulated mainly among them, the domain of monastic historiography comprised predominantly of genealogies of monastic communities, chronicles of the Buddha's teaching, monastic biographies, and local histories (Kirichenko, 2011, 6).

Monastic genealogies (Pal. *ācariyavaṃsa*; Bur. *cha rā cañ sa muiṅḥ*; pron. *hsaya-zin-thamaing*), a genre dealing with leaders of particular monastic communities or lineages of particular monks, seem to have been particularly popular from the late 16th to the late 18th century. The earliest of such texts are currently known by references or quotations, and the earliest surviving *ācariyavaṃsa* is the *Samaṇavaṃsa cā tamḥ* (pron. *Thamanawunthasadan*) by Uttamasikkhā, compiled between 1706 and circa 1715. The opening and concluding sections of Uttamasikkhā's work covering the biography of Tisāsanadhja (1508[?]–1584[?]) from Sagaing and the lineage of monks from Pyay down to Tipiṭakālaṅkāra (1578–1651) from Taungbila are logically organized and have a more polished style in contrast to the middle part of the text, which deals with Tisāsanadhaja's disciples and the career of Uttamasikkhā himself and looks more like a collection of stray notes. This difference of style most likely indicates fragments incorporated from earlier texts; moreover, a slightly shorter version of the concluding section of *Samaṇavaṃsa cā tamḥ* dealing with monks from Pyay is appended to another work of Uttamasikkhā that seems to predate 1692 (see *Samaṇavaṃsa cā tamḥ*, III.10–15; *Sikkhā thap rā so achuṁḥ aphrat*). A poem on the sequence of abbots of the Ta Rvaṅ Khre Monastery compiled by Indapabhā (1614/1615–1694/1695) is mentioned by Uttamasikkhā (see *Samaṇavaṃsa cā tamḥ*, II.7). Finally, the passage on the seven monasteries of Saga from Pinya in the *Sāsanā chak cā* (see below) might be an adaptation from the chronicle of that important monastery flourishing from the 14th to the 16th century.

Earlier *ācariyavaṃsas* focused on individual communities, leaving aside broader issues of Buddhist history or defining the contribution of a given community to the overall venture of the *sāsana* in comparison to other communities, but the rise of monastic reform movements in the late 17th century transformed the genre. Such works – for example several Pali and vernacular *ācariyavaṃsas* produced by Atula cha rā tau Yasa (1700–1786) and Chuṁ thāḥ (pron. Hsonda) cha rā tau Nandamāla's (1718–1784) *Ācariyavaṃsa* (The Lineage of Teachers; 1778) and *Sāsanasuddhidīpaka* (Exposition on the Purification of the *Sāsana*; c. 1784) – were polemical in nature and argued for a specific role of their author and his community in the history of Buddhism (Kirichenko, 2011, 8–12). Deeply rooted in the context of debates on the effects of donations to corrupt monks who disregard the Vinaya, definitions of valid monastic practice, the necessity of radical monastic reform, and proper attire for novices, these texts were rhetorical tools that advocated the unification of the saṅgha on the basis of competing reform agendas.

The evolution of *ācariyavaṃsas* toward such contextual history led to a brief efflorescence of the genre of "chronicles of the teaching" (Pal. *sāsanavaṃsa*; Bur. *sāsanavaṅ*; pron. *thathanawin*; Pranke, 2004, 26). The *Vaṃsamāla* (The Garland of Lineages; c. 1790–1810) by Ññoṅ kanḥ (pron. Nyaunggan) cha rā tau Kavinda (1753–1821), the *Vaṃsadīpanī* (pron. *Wuntha-dipani*; Exposition on the Lineage [of Elders]; c. 1795–1798) by Jinālaṅkāradhaja (1742–after 1800), the *Sāsanā chak cā* (pron. *Thathana zet-sa*; Generations of the *Sāsana*; c. 1800) by Cuṅ mruiḥ (pron. Son-myo) cha rā tau, and the *Sāsanavaṃsa-cā-tamḥ* (pron. *Thathanawuntha-sadan*; The Lineage of the *Sāsana*; c. 1800) by the first Moṅ thoṅ (pron. Maungdaung) cha rā tau Ñāṇa (1751–1832) all traced the transmission of the *sāsana* since the life of the Buddha and positioned Upper Burma within a universal history of Buddhism. The works of the first Moṅ thoṅ cha rā tau Ñāṇa and Jinālaṅkāradhaja were highly partisan in their advocacy of monastic reform and elevated its leaders to the level of conveners of Buddhist councils and disciples of the Buddha. The *Sāsanā chak cā* is interesting as it is a counterreform text arguing that all communities in the saṅgha are equally valid.

The unwillingness of the crown to sponsor the reform after 1812 stripped the *sāsanavaṃsas* of practical relevance and made later texts less concerned with current affairs. For example, the *Sāsanālaṅkāra-cā-tamḥ* (pron. *Thathana-linggaya-sadan*; The Embellishment of the *Sāsana*; 1831) was, at a certain level, a self-apology, for it was written by a former head of the court monastic hierarchy, the first Moṅ thoṅ cha rā tau Ñāṇa, now disrobed and bearing the lay title Mahādhammasaṅkram. Compiled in response to a royal request to provide a comprehensive account of the transmission of the *sāsana*, this work selectively appropriated textual materials from earlier *ācariyavaṃsas* and *sāsanavaṃsas* regardless of their lineage affiliation and reframed them in light of arguments used in the 1780s and 1790s to prove that a monastic faction advocating that novices should dress exactly like monks when collecting alms food constituted the only group in the saṅgha worthy of support (Kirichenko, 2005a). Despite its obsolete arguments, the text was well received and became the most commonly copied religious chronicle in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its success, most likely, being due to the fact that it summarized and thus supplanted earlier literature on the subject.

The *Sāsanavaṃsappadīpikā* (The Light on the [Chronicle Called] the Lineage of the *Sāsana*; 1861) by the third Moṅ thoṅ cha rā tau Paññāsāmi (?–1869) was a reworked translation of the *Sāsanālaṅkāra-cā-tamḥ* into Pali, made at the request of Sinhalese monks visiting Mandalay (Bode, 1909). In essence, it served to give the monks of the Sinhalese Ramanna

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Nikaya order a better understanding of their Burmese lineage. Due to the circulation of the text abroad and the fact that it was in Pali, a language that was favored over vernaculars in Theravāda until recently, from the 1890s to the 1970s, *Sāsanavaṃsappadīpikā* has been the most frequently used source for the study of Buddhism in Burma outside of the country (e.g. Bode, 1909; Ray, 1946; Hazra, 1982, 83–130; Bischoff, 1995). This exalted position was hardly shattered even when the derivative nature of the source was demonstrated (Lieberman, 1976), for the majority of earlier sources underlying both the *Sāsanālaṅkāra-cā-tamḥ* and the *Sāsanavaṃsappadīpikā* still remain unpublished.

The eclipse of *sāsanavaṃsas* was paralleled by the proliferation of another genre, that of monastic biographies (*theruppatti*). Appearing well before the 19th century, this genre, however, gained currency during that period and remains the most common type of Burmese Buddhist historiography until now. Being less polemically charged or even neutral and serving mostly as homage to individual monks, this genre with its celebration of learning and sanctity was better suited for a setting in which it was becoming less and less common to question the validity of current monasticism; in contrast, the belief that Burma cherishes pure Theravāda, the most authentic form of Buddhism, was gaining currency. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, biographies focusing on contemporary figures were often composed to commemorate them once they were dead; however, this was becoming less common as the genre developed. Also, while early *theruppattis* concentrated mostly on anecdotal accounts, the early 20th century saw the emergence of proper biographies (Kirichenko, 2011, 17–18).

An important feature of Burmese monastic historiography is its preoccupation with monks. The leading role in the field of Buddhism was assigned to kings only in the *sāsanavaṃsas*, that is, sources that appeared as a result of monastic reform and served to persuade the crown to undertake a particular course of action. In the *ācariyavaṃsas* and *theruppattis*, the upholding of the *sāsana* was the work of the saṅgha with kings appearing only on the sidelines, thus making these genres very different from *rājavaṅs* and Pali chronicles originating with the Mahāvihāra.

Another common aspect of monastic history writing was its self-commentarial nature. From the 17th to the 19th century, monks tended to extol themselves, their monasteries, and their lineages or communities (e.g. *Pa luiṅḥ cha rā tau puñña sa muiṅḥ*; *Ňhak pac toṅ sa muiṅḥ*). An interest in the history of unrelated monks appears rather late and was first characteristic of lay writers, while monastic historians writing about their peers emerged only in the 20th century. The primary objective of such historiography was not to provide role models or promote the life of renunciation but to strengthen the identity of disciples and donors and instill a sense of mission into them (Kirichenko, 2011, 19).

Genres Focused on Other Subjects

The genres of *sa muiṅḥ* (pron. *thamaing*) deal with Buddhist monuments, Buddha images, relics, monasteries, cities, villages, and the Pali canon. Among all types of *sa muiṅḥ*, histories of sacred sites and objects are the most common; however, of thousands of Buddhist monuments that were built in Burma, very few have associated *sa muiṅḥs*. Prominent sites both in Burma and beyond (in India, Sri Lanka, northern Thailand, Arakan, etc.) were usually honored by at least one *sa muiṅḥ*. More often than not, such *sa muiṅḥs* tended to be short, anonymous works that narrated the origin story of the site or relic (see e.g. a representative collection of *sa muiṅḥs* catalogued as manuscripts nos. 45132 to 45144 in the Universities' Central Library, Yangon). Less frequently, *sa muiṅḥs* included lists of lands allotted for the upkeep of the monument or customary fees collected in the area (see e.g. the *Kroṅ tau rā sa muiṅḥ*). Only a fraction of these texts accounted for history after the founding or consecration of a site, that is, donations or renovations made to the monument (see the abovementioned mss nos. 45132 and 45144; *Rhve mau dho sa muiṅḥ*). Such information is, however, common in modern *sa muiṅḥs* that appeared in the mid-20th century, and this transition in *sa muiṅḥ* writing may be one of the reasons that limited the interest in publishing early *sa muiṅḥs*.

Sa muiṅḥs of cities also tend to concentrate on foundation legends that link the site with powerful kings covered in *rājavaṅs* (see e.g. *Han laṅḥ mrui. sa muiṅḥ laṅkā*). Additionally, *sa muiṅḥs* may list the boundaries of the area subordinate to the city and the area-related nomenclatures, such as reservoirs, fisheries, or villages. Some detail taxes and fees levied in the area (see e.g. the *Rhve praññ krīḥ sa muiṅḥ*). However, none contains historical data on local officials and people. In contrast to *sa muiṅḥs* about monuments and cities, *sa muiṅḥs* about monasteries recorded continuous history and details about the incumbents and thus represent the only type of premodern *sa muiṅḥ* that have a chronological structure and historical narration (see the *Ṅhak pac toṅ sa muiṅḥ*).

Compared to other historiographic works, *sa muiṅḥ*s had little circulation in manuscript and were mostly available in situ. Beyond the site itself, histories of monuments and relics seem to have circulated most commonly as parts of manuscript collections of *sa muiṅḥ*s and lithic inscriptions rather than as individual manuscript copies of single texts. This limited availability reflected the fact that many *sa muiṅḥ*s were more administrative than historical documents, their primary purpose was to detail boundaries, and so they were relevant primarily for those who were involved with the administration of the site. Only in the late 19th century did a newer type of *sa muiṅḥ* appear that had a more literary and scholarly nature – for example the *Padacetiyadīpanī* (The Light on the [Buddha's] Footprint) by Ūḥ Dīpa and the *Sa laṅḥ mrui. sa muiṅḥ* (pron. *Salin-myo-thamaing*; The History of Salin Town) by Ūḥ Cintamaṇi – and it is these *sa muiṅḥ*s that are better known to modern readers.

A separate genre of *sa muiṅḥ*s was the histories or, rather, bibliographies of the Buddhist canon (known as *piṭakat sa muiṅḥ*; pron. *pitakat-thamaing*). Produced since the 16th or 17th century by the editors of royal manuscripts, such works detailed the range of texts that constituted the canon, identified their authors, and occasionally provided details of manuscript copies. At least 20 *piṭakat sa muiṅḥ*s survive and serve as a guide to evolving notions of canon and textual authority as well as to the transmission of Pali literature at the Burmese court. Only two such bibliographies, the *Gandhavaṃsa* (Genealogy of Books; late 17th-early 18th cents.) by Nandapaññā and the *Piṭakat sa muiṅḥ* (History of *Piṭaka*; 1888) by Ūḥ Yaṁ (pron. U Yan), have been published.

An important component of historiography has also been contributions to the genre of Pali *vaṃsas* and their vernacular recensions. All major Sinhalese chronicles, histories of relics, and histories of the future (*anāgatavaṃsa*) available in Pali were translated and circulated both as bilingual word-by-word commentaries (*nissaya*) and as purely vernacular narratives. Overlapping with them was a tradition of *buddhavaṅ* (pron. *botdawin*) chronicles on the buddhas of the past and the future as well as on the life of Gotama Buddha. These texts were also available in Pali, bilingual and vernacular versions, and with a variety of foci ranging from scholarly reworkings of earlier Pali sources to eulogies of the Buddha (see e.g. the *Tathāgatuppatti kyaṁḥ*). Short versions of such texts in verse, in particular those dealing with the sequence of rainy seasons spent by the Buddha in different places (*vassakkama*), had liturgical use and were memorized and recited to venerate the Buddha (see e.g. *Vāsamālinī kyaṁḥ*; *Vassakkamasaṅkhepa*). An important subgenre related to *anāgatavaṃsas* and *buddhavaṃsas* was records of Buddha's predictions about the five thousand years of *sāsana* in Burma that, among others, underlay *rājavaṅ* narratives about the transitions of political power in the country (see e.g. *Bhu rāḥ nhut ka pāṭh sa muiṅḥ*).

In terms of textual basis, this *vaṃsa* literature demonstrates active use of both standard and non-standard Pali sources as well as of local traditions, a phenomenon common to mainland Southeast Asia (see Skilling, 2014, 361–362). This, however, should not be understood as implying that all such texts had equal authority and influence. To the contrary, the authenticity of many of them was hotly debated as Burmese Buddhism was moving toward the conception of what P. Skilling has called "the exclusive Tripiṭaka prescribed by the Lankan Pali exegetical tradition of Buddhaghosa and others" (Skilling, 2014, 361). By the mid-20th century, the majority of these texts were almost completely forgotten.

Transmission Channels

An important aspect of the multifunctional and cross-genre nature of Burmese historiography is its residual orality (McCormick, 2011, 138–141). Though being primarily a tradition of adaptation and recombination of written texts, historiography also involved performance or oral retelling, thence a trend to versification in many genres. *Rājavaṅs*, *sa muiṅḥ*s, and *vaṃsa* narratives circulated in verse too; accounts of royal lineages and court ceremonies were made the subject of dedicated genres of poetry such as *e khyaṅḥ* (pron. *egyin*) and *mau kvaṁḥ* (pron. *mawgun*; see *E khyaṅḥ hoṅḥ poṅ khyup*; *Tan tāḥ ūḥ taññ maṅgalā cetī tau mau kvaṁḥ*; see also Hla Pe, 1985, 8–9, 42–43), and quotations from poetic versions were routinely integrated into works in prose as both an index to parallel forms of historical records and a demonstration of learning. Another manifestation of parallel oral circulation of historiographic materials was the mnemonic tools used to remember dates, names, and events that are

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Besides the cross-use of genres, a complex relationship between written historiography and orally transmitted traditions is reflected at the level of content. Historiographic content often entered oral circulation from texts, while popular oral stories were incorporated into written historiography. The most illustrative example of this process is the historiographical fiction of the early 20th century, best represented by works of Ūḥ Aoṅ (pron. U Aung), Cā tau pran cha rā Sinḥ (pron. Sa-daw-pyan Hsaya Thein), and Mhau pī cha rā Sinḥ (pron. Hmawbi Hsaya Thein, 1862–1942). These best-selling texts fused loads of creative imagination with anecdotal information and limited readings in historical sources, establishing a novel category of "oral history" (*pāḥ cap rājavaṅ*; pron. *pazat yazawin*) that claimed to be either a record of social memory or an authentic record that had been privately transmitted, but in fact was written fiction appealing to popular taste and thus enjoying high acceptance and later oral circulation as history, regardless of its obvious contradictions with verifiable written evidence.

Two main genres of such *pāḥ cap rājavaṅ* were witty and humorous sermons and conversations attributed to famous historical monks and dialogues of various interlocutors with savvy courtiers and monks. These works were taken as historical sources until recently and still play critical role in popular Burmese understanding of the late 18th and 19th centuries (e.g. *Saṅgajā Cha rā tau ca kāḥ puṃ poṅ khyup*; *Pāḥ cap rājavaṅ*; *Amat krī Ūḥ Pau Ūḥ lhyoṁ htuṁ*; for criticism, see Taṅ Nuiṅ Tuiḥ, 2006). For instance, in this rendering of monastic history, the key figure in the 19th-century saṅgha becomes Saṅgajā (pron. Thingaza) cha rā tau Aggadhamma (1815–1886), whose primary roles as administrator, scholar, and itinerant network builder are eclipsed by the image of a preacher whose primary assets were wit and ability to be entertaining (for such popular representation, see Htin Aung, 1966).

The influence of oral historiography of the early 20th century also highlights a larger process of fusing of professional history writing with popular memory and popular recasting of historical figures. Parallel written and oral transmission of origin stories, stories built on dialogues between two figures (a king and a minister, a king and a monk, two monks), and historical anecdotes delineates those areas in written historiography in which the latter had the greatest exposure to popular traditions. This suggests that popular stereotypes might also have been instrumental in the 17th and 18th centuries, when early modern royal and monastic historiography was taking shape and a small selection of pre-18th-century monks – including the miracle maker Poṅ loṅ Rhaṅ Kassapa (13th cent.), Rhaṅ Disāpāmokkha (late 13th cent.), monk-poets Sīlavaṃsa (1453–1520) and Raṭṭhasāra (1468–1529), sorcerer Bhā mai cha rā tau (1522–1610), and the jack-of-all-trades Tipiṭakālaṅkāra (see above) – were chosen from a much larger pool of prominent members of the saṅgha as the preferred subjects for imaginative retellings (e.g. *Rhaṅ Mahāsīlavaṃsa nhaṅ Rhaṅ Mahāraṭṭhasāra ameḥ aphre*; *Padacetiyadīpanī* [1964, 106–112]).

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Alexey Kirichenko

Local Literatures

Local Literatures: Tamil

Evidence points to a significant body of literature composed in Tamil by Buddhist authors, from long narratives such as the *Kuṇṭalakēci*, a text mentioned by name (as the *Kuṇḍalakesivatthu*) in the *Vimativinodanī* attributed to Kassapa (von Hinüber, 1996, 159; Monius, 2001, 124), to doctrinal collections and a glossary on the *jātaka* stories – of which only fragments remain (Monius, 2001, 7–8). Only three complete Buddhist texts composed in Tamil survive. The earliest is a long narrative known as the *Maṇimēkalai* or, more formally, as the *Maṇimēkalaituṟavu* (The Renunciation of Maṇimēkalai), attributed to an author known as Cattaṉār and roughly datable to the 6th century CE (see Caminataiyar, 1981). The second is the *Vīracōḻiyam*, an 11th-century theoretical treatise on Tamil grammar and poetics named for its royal patron, Vīracōḻaṉ, and attributed to Puttamittiraṉ. The *Vīracōḻiyam*'s accompanying commentary, believed to have been written by Puttamittiraṉ's disciple, Peruntēvaṉār, constitutes the third (Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970). While all three texts display obvious Buddhist commitments and orientations, unfortunately little is known of the Buddhist communities that produced each author or of the communities of reception and transmission that would have understood each work as both a contribution to Tamil literature and as explicitly Buddhist.

The *Maṇimēkalai*, rediscovered in the 19th century by the indefatigable scholar of Tamil literature, U.V. Caminataiyar (1855–1942), is a long poetic narrative of more than 4,700 lines, arranged in 30 chapters, that tells the story of Maṇimēkalai, the young daughter of a former courtesan who renounces the courtly life to become a Buddhist nun. Numerous translations or renditions of the text are available in English (Madhaviah, 1920; Panchapakesa Ayyar, 1947; Pope, 1987; Nandakumar, 1989; Daniélou, 1993; Guruswamy & Srinivasan, 1994). The preface to the text (of uncertain provenance) ties the *Maṇimēkalai* to an earlier, perhaps 4th- or 5th-century, long narrative poem in Tamil known as the *Cilappatikāram* by Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ (Caminataiyar, 1978) in terms of both content and authorship. While little in the earlier *Cilappatikāram* suggests a Buddhist worldview, Maṇimēkalai does appear briefly there as the illegitimate offspring of the text's ill-fated hero, Kōvalaṉ, and his courtesan lover, Mātavi; after Kōvalaṉ returns to his lawful wife and is unjustly killed at the command of the king of Madurai, Mātavi becomes a Buddhist nun and leaves the court with her young daughter. The author of the *Maṇimēkalai*, Cattaṉār, is identified in the preface as a wealthy grain merchant and friend to the king, Iḷaṅko Aṭikaḷ, who is said to have composed the *Cilappatikāram* (Caminataiyar, 1981, 9). Along with the *Cilappatikāram*, the *Maṇimēkalai* is eventually classified as one of the five great poetic works (*aimperuṅkāppiyam*) of Tamil literature (Zvelebil, 1992, 73n126).

The story of Maṇimēkalai's renunciation unfolds uniquely in this Tamil text, although many of the elements of the narrative echo themes and images in other Buddhist works across multiple languages (Monius, 2001, 18–24). The story opens in the coastal city of Pukār on the eve of the great festival of Indra. All is not well, however, as the courtesan Mātavi announces that she will not dance as expected in the festival; upon learning of the death of her former lover, Kōvalaṉ, father to her young daughter, Maṇimēkalai, she has sought refuge at the feet of the celebrated Buddhist teacher, Aṟavaṇaṉ (a Tamil equivalent of Dharmapāla, "Protector of the Dharma"). Maṇimēkalai sheds tears on learning of her father's violent end, defiles a garland, and is sent out to pick flowers in a local park dedicated to the Buddha, site of a wondrous crystal pavilion with a lotus seat said to demonstrate the necessity of proper intention when making offerings to the Buddha. There the lust-driven prince, Utayakumaraṉ, spots the gorgeous young Maṇimēkalai, who is quickly whisked away by her friend to the crystal pavilion, while the friend herself frustrates the amorous prince with a discourse on the impermanence of the flesh.

The goddess of the sea, Maṇimēkalā, for whom the heroine is named, suddenly appears, praises the Buddha, and describes in great detail a "temple of the cosmic place" (Tam. *cakkaravāḷakkōṭṭam*), incorrectly assumed by the ignorant to be simply a cremation ground; rather, the goddess explains, the place should be understood as a place of meditation on the inevitability of death and decay. She then whisks

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her namesake off to the island of Maṇipallavam, where the young girl stumbles upon a magnificently bejeweled seat of the Buddha. Falling before the seat in adoration, Maṇimēkalai remembers her past lives – including Utayakumaraṉ's role as her former husband, Irākulaṉ (Skt. Rāhula) – and the goddess grants the young woman magical powers to fly, change physical form, and satisfy her own hunger. Maṇimēkalai next receives the miraculous begging bowl known as Amutacurapi ("Nectar Cow") that never empties if used in service to the poor. Thus empowered by the goddess Maṇimēkalā and the bowl Amutacurapi, the heroine Maṇimēkalai returns to Pukār to rejoin her mother and friends, as well as the teacher Aṟavaṇaṉ. From the Buddhist teacher, she learns the miraculous events that will accompany the Buddha's return to earth once again in the year 1616. The precise referent for this date is unclear. It might well represent a calculation based on the assumption that the teaching of the Buddha will last 2,500 years (Lamotte, 1958, 214–215): if the Buddha died circa 480 BCE (or 380 BCE), and the *Maṇimēkalai* was composed in the 5th century CE (404 CE, to be precise) or the early 6th (504 CE), 1,616 years remain before the disappearance of the dharma allows for the appearance of Maitreya (see von Hinüber, 2013, xxix). Aṟavaṇaṉ also instructs the small assembly regarding the life of the previous owner of the miraculous begging bowl; the power of the bowl is activated when Maṇimēkalai receives her first alms from a pious Buddhist woman, and she begins to feed the hungry of Pukār. Utayakumaraṉ renews his pursuit of the young Maṇimēkalai, who in turn employs her magical ability to disguise herself in order to avoid any contact with the prince. Through a case of mistaken identity, the prince is violently killed; Maṇimēkalai is unjustly arrested for her part in the event, but not before she learns that she will one day be reborn as the chief disciple of the next buddha. She is eventually freed by the queen and receives Buddhist instruction from Aṟavaṇaṉ before leaving for Cāvakam to meet the former owner of the miraculous begging bowl (now reborn as the king of Cāvakam). Pukār is meanwhile destroyed a flood, and when Maṇimēkalai returns to southern India, she heads for the western city of Vañci. There she visits a temple erected in honor of her father, Kōvalaṉ, and his wife, and she debates at some length with ten different teachers of non-Buddhist schools. She then travels to Kāñcīpuram, where she orders the king to construct a park near the local Buddhist *caitya* (temple), with shrines honoring the goddess Maṇimēkalā and Amutacurapi, the miraculous begging bowl. Aṟavaṇaṉ arrives to instruct Maṇimēkalai in proper influential reasoning and interdependent origination. The text ends with the young woman vowing to renounce the world.

Sixteen "branch stories" (*kiḷaikkatai*) adorn and complicate the basic narrative briefly outlined above, from the story of the previous owner of the miraculous begging bowl to those of Maṇimēkalai's (and her companions') former lives; five of the lengthiest and most significant of such intertwined subnarratives have been studied at length by P. Richman (1988), with particular focus on Cāttaṉār's sophisticated inversion of classical Tamil poetic themes of love and female beauty. Taken together, the main narrative and branch stories explore not only the possibility of female renunciation (Richman, 1988, 2), but also the unfolding of those beneficial root conditions (Pal. *kusalamūla*) that render one ready to receive the Buddha's teachings, signaled throughout the Tamil text by the central term *ētunikalcci*, literally the arising (*nikaḻcci*) of such beneficial conditions (*ētu*; Monius, 2001, 24–32). Such beneficial conditions are defined in Theravāda literature as non-attachment (*alobha*), lack of enmity (*adosa*), and lack of delusion (*amoha*; Nyanatiloka, 1988, 119–120, 134–140).

Like the (often unconscious) confluence of conditions that render characters throughout Pali narrative literature ready to respond to the Buddha's teachings, from Maṭṭhakuṇḍali (Norman, 1906, 26) to Aṅgulimāla (Hardy, 1967, 250), at critical points throughout the *Maṇimēkalai*, events move along, and the heroine is compelled to act, "because there would blossom for Maṇimēkalai the arising of beneficial conditions, like the fragrance emanating from a flower" (*mā malar nāṟṟam pōl-maṇimēkalaikku ētunikaḻcci etirntuḷatu ātaliṉ*; Caminataiyar, 1981, 27), resulting eventually in her final vow of renunciation. The heroine's final act of withdrawal is not simply the result of a single intention or act of will, but the culmination of many conditions, prerequisite events, and phenomena interwoven across many lifetimes. Perhaps in response to the earlier *Cilappatikāram*'s rather mechanical treatment of karma (Tam. *viṉai*) as straightforward cause and effect – characters there consistently respond to tragic events with cries of "I am a slave to bad karma!" (*koṭu viṉai āṭṭiyēṉ*; Caminataiyar, 1978, 482) – the Buddhist *Maṇimēkalai* presents a much more dynamic vision of karma at work in human lives, redefined in terms of the complex (and highly condensed) philosophical discussion of interdependent

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discussion of interdependent

origination (Tam. *cārpiṉ tōṉṟi*; lit. the appearance of dependent things) in the final chapter (Caminataiyar, 1981, 369; Monius, 2001, 65–77).

While the historical communities that produced and transmitted the *Maṇimēkalai* may never be identified precisely, the story of the maturation and manifestation of a young woman's karmic destiny as the chief disciple of the future buddha offers insight into the possible future communities imagined by Cāttaṉār and his audiences; indeed, the temporal thrust of the narrative is entirely forward-looking, bringing the branching stories of the past through the present and propelling them forward toward a soteriologically rich future (Monius, 2001, 88–108). The future community of Buddhists envisioned by the *Maṇimēkalai* is unique in many ways, beginning with the specific karmic trajectories that will lead to membership in that community. The coming buddha, for example, is clearly identified with Kōvalaṉ's (Maṇimēkalai's father's) ancestor, a merchant rescued from a shipwreck nine generations ago by the goddess Maṇimēkalā (Caminataiyar, 1981, 347–348). Maṇimēkalai, Kōvalaṉ and his wife Kaṇṇaki, and Maṇimēkalai's grandfather will all gather around this future buddha, with Maṇimēkalai herself reborn as his chief disciple (Caminataiyar, 1981, 238–239). This coming of the next earthly buddha looms large in the world of the *Maṇimēkalai*, for his arrival is pinpointed to "1616" (Tam. *īr eṇṇūṟṟōṭu īr eṭṭu āṇṭil*, lit. in twice eight with twice eight hundred years; Caminataiyar, 1981, 138). While the precise referent of this date is unclear, the reemergence of a living buddha in the world lies not in some unimaginably distant future, but close at hand; the characters who populate this Tamil narrative of a young girl's renunciation will form the core community around the teacher, bringing the landscape of southern India traversed in the *Maṇimēkalai* to the Buddhist heartland of Kapilavastu (Tam. Kapilaiyam), Magadha (Tam. Makatam), and Gandhāra (Tam. Kāntāram).

While so much regarding the *Maṇimēkalai* remains historically unclear – the communities of thought and practice that produced and transmitted Cāttaṉār's text, the precise nature of the impending coming of the buddha and the heroine's primary role in that future community – the *Maṇimēkalai* itself demonstrates the significance of sophisticated, ornate narrative poetry in the articulation of a distinctly Buddhist identity in a multilingual, multireligious South Indian landscape.

At least four centuries separate the *Maṇimēkalai* from the only other remaining Buddhist texts composed in Tamil, the 11th-century *Vīracōḻiyam* attributed to Puttamittiraṉ (Skt. Buddhamitra, "Friend of the Buddha") and its commentary by Peruntēvaṉār (a Tamil equivalent of Mahādeva; Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970). Rather than a work of poetry itself, in the manner of the *Maṇimēkalai*, the *Vīracōḻiyam* outlines a terse, 181-verse technology of literary culture, a theoretical treatment of Tamil grammar and poetics named for the author's royal patron, Vīracōḻaṉ or Vīrarācēntiracōḻaṉ (Skt. Vīrarājendra), who ruled briefly in the third quarter of the 11th century (1063/1065?–1069/1070?). Neither the text nor the commentary has ever been translated into English, but both have been studied by scholars of Tamil linguistics (Subrahmanya Sastri, 1934; Veluppillai, 1971, 2002; Meenakshi, 1983–1984; Canmukam Pillai, 1998), poetics (Manuel, 1980; 1997), and religion (Monius, 2001, 116–155).

The *Vīracōḻiyam* identifies the language and poetic tradition it describes as "the cool Tamil that was . . . heard by Akattiyaṉ at the side of Avalōkitaṉ of beautiful qualities" (*āyum kuṇattu avalōkitaṉ pakkal akattiyaṉ kēṭṭu . . . taṇ tamiḻ*; Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 1), thus claiming that the great sage Akattiyaṉ (Skt. Agastya) – portrayed as master of both Tamil and Sanskrit throughout South Indian literary tradition – learned Tamil from the great bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara (Tam. Avalōkitaṉ). Elsewhere, the *Vīracōḻiyam* describes the language it theorizes as "the true Tamil of Avalōkitaṉ whose glory shines in a thousand ways" (*āyiram vitattil poliyum pukaḻ avalōkitaṉ mey tamiḻē*; Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 86).

What is most striking about Peruntēvaṉār's commentary are the many poetic examples it provides, most from sources as yet unidentified, that collectively yield a tantalizing glimpse of a perhaps much larger Buddhist literature composed in Tamil. Multiple references, for example, are made to the *pōti* (Skt. *bodhi*) tree, to many celebrated scenes from the Buddha's previous lives as bodhisattva, and to the (now-lost) Tamil Buddhist narrative poem, the *Kuṇṭalakēci*. Citations from non-Buddhist Tamil works – such as the celebrated 5th-century compendium of moral maxims, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* – focus on Buddhist-friendly themes, such as the transience of human attachment and the misery of undisciplined passion.

Relatively few (Vijayavenugopal, 1979; Veluppillai, 2002; Monius, 2001; Monius, 2013) have considered the *Vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary as particularly Buddhist texts. Yet considering the text and its commentary not simply as discrete moments in Tamil literary history, but as contributions to wider currents of Buddhist literary and theoretical innovation across South Asia, serves to highlight the particularly Buddhist elements of each in multiple ways.

Puttamittiraṉ, for example, both theorizes Tamil language as taught to the great sage Agastya by Avalokiteśvara and dedicates his work to the ruling Chola monarch at a time when Buddhist monks writing in Pali increasingly identify themselves (or are identified by others) as "Coḷiya" or "Ḍamila," belonging to the Chola or Tamil region or realm (*coḷaratthe, ḍamilaratthe*; Monius, 2001, 121–128). The precise historical reasons for the emergence of monks identified as "Coḷiya" or in some manner related to the "Ḍamila country" remain unclear, but the *Vīracōḻiyam*, by theorizing the local language of "Coḷiya" monks while attributing that language's origins to Avalokiteśvara makes "Ḍamila" properly Buddhist.

Peruntēvaṉār's *Vīracōḻiyam* commentary – particularly in its citing of illustrative verses – does nothing less than forge a Tamil literary tradition compatible with both the linguistic and poetic rules described in the root text and the basic teachings of Buddhism (Monius, 2001, 137–155). In an era during which Tamil Śaiva Brahman commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam* significantly narrow the scope of Tamil literature to the classical poetic anthologies on themes of love and war, Peruntēvaṉār draws on a far wider genre of literary forms, united by their evocation of noninjury, compassion, the agony of passion unchecked, and the glories of the bodhisattva and Buddha. An anonymous poet cited by Peruntēvaṉār sings as an example of the two-foot metrical line:

> *poruntu pōtiyil*
> *irunta mātavar*
> *tiruntu cēvaṭi*
> *maruntum ākumē*
>
> The great ascetic
> sitting properly under the bodhi tree
> became the great physician
> of perfect red-lotus feet. (Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 124)

The Buddha is the "protector of precious life" (*ār uyir kāval*; Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 114), and "the king who taught the flawless teachings" (*kōtu illā aṟam parkarnta... kōṉ*; Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 127). He cites a full verse from the now-lost *Kuṇṭalakēci*, one of the "five great poetic works" (*aimperuṅkāppiyam*) of Tamil literary tradition (Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 125). As above, the source of the many verses extolling the compassionate deeds of the bodhisattva and the majesty of the Buddha remain unknown; other texts, well-known in medieval Tamil literary circles, such as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, are cited only in part, focusing on the virtues of self-restraint and generosity. In illustration of the poetic ornament known as *parimāṟṟam* (Skt. *parivṛtti*), for example – expressing a nonliteral exchange of ideas or things – Peruntēvaṉār cites *Tirukkuṟaḷ* verse 1183, dealing with the pallor (Tam. *pacalai*) brought about by the separation of husband and wife:

> *cāyalum nāṇum avar koṇṭār kaimmāṟā*
> *nōyum pacalaiyum tantu*
>
> He took my beauty and shame
> and gave me in exchange only sickness and
> pallor. (Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 219)

As an example of the ornament expressive of objection or denial (Tam. *taṭaimoḻi*; Skt. *ākṣepa*), Pertuntēvaṉār again cites the celebrated *Tirukkuṟaḷ* on the angst of lovesick separation:

> *cellāmai uṇṭēl eṉakku urai maṟṟu niṉ*
> *val varavu vāḻvārkku urai*
>
> Tell me only if he is not going;
> of quick return, tell only those who can survive
> such sorrow. (Kovintaraja Mutaliyar, 1970, 210)

Through Peruntēvaṉār's commentary, Tamil literary tradition thus evinces praise for the Buddha, wonder at his awesome acts as bodhisattva, and wariness about the throes and passions of love between men and women. Tamil language proves wholly compatible with Sanskrit, Tamil literature wholly compatible with Buddhist values.

Quite striking in the *Vīracōḻiyam* commentary is the complete absence of any mention of the *Maṇimēkalai*, a text that has emerged as so central to contemporary scholarly efforts to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in Tamil-speaking southern India. As noted above, Peruntēvaṉār cites the (now-lost) *Kuṇṭalakēci*, believed to have been a Buddhist response to the long 9th-century Jain narrative *Nīlakēci* (itself filled with anti-Buddhist argument and invective). Various non-Buddhist sources in Tamil acknowledge or cite verses from other seemingly Buddhist texts unnoticed by the *Vīracoḻiyam* commentator, among them the *Pimpicārakatai* (Skt. *Bimbisārakathā* [The Story of King Bimbisāra]; Chakravarti, 1936, 71), the *Cittāntattokai* (Skt.

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71), the *Cittāntattokai* (Skt.

Siddhāntasaṅgraha [The Collection of Doctrines]; Canmukacuntara Mutaliyar, 1894, 83, 117), and the *Tiruppatikam*, a hymn of praise to the Buddha (Canmukacuntara Mutaliyar, 1894, 84). It remains a mystery why the *Maṇimēkalai*, along with other Buddhist works in Tamil, stands outside the *Vīracōḻiyam*'s Tamil Buddhist literary tradition that includes the *Kuṇṭalakēci* and poetic verses to the Buddha and bodhisattva, even non-Buddhist works such as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. What communities of Tamil-speaking Buddhists gave rise to Cāttaṉār, Puttamittiraṉ, and Peruntēvaṉār? What communities of reception enabled the *Maṇimēkalai* and the *Vīracōḻiyam* to survive, while other texts vanished? What relationship, if any, do these extant texts bear to the scattered archaeological remains of Buddhist monuments, institutions, and images in the Tamil-speaking region of southern India? Answers to such questions have thus far remained elusive.

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ANNE E. MONIUS

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Buddhism in historical Nepal dates
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Anne E. Monius

Local Literatures: Nepal

The present article treats the literary heritage of the Indic Buddhist tradition surviving in the Kathmandu Valley, that is, "historical" Nepal. (The country known today as Nepal was only formed in the wake of the conquest by the Gorkhas in the mid-18th cent., and it owes its name to that of the valley.) It focuses on works composed in the Kathmandu Valley, first in Sanskrit alone and since the 17th century increasingly also in the local vernacular – Newari, a Tibeto-Burmese language that is heavily Sanskritized in its literary form. However, Indian Buddhist texts that play a major role in this tradition are also considered – a necessity given the great continuity between these two arenas of literary production.

Buddhism in historical Nepal dates back some two millennia and persists to the present day as the sole remnant of Indic Buddhism, surviving in its original South Asian setting with Sanskrit as its sacred language. It is here that the vast majority of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature has been preserved. In addition to Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, *tantra*s, and (tellingly few) segments of the Vinaya, all attributed to the Buddha (or a buddha) and hence technically *buddhavacana*, this corpus also includes Buddhism's rich narrative literature, exegetical texts, devotional works, ritual manuals, and so on. Many of these works reached the West through Brian Houghton Hodgson, a colonial officer who served in Kathmandu from 1820 to 1843 first as British Assistant Resident and then for the final ten years as British Resident. During his time in Nepal, he dispatched over four hundred manuscripts, some of them newly commissioned copies, to England, India, and to Paris. The manuscripts dispatched to Europe served as the basis for the first academic study of Buddhism in the West, undertaken by E. Burnouf and published under the title *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien* (1844). In addition, R. Mitra (1882) published a description of the manuscripts sent by Brian Houghton Hodgson to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta. The focus of this collaborative effort has been on the narrative literature, and the assembled summaries serve still as a useful starting point for surveying the literature preserved and partially composed in Nepal. A further important reference tool is the select catalogue of the Buddhist holdings of the National Archives of Nepal published as part of its multivolume *Bṛhatsūcīpatra*.

Following in the footsteps of Brian Houghton Hodgson, much of the corpus of Buddhist (and also non-Buddhist) manuscripts extant in Nepal has been microfilmed since the early 1970s by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). Supplementing this, there are other microfilm and digital archives of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts, such as the digitalized holdings of the Āśā Saphū Kuthi (Āśā Archive; see also Yoshizaki, 1991; 2002) and the microfilm collections of the Buddhist Library in Nagoya, Japan (Takaoka, 1981) and of the – in the meantime disbanded – Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions (IASWR) at Stony Brooks, New York (which is based on the private collection of the late Mana Bajra Bajracharya from Kathmandu and now kept at the University of Virginia). Moreover, in an ongoing effort, the Digital Buddhist Sanskrit Canon initiative is digitally inputting the Sanskrit literary heritage preserved in Nepal (and also elsewhere), and these texts can be accessed online. Even though these projects and initiatives have greatly facilitated access to the primary sources, research on the literature of the Nepalese tradition has been overshadowed by mining the Nepalese archive for earlier texts of the Indian tradition that were presumably not authored in Nepal. In particular, works written in the local vernacular, Newari, have been neglected (Malla, 1982), and research into this vernacular Buddhist literature has hardly begun.

It is important to bear in mind that Nepalese Buddhism is in its origins not a distinct tradition. Rather, it participated in the Indian literary heritage, and local forms of literary production did not dislodge so much as supplement that heritage, which has furnished the basis of the Nepalese tradition. Accordingly, Indian Buddhist scriptures have continued to be copied and recopied, and – with the advent of printing in Nepal in the second half of the 20th century – they have also come to be printed locally. The center stage is taken by the nine Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, which form a quasi-canonical set of scriptures known as the *Navagrantha* (Nine Works):

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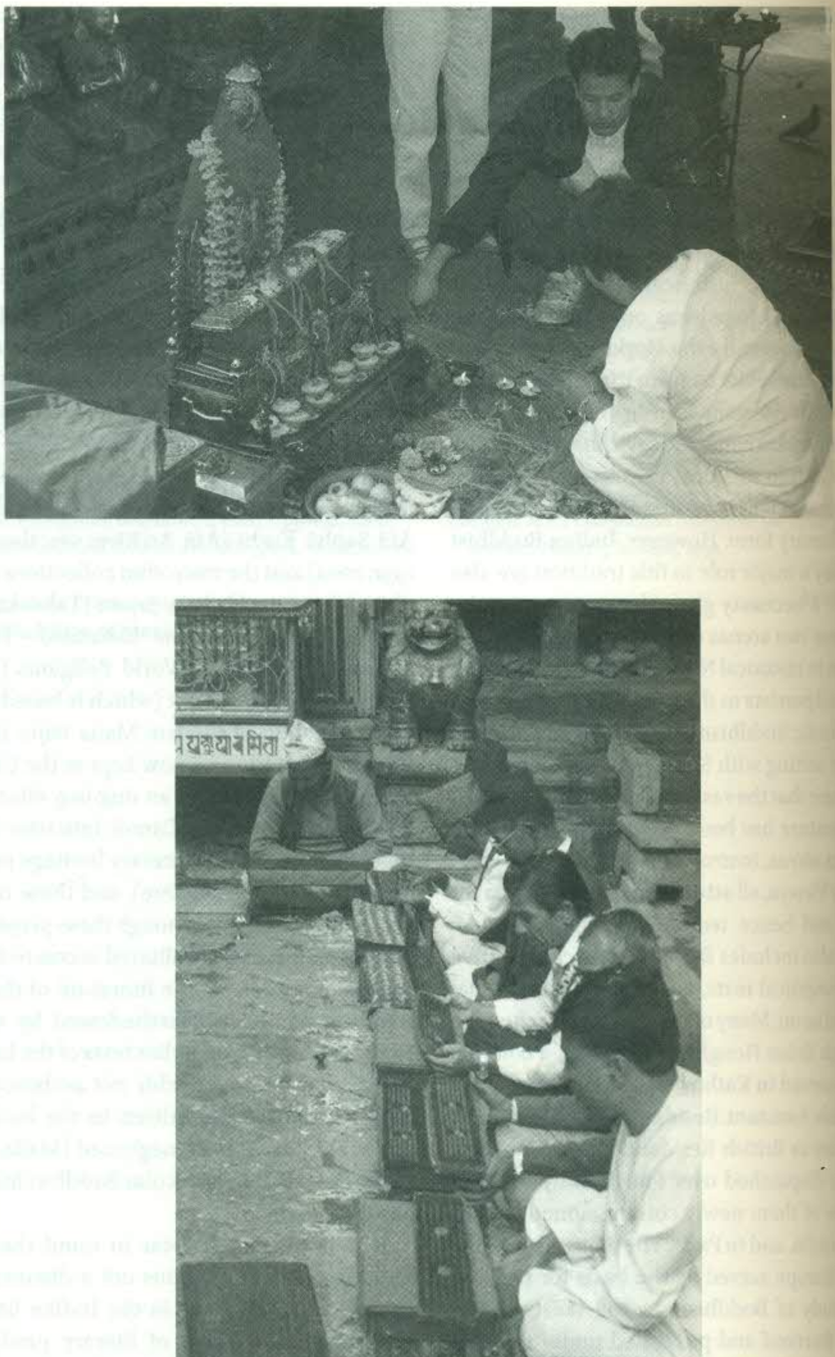

Fig. 1 and Fig. 2: Worship of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines) manuscript of Kvā Bāhā Monastery in Patan in May 2010. The manuscript is written in gold ink on specially treated dark-blue paper. The lose pages are kept between their two metal book covers as the priest worships them on the purpose-built altar as an embodiment of the goddess of the perfection of wisdom, Prajñāpāramitā. Afterward the text is split up into different sections and allocated to the priests convened for this purpose, who each read aloud the pages allotted to them. In this way, they collectively recite the text in its entirety, which serves to sonically manifest the goddess. (photos by author)

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5. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Entrance to Laṅ
6. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Lotus*
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8. *Lalitavistara* (The Expansive
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9. *Suvarṇa*(*pra*)*bhāsa* (Golden L

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1. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines);
2. *Gaṇḍavyūha* (which features also as a portion of the, in Nepal unknown, *Buddhāvataṃsaka* collection);
3. *Daśabhūmīśvara* (also known as *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, which likewise occurs also as part of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* collection);
4. *Samādhirāja* (King of *Samādhi*s);
5. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Entrance to Laṅkā);
6. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Lotus Sūtra*);
7. *Tathāgataguhyaka* (commonly identified as the *Guhyasamājatantra* rather than the *sūtra* cited under this name in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*);
8. *Lalitavistara* (The Expansive Sport, A Life of the Buddha); and
9. *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsa* (Golden Light).

In an alternative (more tantric) version of this configuration (which may have its roots outside Nepal), the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* feature instead of the *Tathāgataguhyaka* and the *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsa* (Tuladhar-Douglas, 2006, 144–147).

These canonical works are not so much studied for their content as liturgically recited or put to other ritual uses. For instance, when the three jewels of Buddhism (i.e. Buddha, dharma, and saṅgha), are worshipped in *maṇḍala* configuration as happens at the outset of many rituals, the *Navagranthas* are worshipped as the embodiment of the jewel of the dharma. For this they are arrayed in a *maṇḍala* configuration, with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* in the center as the most important text. In manuscript form, the *Navagrantha* also serve as physical objects of worship that may be lavishly produced and ornamented with delicate illuminations (Kim, 2013). More specifically, they may be treated as deity icons, as happens particularly in the case of *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* manuscripts, which are consecrated and worshipped as embodiments of the goddess Prajñāpārimitā (see fig. 1). The cult of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* continues prominently at the Kvā Bāhā Monastery in Patan, where Vajrācārya priests regularly recite this voluminous text by divvying it up among them, with each one taking charge of a different section (see fig. 2). Further important texts for ritual recitation are the tantric *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* and *Pañcarakṣā*.

In addition to the Mahāyāna scriptures mentioned here, there is also a large corpus of Indian tantric scriptures and ancillary works (Moriguchi, 1989), which form the basis of tantric Newar Buddhism and continue to inform its ritual and initiatory practices even now. Notwithstanding the distinction of the *Guhyasamājatantra* as one of the *Navagrantha*, later *tantra*s such as the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, the *Saṃpuṭodbhavamahātantra*, the *Vajravārāhīkalpatantra*, the *Hevajratantra*, and the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* are more prominent. Classified as *yoginītantra*s and dedicated to deities like Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, they play a central role in the initiatory tantric practice among the Newars. As the large number of manuscripts bears out, even more popular than such full-fledged *tantras* are *dhāraṇī* texts (and *dhāraṇī* collections), which are likewise *buddhavacana* and often identified as *sūtra*s in the title. Embedded in a framing narrative, they typically provide spells to invoke a particular goddess (or goddesses, or a buddha) in order to secure the specific blessing associated with that deity, such as longevity (in the case of Uṣṇīṣavijayā or the buddha Aparimitāyus), freedom from planetary disturbance (Grahamātṛkā), protection (*pañcarakṣās*), or wealth (Vasudhārā). While these *dhāraṇī sūtras* predate the disappearance of Buddhism in India around the 13th century, and are not of Nepalese origin, their forms of employment in ritual are often specifically local. Thus, the above-mentioned goddesses form the core of the elaborate sequence of old-age rituals developed among the Newars (von Rospatt, 2014). Similarly, the *Saptavārapāṭha*, a relatively late Nepalese compilation prominent in contemporary practice, gives a different *dhāraṇī* practice for each day of the week (and the planet it stands for), starting with Vasudhārā (Sunday), continuing with Vajravidāriṇī (Monday), Gaṇapatihṛdaya (Tuesday), and Uṣṇīṣavijayā (Wednesday), and ending with Grahamātṛkā (Saturday).

Beyond tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna scriptures, the Nepalese tradition is heir also to the rich Indian Mahāyāna literature that technically is not *buddhavacana* (and thus not scripture per se). While the more scholastic literature of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools (incl. its Abhidharma precursors) lost the traction it once may have had as suggested by the survival of such works as Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* or the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the tantric literature as exemplified by the works of Abhayākaragupta (12th cent.) and Advayavajra continues to occupy an important place in Nepalese Buddhism – notable examples are Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Vajrāvalī* (see below) with their treatment of *maṇḍala*s and Advayavajra's collection of prescriptive texts, including the *Kudṛṣṭnirghātana* with its *Ādikarma* section on the

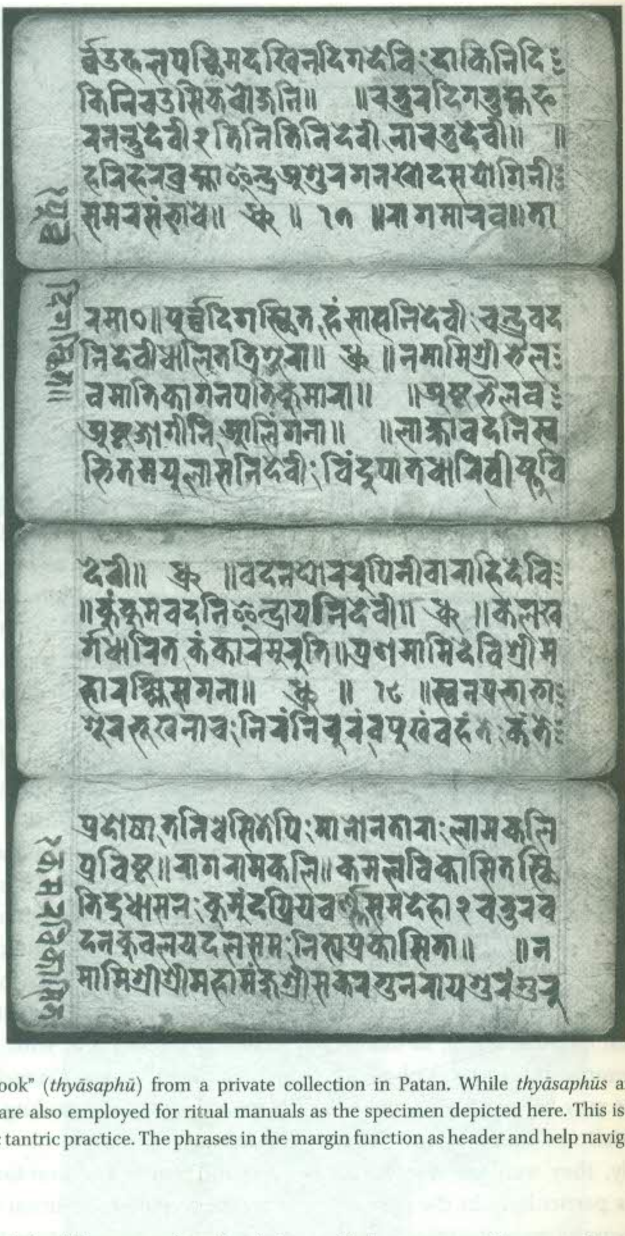

Fig. 3: Undated "folding book" (*thyāsaphū*) from a private collection in Patan. While *thyāsaphūs* are often used as notebooks for historical records, they are also employed for ritual manuals as the specimen depicted here. This is a collection of tantric songs (New. *cacā*) used in esoteric tantric practice. The phrases in the margin function as header and help navigate the text. (photo by Manik Bajracharya)

practices of "beginner" bodhisattvas for the laity (Takahashi, 1993). Closely related to this *Ādikarma* section are Anupamavajra's *Ādikarmapradīpa* (composed in 1098 CE; La Vallée Poussin, 1898) and the *Ādikarmavidhi*, ascribed to a certain Taṭākaragupta (?; NGMPP A 1165/7). The prescriptions found in these texts closely match practices still popular among Newar Buddhists, and thus support the assumption that many features of this tradition are of greater antiquity than commonly presumed.

Notwithstanding the impact of such Indian works, far more important has been the literature that the Buddhists of Nepal produced themselves to suit their needs and shape their tradition. This process began already before Buddhism vanished from India. The most influential is the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, authored by Kuladatta in the 12th (or possibly 11th) century in the Kathmandu Valley. While this foundational work foregrounds the establishment of a monastery, it is in essence a collection (*saṃgraha*) of diverse rites (*kriyā*) that relate in various ways to monasticism, including the rite of ordination (*pravrajyā*), as current in Nepal at the time of Kuladatta. These rituals continue to play a central role in the Nepalese tradition, with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* functioning till this day as the principal source that informs such practice. Both its encyclopedic character and its content (note e.g. the closely matching treat-

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Fig. 4: The Svayambhū Caitya of Kathma
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the closely matching treatment of the consecration ceremony [Tanemura, 2004; von Rospatt, 2010]) suggest that Kuladatta's work is grounded in the same tradition as the texts of Abhayākaragupta, which have an enduring hold on the Newar tradition. This is supported by the fact that another Nepalese text, which is closely related to Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* – namely, the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* by Jagaddarpaṇa – is grafted onto Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī*, incorporating most of it verbatim, while deviating and expanding on it as needed, for instance, by inserting the treatment of renovation (*jīrṇoddhāra*) in the section on honorific offerings (*argha*). Attesting to the continuity between these two Nepalese texts and their Indian precursors, they and a further important text authored in Sanskrit in the Kathmandu Valley before the 14th century – namely, the *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi* – were translated into Tibetan and form part of the Tanjur collection. It is also noteworthy that some celebrated Indian masters, such as Atīśa (11th cent.), Vibhūticandra (12th cent.), and Vanaratna (15th cent.), came to reside in Nepal, where they cooperated with local scholars and produced significant tantric works, which were likewise translated into Tibetan.

The mentioned Nepalese Sanskrit texts have themselves functioned as precursors for the countless ritual handbooks written after the 15th century in a characteristic mix of Newari and Sanskrit. These handbooks are compilations written by Vajrācārya priests for their own purposes and then handed down in the tradition. Usually, these are not new compositions but draw on other handbooks, while allowing some scope for innovative adaptations, for instance, the choice of *stotras* (hymns) to be recited in praise of the worshipped deities. Many such handbooks treat a common stock of rituals that Vajrācārya priests perform in their function as

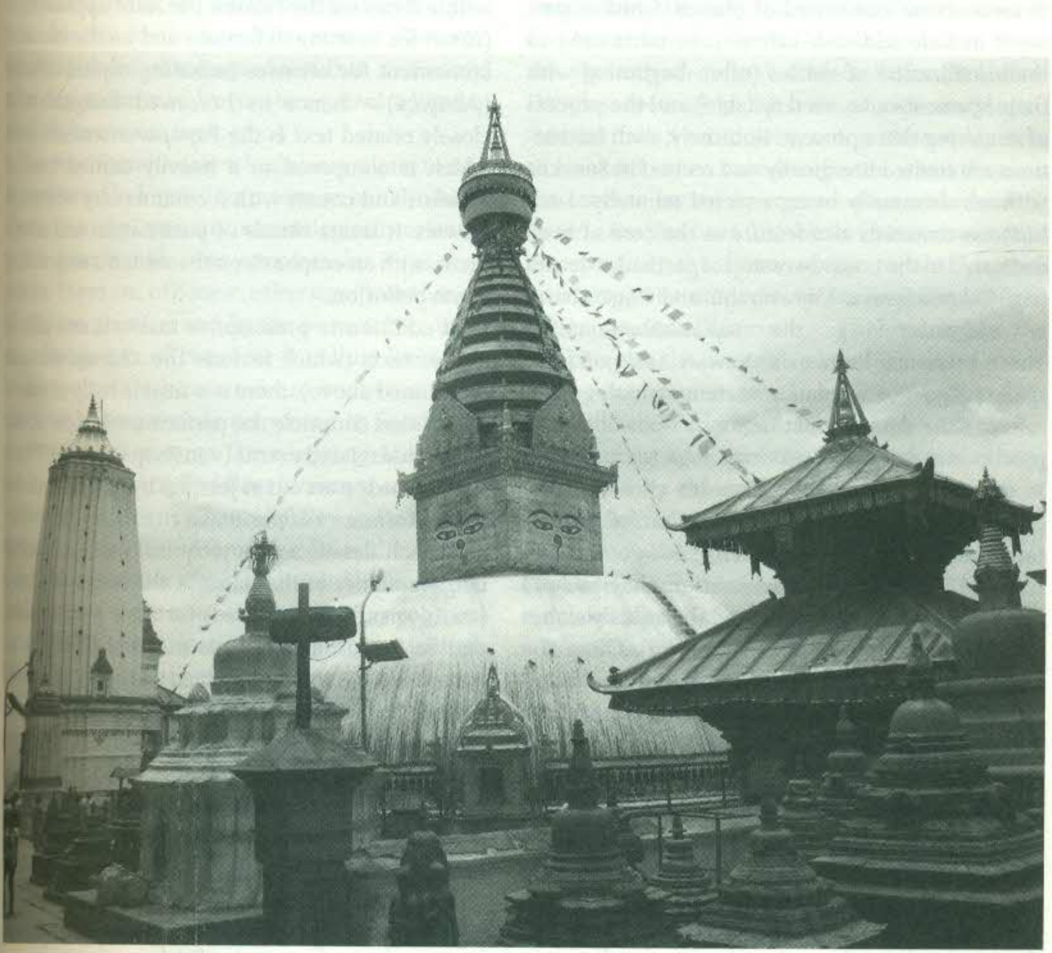

Fig. 4: The Svayambhū Caitya of Kathmandu on a monsoon-drenched day in July 2013, viewed from the northwest, with the two-tiered temple of Hāritī and other shrines in the foreground. The copper sheets covering the structure above the dome where repaired and newly gilded in the latest renovation completed in 2010. This site is the epicenter of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, the most important narrative text of the Newar tradition. (photo by author)

commissioned priests (*purohita*) for their clients (*yajamāna*). Three arenas of ritual activity stand out, namely the following:

1. the establishment and consecration of a new *caitya* or image (von Rospatt, 1999; 2010; in line with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*);
2. life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*) that – while originally Brahmanical – are performed in this tradition in a wholly Buddhist idiom; and
3. death rituals including post-mortuary offerings of rice balls (*piṇḍa*) to the ancestors – they relate to the tantric Durgatipariśodhana cult, the prominence of which is also attested by the many *Durgatipariśodhanadhāraṇī* manuscripts and printed versions in circulation.

In the ritual handbooks, the instructions to perform specific ritual acts are generally written in Newari, while the texts to be recited are Sanskrit citations taken from standard works. In addition to invocations and verses of praises, Sanskrit passages include *sādhana* instructions pertaining to the visualization of deities (often beginning with their *bījamantra*, i.e. seed syllable) and the process of rendering them present. Routinely, such instructions are treated liturgically and recited in Sanskrit without necessarily being enacted mentally. Such *sādhana* materials also feature at the core of texts dedicated to the tantric worship of particular deities (e.g. Cakrasaṃvara, Vajravārāhī, and Yogāmbara) or *maṇḍalas* (e.g. the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*). These texts are known in Newari as *deguli* (also spelled *deguri*), a word of uncertain etymology that refers to the detailed instructions of how a tantric practitioner is to perform deity yoga (*devatāyoga*) in order to generate himself as his chosen awakened deity, in the Newar tradition by default Cakrasaṃvara (see Yamaguchi, 2005), through complex processes of visualization that include the elaborate use of mantras and the equally elaborate display of hand gestures (*mudrā*). Often the word *deguli* is qualified in the title as "oral communication" (*mukhākhyāna*). The most sustained study of this genre is a series of articles by Moriguchi (1982; 1983; 1984; 1987; 1995) dedicated to the *Vajradhātumukhākhyānadegurividhi*, which follows the section on deity yoga in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* almost verbatim. Closely related to the *deguli* texts are the tantric songs (*caryāgīti*; New. *cacā*) chanted in secrecy as part of the worship of initiatory deities. Often they are sung in accompaniment to tantric dances, which are likewise recorded in handbooks, entitled *padasādhanas* because the dance steps (*pada*) effect the deities' presence (see fig. 3). As with the *deguli* manuals, most of the tantric songs are dedicated to a specific deity and have that deity's iconography as their subject matter. Controversially, given the initiatory character of this practice, anthologies of these songs have been printed and privately distributed (but not officially published) in contemporary Nepal, but a comprehensive text-historical and musicological study of these materials remains an important desideratum. There are also other genres of the ritual literature produced in Nepal that await study. For instance, there is a prominent body of texts entitled *pārājikās*, dedicated to particular Buddhist deities – notably Mañjuśrī, Lokeśvara, Tārā, and Vajrasattva – that has as yet been hardly noticed (but see Bapat, 1977–1978). This genre, despite the usage of the same terminology, does not refer to the four cardinal transgressions (*pārājikā*) entailing automatic and irreversible loss of monastic status, but rather treats lay practices with a focus on the related rituals of appeasement (*śānti*) for averting ill fortune and on the rituals of atonement for offenses including capital offenses (*pārājikā*) – hence its borrowed designation. A closely related text is the *Pāpaparimocananirdeśa*, which is composed in a heavily tainted form of Sanskrit and comes with a commentary written in Newari. It treats rituals of purification and atonement, with an emphasis on the customs negotiating death pollution.

In addition to prescriptive manuals and related tantric texts (which include the *dhāraṇī* manuals mentioned above), there is a sizable body of manuscripts that chronicle the performance of particular rituals and related events (von Rospatt, 2002). Often, such records start out as jottings by priests ahead of the performance of particular rituals, in which they note such details as the technical name of the ritual, the names of the patrons, the auspicious time (astrologically determined) for their performance, and so forth. Such records may subsequently be consolidated into sustained longer historical records devoted to a single shrine or deity, such as the Svayambhū Caitya of Kathmandu (see fig. 4), the Vajrayoginī temple above Sankhu, and the Lokeśvara image of Bungamati village. As exemplified by the accounts chronicling the renovations of Svayambhū in the mid-18th century (von Rospatt, forthcoming), such sources can draw on related works and incorporate mythological materials, ritual prescriptions, and so forth – thus making for a more sophisticated and complex form of historiography. Usually, however, such ritual records consist of basic notes covering a range of ritual events, which the individual

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priests keeping them deemed noteworthy. Customarily, they use for this purpose oblong leporello-style books with concertina (harmonium-style) folds (*thyāsaphū*; see fig. 3). Such historical records supplement the large archive of documents and stone inscriptions pertaining to Buddhist temples and monasteries, which record their establishment or renovation, or particular donations (Bledsoe, 2004). Further sources for the history of Buddhism in Nepal can be manuscript colophons and commemorative inscriptions on commissioned scroll paintings and on other religious artifacts. A similar source can be architectural drawings, such as those preserved for the Svayambhū Caitya (Kölver, 1992), which record the building's outline and dimensions for a given time and may also include further historical information. Such drawings have their roots in *vāstuśāstra* (architectural) and ritual literature (Roth, 1980) and may be used when building or rebuilding *caityas* (as *stūpas* are known in the Newar tradition) or temples. Related to this are the numerous manuscripts with iconographic line drawings of Buddhist deities and other depictions used by painters (*citrakār*) and in ritual (Bühnemann, 2008; 2012).

The ritual literature sketched above relates to rituals performed by Vajrācārya priests on behalf of their clients, or to the initiatory, soteriologically oriented tantric practice, likewise overseen by Vajrācārya priests. There are, of course, other significant arenas of religious practice, and by the same token, there are other genres of Nepalese Buddhist literature. Most prominent is the extensive narrative literature, which was anonymously composed in Sanskrit in roughly the 15th century. These texts constitute the last layer of Sanskrit Buddhist literature composed in South Asia. For the study of Newar Buddhism, they are of particular interest insofar as they reflect many characteristics of this tradition. Unlike the ritual literature, these narrative works have received considerable scholarly attention, starting with R. Mitra (1882), though there are still numerous texts of this rich genre that await proper study. The *avadāna* section of S. Matsunami's catalogue (1965, 213–244) offers a comprehensive overview, though it does not differentiate between Nepalese works and their Indian precursors. A good summary of the research (also for non-Japanese speakers) can be found in K. Okano's descriptive bibliography of Sanskrit narrative literature (1998, esp. 185–241), although it omits the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* (see below) and is also otherwise not complete.

Most of these texts are *avadānas* or collections of *avadānas*, typically identified in the title as *avadānamālā* (garland of heroic legends) or *avadānakathā* (tale of heroic legends). Often, these include tales (*kathās*) that refer to the temporary lay vows (*vratas*) which Nepalese Buddhists may observe on new-, half-, and full-moon days or on other occasions (Lewis, 2000). Generally, such tales provide an account of the past performance of a particular *vrata*, which features heroic protagonists, attests to the efficaciousness of the vow, and may include an etiological explanation of its origins. While they often draw on earlier forms of Indian *avadāna* and Buddhist *jātaka* literature (notably the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Jātakamālā* literature, and Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*), they differ in style (simple verses in *anuṣṭubh* meter predominate) and emphasis, and there are also entirely novel compositions. Central are standard Mahāyāna themes such as the generation of *bodhicitta* (i.e. the aspiration to obtain buddhahood) and self-sacrifice as exemplified by the hugely popular *Maṇicūḍāvadāna*. There are also certain formal characteristics (Tuladhar-Douglas, 2006, 38–52) that set this literature apart from its Indian precursors, such as the employment of a shared outer narrative frame, which features the teacher Jayaśrī in conversation with the king Jinaśrī *alias* Jineśvarī. This outer frame mirrors (and incorporates) the frame of the monk Upagupta instructing the emperor Aśoka, well-known from Indian *avadāna* literature, and helps to bridge the gap between the listener and the embedded narrative, so the listener can situate herself or himself in the world evoked by the text in question. The narrative Buddhist literature treated here has also been influenced by the sprawling purāṇa literature of the Hindu traditions, with which Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley has always coexisted. One of the Nepalese Buddhist works to be introduced below is even identified as a purāṇa in the title of its extended versions. Conversely, literary developments in the Nepalese Hindu fold, such as the formation of the *Svasthānīvratakathā* (Birkenholtz, 2010) and the *Pradyumnaprabhāvatī* legend (Brinkhaus, 1987), also owe to local Buddhist influence.

Several of these Nepalese *avadānas*, *avadāna* collections, and other texts have been edited, translated, and studied. A prominent example is the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (Tatelman, 1998). It covers the life story of the Buddha starting with the delivery of his first teachings at Sarnath and ending with his visit home in Kapilavastu and his subsequent departure to Svayambhū in the Kathmandu Valley, a move that serves to tie the narrative to the

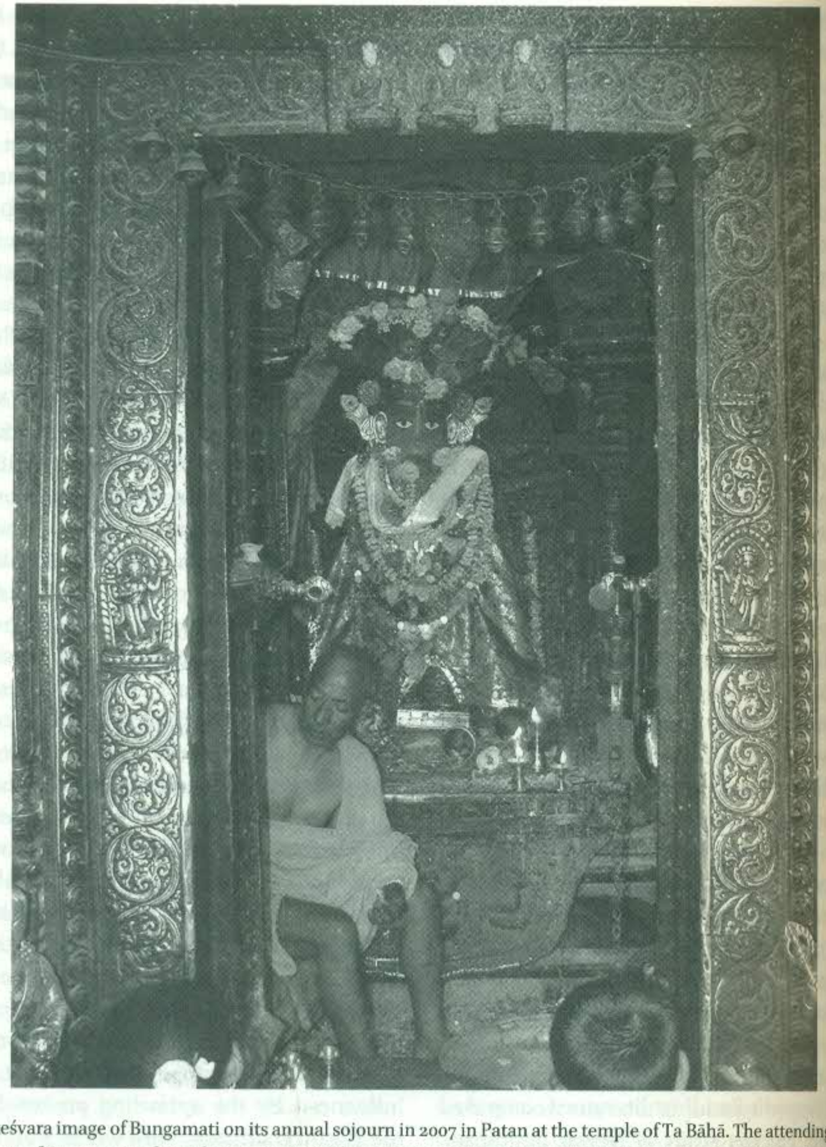

Fig. 5: The Lokeśvara image of Bungamati on its annual sojourn in 2007 in Patan at the temple of Ta Bāhā. The attending priest (pāñju) is from the village of Bungamati where the image is based, hence its local name Bunga-dyo. (photo by Manik Bajracharya)

historical Nepal. The text draws on the *Mahāvastu* and other Indian sources, but its extensive narration of the fate of the Buddha's wife Yaśodharā and the tribulations that she had to suffer once Siddhārtha had left her is an original Nepalese creation and differs from other accounts of Yaśodharā found in the Sanskrit and Pali literature. Arguably, it reflects the anxieties surrounding renunciation in the Nepalese tradition, in which monastic renunciation came to be domesticated and restricted to a caste of married householder monks. Indicative of the intertextuality among Nepalese works of this genre, substantial portions of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* are shared with the *Saṃbhadrāvadānamālā*. The *Mahajjātakamālā* (Hahn, 1985) provides another interesting example for intertextual borrowings. Nearly half of it is constituted by the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*, supplemented by episodes drawn from other sources such as the *Jātakamālā*s of Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta. Further select works pertaining to the corpus of Nepalese narrative literature are the *Kalpadrumāvadāmālā*, the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, the *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānamālā*, the *Ratnamālāvadāna* (also known as *Ratnāvadānamālā*; Takahata, 1954), the *Divyāvadānamālā* (which is partially identical with the text established under the name *Divyāvadāna* in the edition of Cowell & Neil, 1886), the *Citraviṃśatyavadāna(mālā)*, the *Dvāviṃśatyavadānakathā*

(Okada, 1993), the *Kavikumārāvadān*
the *Kapīśāvadāna* and *Piṇḍapātrāva*
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Two particularly important texts pertaining to the Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature composed in circa the 15th century are the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* and the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*. Though these two share many features of the Nepalese *avadāna* and *kathā* collections, such as the outer narrative frame with Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī, they differ in thrust and are connected to what already in the 11th century were the two principal sites of Nepalese Buddhism, namely, the Svayambhū Caitya and the Lokeśvara of Bungamati, also known as Buṅgadya, Karuṇāmaya, or Matsyendranāth (see fig. 5). The *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* is the Newar adaptation of a much earlier Mahāyāna *sūtra*, namely, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (Tuladhar-Douglas, 2006, 57–79), though it also incorporates about half of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and much of his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Like its Indian precursor, it focuses on the cult of Lokeśvara and includes the subordination of Maheśvara (i.e. Śiva) and other Hindu deities.

The *Svayambhūpurāṇa* is extant in a number of versions of different length (Brinkhaus, 1993), bearing slightly different titles. The shortest and earliest version, entitled (*Gośṛṅgaparvate*) *Svayambhūcaityabhaṭṭārakoddeśa*, was probably composed around the early 15th century. It stands apart by being composed in prose and by lacking the Jinaśrī-Jayaśrī and Upagupta-Aśoka narrative frames. It is the sole specimen of Nepalese narrative literature that survives in the form of a palm-leaf manuscript (NGMPP E 1134/2), and it most likely is also the earliest exemplar of this genre (it may, in fact, have helped initiate the production of these texts). Rather than reworking standard Sanskrit narrative material, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* is a novel composition, though not created from scratch, as it draws on literary tropes that apparently had some currency at the time, and is also related to other texts, notably the *Dvādaśatīrthamāhātmya*. The *Svayambhūpurāṇa* can be viewed as a response to the loss of the Buddhist heartland in North India since the 13th century (von Rospatt, 2009). The principal narrative device for achieving this is the Svayambhū myth. It relates that in prehistoric times, Nepal was a sacred lake on which the primordial Buddha principle (*dharmadhātu*) manifested (*bhū*) itself spontaneously (*svayam*) in the form of a light or luminous *caitya* on the pericarp of a lotus blossom. Next, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* describes the draining of the lake by Mañjuśrī (who came from China in the form of Mañjudeva and took up residence in Nepal), the subsequent settlement of the Kathmandu Valley, its sanctification by *tīrthas*, and other holy places and shrines, as well as the eventual encasement of the self-arisen *dharmadhātu* inside the physical Svayambhū Caitya, which is located at the western outskirts of modern Kathmandu, where it continues to be revered as the most sacred shrine of the Newar tradition (see fig. 4). By incorporating the tantric goddess Khagānanā of the *cakrasaṃvaramaṇḍala* in the narrative and identifying her with the roots of the lotus on which Svayambhū manifests himself, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* also renders the valley sacred in terms of the cult of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajrayoginī. Moreover, it also assigns a prominent role to the serpent deities (*nāgas*) and their role in rainmaking. Its key point is to eulogize historical Nepal and render it independently from India as a sacred Buddhist land. Like no other Newar Buddhist text, it has shaped the religious consciousness of the Newars, their understanding of the history of Buddhism in Nepal, and their place within that history. Attesting to its importance, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* captured the imagination also of the Tibetans, who produced three translations, one of which is lost.

As part of the general movement to vernacularize Nepalese narrative literature, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (in its middle-length version in ten chapters, entitled, with some variations, *Svayambhūcaityasamutpattikathā*) was translated into Newari (Shakya, 2011). Speaking of its enduring hold on the Nepalese imagination, there is also a modern rendering of it in that language and derived from this, in Nepali, as Gorkhali has come to be known since it became the *lingua franca* of modern Nepal. Among further texts transposed into Newari are the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna*, the *Aṣṭamīvratamāhātmya*, the *Siṃhalasārthavāhakathā*, the *Kapīśāvadāna*, the *Kavikumārāvadāna*, the *Sudhanarājakumārajanmāvadānakathā*, the *Vīrakuśāvadāna*, and the *Viśvantarakathā*. To a lesser extent, this vernacularization was also extended to a selection of Indian scriptures of non-Nepalese origin, such as the *Lalitavistara* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Despite the dearth of manuscripts from before the 18th century, this process of vernacularization (which remains to be studied in detail) started already earlier, as attested by Newari-language manuscripts of the *Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna* (NGMPP D 50/3) and the *Aṣṭamīvratamāhātmya* (NGMPP S 1683/1) from the mid-17th century and by an even older manuscript of the *Aṣṭamīvratakathā* (NGMPP D 58/5), dating from 1535.

Supplementing the narrative and aforementioned *dhāraṇī* literature is a rich body of devotional literature (not yet studied systematically) composed in both Sanskrit and Newari, consisting of hymns (*stotra, stava*) and songs (*gīta*) dedicated to specific deities and used in their worship (*pūjā*; Sharkey, 2001). This genre is dominated by Avalokiteśvara in his various forms (Amoghapāśa etc.), but (Śākyasiṃha) Buddha, Svayambhū (under various names), Tārā, Vasudhārā, Yaśodharā, Vajrayoginī, and other deities also feature prominently. Furthermore, important hymns are dedicated to the ten powers (*daśabala*) and the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala* or *maṅgalāṣṭaka*). Although its thrust is more ritual than devotional, another verse composition in Sanskrit, the *Buddhoktasaṃsārāmaya*, composed in Nepal after the 15th century, is also worth mentioning. Its third chapter prescribes the aforementioned old-age rituals and includes verses that are ascribed to a certain *Nemasūtrapārājikā*.

It is noteworthy that the literary production of Newar Buddhism has continued uninterrupted into the present. To name but a few examples, Amṛtānanda, who worked for Brian Houghton Hodgson and his predecessors in the early 19th century, composed a slew of works, among them the influential *Dharmakośasaṃgraha* and the chapters of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* missing in the available manuscripts, an addition that E.B. Cowell integrated into his edition (1893). The 19th century also saw the production of Buddhist chronicles of the history of the Kathmandu Valley (possibly on behest of the British Residency). The best known is the compilation by Daniel Wright, the surgeon to the British Residency, published in an English rendition in 1877, commonly known as the *Wright Chronicle*. In 1914, Niṣṭhānanda Vajrācārya completed the publication of a lengthy literary compilation of the life of the Buddha in Newari entitled *Lalitavistara*, though in truth it draws together a range of narrative works current in Newar Buddhism. A more original rendering of the life of the Buddha, also based on sources outside the fold of Newar Buddhism, was authored by Chittadhar Hṛdaya. His poem *Sugata Saurabha*, published in 1949/1950 and recently translated into English (Lewis, 2007), is written in elaborate Newari verse. There are also numerous prolific Newar scholars, mostly Vajrācāryas but some – like the late Hemraj Shakya – also Śākyas, who have published hundreds of studies dedicated to particular aspects of their tradition. These publications owe their existence to the growing availability of printing technology in Nepal since the 1960s. The introduction of this technology has also impacted the production of ritual manuals, with printed booklets displacing the handwritten versions that priests traditionally compiled for their purposes, a process that used to allow for considerable variety in practice, reflecting different preferences and ritual traditions.

The steady gains that the Theravāda movement has made in Nepal since its legalization in 1950 (it originated in the 1920s but was originally suppressed) have been accompanied by literary productions in Newari that are inspired by modernist Buddhism, in which this movement is rooted. These literary productions include didactic digests, manuals with extracts from the Pali scriptures recited for protection (*paritta*), and collections of devotional hymns and songs, notably published by the Gyānmālā Bhajan Khala, an association with several branches in the Kathmandu Valley dedicated to chanting hymns in the Indian *bhajan* style. Moreover, in an ongoing effort, most of the Pali *Suttapiṭaka* and parts of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Abhidhammapiṭaka* have been translated into Newari and are now being translated partially also into Nepali.

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Alexander von Rospatt

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ALEXANDER VON ROSPATT

Local Literatures: Bön

Bön (Tib. *bon*) is a Tibetan religious tradition demographically concentrated in eastern and northeastern Tibet. It is regarded as a distinct religion by its own adherents, the Bönpos (Tib. *bon po*), as well as by other Tibetans. However, in many essential respects, it is closely related to Buddhism in Tibet:

1. it has numerous monasteries in which monks and nuns pursue lives of study, ritual activity, and meditation;
2. it has a vast body of sacred scriptures, written in the same literary Tibetan language as that employed by Buddhists; and
3. its art and iconography differ from those of Buddhists in detail but are expressed in the same aesthetic idiom.

Nevertheless, it is justifiable to regard Bön as a separate religion, as it does not accept Śākyamuni as the source and teacher of its doctrines, however similar they may be to those of Buddhism. Instead, Bön maintains that the teacher (Tib. *ston pa*) of the present eon is Tönpa Shenrap (Tib. Ston pa gshen rab), who lived long before Śākyamuni as the ruler of the land of Stag gzig (sometimes spelled Rtag gzigs), situated to the west of Tibet. From there, so the Bönpos maintain, he spread the teachings and rituals of Bön to many countries in the world. Thereafter, Bön became established in a realm known as Zhang Zhung, probably located in what is today western Tibet, whence it finally reached Tibet. In Tibet it flourished until it was supplanted by Buddhism in the 8th century CE, an event that Bönpos view as a catastrophe. The holy scriptures of Bön are regarded as having been translated into Tibetan from the language of Zhang Zhung and thus antedating Buddhist texts in Tibet. Buddhists have tended to think of this claim as a hoax, but research has shown that in some cases, Tibetan Buddhist texts are indeed adaptations of Bön texts, and not vice versa (Blondeau, 1971).

Bön as a distinct religion, including a monastic tradition, would not seem to be identifiable in Tibet before the 10th century CE. This tradition is often styled "Eternal Bön" (Tib. *g.yung drung bon*) by its adherents. However, the picture is complicated by the presence in Tibet of priests referred to in contemporary as well as later texts as Bönpos – apparently ritual experts attached to the court of the Tibetan kings – at the time of the introduction of Buddhism, several centuries earlier. However, these ritual experts may have had a much broader social basis, and their ritual and mythological lore seems to have been to some extent continued in popular religion in parts of Tibet and the Himalayan region up to present times. A few ritual texts in pre-Classical Tibetan describe myths and rituals connected with the milieu of these early Bön priests (Lalou, 1952; Stein, 1971). These texts contain elements that are found in later texts also, but nevertheless there seems to be a break in continuity in the 9th century CE linked to the disintegration of the Tibetan empire.

While traveling in eastern Tibet in 1929, J.F. Rock came across "piled up in a corner … a manuscript copy of the Bön bKa-hgyur and bsTan-hgyur written on stiff black paper. It was an enormous pile, and I could have bought it at the time" (Rock, 1952, vol. I, 3). Unfortunately, for logistical reasons he did not do so. At the time, only two texts identified as belonging to the Bön religion had been published in the West:

1. a ritual text, the so-called *Klu 'bum*, in two different versions (see Schiefner, 1880; Laufer, 1898); and
2. a part of the *Gzer mig*, the biography of Tönpa Shenrap (Francke, 1924ff.).

Since then, the situation has changed dramatically. As one scholar put it in the early 21st century, the availability of Bön texts has developed "starting as a mere trickle in the 1960s, building into a raging glacial stream coming out of India in the following decades, until now when we are practically drowning in the ocean of Bon scriptures" (Martin, 2003, 1–2).

It is almost impossible to give a comprehensive overview of the thousands of volumes constituting the literary corpus of the Bön religion. The present article, therefore, focuses on those texts that are available in translation, particularly in English. For an overview and history of this literature, however, one might start with three kinds of texts:

1. chronological tables (*bstan rtsis*);
2. historical works (*bstan 'byung*) and biographies (*rnam thar*); and
3. catalogues or inventories (*dkar chag*).

A *bstan rtsis* takes as its point of departure an event that the Bönpos traditionally consider of

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crucial importance, states, in a kind of shorthand style, the number of years separating it from the following event of importance, and continues, event by event, in chronological order down to the year of composition of the text. Thus, if the latter year is known, one may, calculating in the opposite direction, arrive at the year of each event. Three such *bstan rtsis* of Bön, composed in 1804, 1842, and 1955, have been studied (Kværne, 1990a; 1971; 1988). The 1842 text, composed by Nyima Tenzin (Tib. Nyi ma bstan 'dzin; 1813–1875), the 22nd abbot of the famous Bön monastery of Sman ri in central Tibet, has also been translated (Kværne, 1971). In this way, it has been possible to fix important events and personalities in time – at least tentatively, for the datings provided by the various *bstan rtsis* do not always coincide.

Historical texts are often known as *bstan 'byung*, implying that they relate to the origin (*'byung*) of the normative teachings (*bstan*) of Bön. However, not all texts relating the history of Bön have this specific designation in their title. As early as 1915, a Bön history, probably dating from the 15th century, was published (but not translated) in Calcutta by S.C. Das (1915). So far, however, only one Bön historical text has been translated – namely the *Legs bshad mdzod*, composed by Shar rdza Bkra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934; see Karmay, 1972; Achard, 2008). Although a relatively recent text (begun, according to the author, in 1922), it is based on a great number of older sources, many of which are quoted. Several other histories of Bön are available, all of which remain untranslated. One of these is an extensive work by Dpal ldan tshul khrims (1902–1972), probably composed circa 1966 (Dpal tshul, 1988).

In contrast, catalogues or inventories (*dkar chag*) of what may be termed "canonical texts" of Bön have been fairly extensively published and analyzed. Bön canonical texts fall into two distinct categories, in recent years often designated "Kanjur" and "Tenjur" (i.e. Tanjur), adopting the Buddhist terminology.

Broadly speaking, the Kanjur consists of texts that are regarded as emanating from Tönpa Shenrap himself (and hence are generally known as *Bka'*, The Word), codified by his disciples shortly after his death. It should be noted that most canonical texts are not believed to have enjoyed uninterrupted transmission from Tönpa Shenrap but to have been hidden at various times when Bön was threatened, to be retrieved in the form of "treasures" (*gter*) when times were more propitious. The "treasure discoverers" (*gter ston*) could find texts by chance, hidden in the ground or in buildings, or as a result of signs and dreams, or in the form of revelations arising in their minds ("mental treasures," *dgongs gter*). A famous Bön *gter ston* is Gshen chen Klu dga' (996–1035), intensively studied by D. Martin (2001). The preponderance of such revealed texts in the Bön Kanjur distinguishes it from its Buddhist counterpart. As for the Tenjur, it consists of texts that, while not ascribed to Tönpa Shenrap himself, are nevertheless "firmly based" (*brten*) on his *Bka'* ("Word"). Hence in Bön tradition, they are collectively known as *Bka' brten*. Inventories of the Bön Kanjur have been published by P. Kværne (1974) and D. Martin (2003), while an inventory of the Tenjur (*Bka' brten*) has been published by S.G. Karmay and Y. Nagano (2001).

The first such inventory to be made availabe in the West, written soon after 1836 and published in Tibetan in New Delhi in 1965, was analyzed and presented by P. Kværne (1974). The author is Nyima Tenzin, who wrote the *bstan rtsis* referred to above (Kværne, 1971). It is not certain whether his *dkar chag* is an inventory of an existing set of scriptures or simply a list of texts that in his opinion should be regarded as authoritative. Be this as it may, Nyima Tenzin divides the texts of the Kanjur into four groups:

1. *mdo* (a word that the Buddhists use to translate "*sūtra*");
2. *'bum* ("Hundred Thousand [Verses]," corresponding to Prajñāpāramitā);
3. *rgyud* (*tantra*); and
4. *mdzod* ("Treasure," lit. Abhidharma).

The latter category, however, differs fundamentally from Buddhist Abhidharma texts, being constituted by texts expounding the philosophy and meditational practice of Rdzogs chen ("Great Perfection"). The relationship of this aspect of Bön to the tradition bearing the same name in the Buddhist Nyingma remains to be established.

Nyima Tenzin's catalogue represents a determined effort to exclude texts that, according to the internal criteria of Bön, could not, in his opinion, be securely attributed to Tönpa Shenrap himself or to a tradition fully acknowledging his authority. To this extent, Nyima Tenzin's work as a compiler of texts of indubitable canonicity parallels that of the Buddhist scholar Bu ston (1290–1364), the creator of the first version of the Tibetan Buddhist Kanjur and Tenjur.

Exactly when the first Bön Kanjur was assembled is not known, but as Nyima Tenzin does not list texts that are assigned a date later than 1386, it is hardly

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likely that a Bön Kanjur appeared prior to early 15th century. One may assume that this urge for the codification of sacred scriptures is linked to the appearance of a celibate Bön monastic tradition in central Tibet at that time, in particular represented by the monastery of Sman ri founded in 1405, slightly antedating the far larger contemporary Gelugpa monasteries, institutions with which Sman ri shared many traits, albeit on a smaller scale.

Nyima Tenzin's catalogue, while regarded by many Bönpos as normative, is not the only such inventory, nor indeed the earliest one. With regard to the Bön Kanjur, two catalogues were written by Kun grol grags pa (b. 1700), in 1740 and 1751, describing two different manuscript editions (Martin, 2003, 7). The latter is an inventory of a specific manuscript edition of the Kanjur prepared under the patronage of the king of Khro skyabs, one of the principalities in Rgyal rong in present-day Sichuan. Shortly thereafter, woodblocks for printing the entire Bön Kanjur were carved, again under royal patronage, not only in Khro skyabs but also in the neighboring principality of Chu chen. The Khro skyabs blocks continued to be in use until they were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and as far as is known, no complete set of a woodblock edition has survived, although a number of individual volumes have been preserved and published in recent decades. Two other Bön Kanjur catalogues from the 19th century have been published in Tibetan, and one or two are known by citation (Martin, 2003, 15–16).

Apparently, only one complete copy of a Bön Kanjur survived the upheavals in Tibet during the late 1950s and the subsequent Cultural Revolution, namely a manuscript edition from the Dbal khyung Monastery in the district of Nyag rong in eastern Tibet, although parts of other sets and many individual texts also survived. The Dbal khyung manuscript was hidden in a cave until it was taken out and eventually published.

From the 1980s onward. more or less complete sets of the Kanjur were assembled, and several editions have been published in recent decades. These are available not only in monastic libraries in Tibet but also in academic institutions in the West. The first edition appeared in Chengdu in 1985, in 154 volumes. Subsequently another edition in 192 volumes was brought out in the Nga ba district in northwestern Sichuan in 1987, of which a reprint was made in Chengdu in 1991. Finally a third edition, in 178 volumes, appeared in Chengdu in 1995, with a second print run in 1999. This edition to a large extent reproduces the Dbal khyung manuscript. A detailed catalogue of the 1987 Nga ba edition was prepared by an international group of scholars in Oslo in 1995–1996 (Martin, 2003).

The Bön Tenjur, or, following usual Bön terminology, the *Bka' brten*, was never a tightly organized collection of texts. The catalogue of Nyima Tenzin divides the texts of the *Bka' brten* into the following:

1. "outer" (*phyi*), consisting of commentaries and texts belonging to the *mdzod* and the *mdo*, including commentaries to the monastic discipline (*'dul ba*), as well as related rituals;
2. "inner" (*nang*) texts, consisting of mainly ritual texts focusing on tutelary deities (*yi dam*), protectors of the doctrine (*bka' skyong*, corresponding to the Buddhist *dharmapāla* deities), *ḍākinīs*, *gcod* rituals (rituals of offering oneself to all living beings), prophecies, and collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of certain lamas;
3. "secret" (*gsang*), in which one finds rituals and commentaries to Rdzogs chen texts as well as texts that are not regarded as deriving directly from Tönpa Shenrap himself; and
4. a small section at the end of this huge collection with texts dealing with profane matters such as art, medicine, and grammar.

Toward the end of the 1990s, a Bön lama in Tibet, Sog sde Bstan pa'i nyi ma, assembled a large number of texts that were given the collective designation "Bonpo Tenjur." He did not follow Nyima Tenzin's *dkar chag* very closely, instead favoring the idea of including as many texts as possible. The resulting edition, printed in Lhasa, consists of no less than three hundred volumes. An impracticality is that "[t]he texts in this collection are not arranged in any kind of order nor are the volumes numbered coherently in a particular way" (Karmay & Nagano, 2001, x). Nevertheless, a detailed catalogue appeared in 2001 (Karmay & Nagano, 2001). In the meantime, the Tibetan publisher apparently kept on adding texts to the collection.

The number of texts included in the two collections described above amount to several thousand, of which only a tiny fraction have been translated or studied, in whole or in part, by scholars outside Tibet. The following overview, although by no means comprehensive, illustrates how severely limited access to Bön texts remains for those who do not read Tibetan.

The early translations published by F.A. Schiefner, A.H. Francke, and B. Laufer have been referred to above. The texts that they studied all belong to the *mdo* section of the Kanjur. A watershed in Bön studies was the translation with commentaries by D. Snellgrove (1967) of excerpts from the *Gzi brjid*, a text likewise belonging to the *mdo* section, ostensibly the "long" version of the life of Tönpa Shenrap (see below). Consisting of 12 volumes, it might well be regarded as a compendium of about 50 independent texts, many dealing with philosophy or ritual, only loosely bound together by the narrative thread of Tönpa Shenrap's biography. The excerpts chosen by D. Snellgrove illustrate Bön rituals and philosophy according to an ascending ladder of spirituality as traditionally established by the Bönpos themselves called *theg pa dgu* ("nine ways" or "nine vehicles"). For the first time, readers in the West could study a coherent presentation of Bön on the basis of texts regarded as authoritative by Bönpos themselves.

Turning to the *rgyud* section of the Kanjur, very few texts are available in scholarly translation. A short *tantra* dealing with various substances used in ritual and medical contexts has been translated (Walter, 1986) as well as several short invocations of Bön tutelary deities (*yi dam*; see Kvaerne, 1990b; 1995).

So far, no text from the *'bum* section seems to have been translated. However, a number of texts from the fourth and final section, the *mdzod*, have been studied and translated. One reason for this particular focus is probably the fact that the fundamental difference between the Bön and the Buddhist Kanjur is to be found precisely in the *mdzod*, which is, as already noted, comprised of texts expounding the meditational and philosophical tradition known as Rdzogs chen. A tradition bearing the same name also exits in the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism, but none of its texts is included in the Buddhist Kanjur.

A fundamental study, with numerous textual quotations, of the early history of the origins of the Rdzogs chen traditions and the relationship between its Bön and Nyingma variants has been carried out by S.G. Karmay (1988). The Rdzogs chen tradition plays an important role in the spiritual life of Western followers of several Bön lamas, but translations and studies that are not academic are not noted here, even though some are the outcome of long familiarity with the texts and their application in spiritual practice.

An important collection of texts in the *Mdzod* section is the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* (The Oral Transmission [of Texts] from Zhang Zhung). As the title indiciates, this textual collection has not been "hidden" and then "rediscovered", but has been transmitted – according to Bön tradition – orally by sages in Zhang Zhung and later in Tibet, where it was eventually committed to writing. The history of this transmission has been studied by S.G. Karmay (1998). Short texts from this collection have been translated: (1) *Sgron ma drug gi gdams pa* (The Doctrine of the Six Lights; see Orofino, 1985, 71–96; 1990, 61–84) and (2) *Rgyud bu chung bcu gnyis* (The Twelve Little *Tantras*; see Rossi, 1999, 73–161). One may note that although styled as a *tantra* (*rgyud*), the latter text is part of the *mdzod* section. To complicate matters further, a chapter expounding Rdzogs chen is to be found in the *Gzi brjid*, which is in the *mdo* section (Snellgrove, 1967, 226–255; see also above).

Another Kanjur text has likewise been translated by D. Rossi, the *Lta ba seng ge sgra bsgrags* (The View That Is Like the Lion's Roar; Rossi, 1999, 165–271). This is said to be one of the texts rediscovered by the *gter ston* Bzhod ston Dngos grub in 1088 (Orofino, 1990, 86). Various texts are part of the same tradition of Bön Rdzogs chen but are classified as belonging to the Tenjur, namely the texts subsumed under the heading *a khrid* (Fundamental Teachings; see Kvaerne, 1973). The basic *a khrid* texts are not considered to have been rediscovered but to have been composed by the historical figure Rme'u Dgongs mdzod ri khrod pa (b. 1038).

As is the case with Tibetan Buddhist literature, biographies (*rnam thar*) are abundant in the Bön religion, but so far none has been translated, with the exception of three very short biographies of 11th-century lamas (Kværne, 1973) and that of Gshen chen Klu dga' (Martin, 2001). However, the biography of Tönpa Shenrap might be noted here, as Bönpos regard it as a historical account. As mentioned above, excerpts from the two-volume *Gzer mig*, probably dating from the 11th or 12th century, were published by A.H. Francke in the early 1920s. Two other versions exist: the *Mdo 'dus* in one volume, probably somewhat older than the *Gzer mig* and so far untranslated, and the 12-volume *Gzi brjid*, considered to be a "treasure" that manifested itself in the mind of Blo ldan snying po (b. 1325). A summary of the biographical narrative of the *Gzi brjid* as illustrated by a set of painted scrolls in the Musée Guimet in Paris has been published by P. Kværne (1986a). Although containing elements that are parallel to the biography of Śākyamuni, the narrative structure of the Tönpa Shenrap biographies also has much in common with the Tibetan epic of King Gesar – in some instances, it recycles literary as well as folktale motifs that are widely distributed outside Tibet (see Karmay, 1975; Kvaerne, 1980; 1986b).

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lection of Bonpo Katen Texts, Osaka, 20
Karmay, S.G., *The Little Luminous Boy:*
from the Land of Zhangzhung Depict
Paintings, Bangkok, 1998.
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Karmay, S.G., "The Interview between Phy
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of Bon, London, 1972.
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York, 1996, 138–146.

ing to Bön tradition – orally
ng and later in Tibet, where it
itted to writing. The history of
been studied by S.G. Karmay
om this collection have been
a drug gi gdams pa (The Doc-
see Orofino, 1985, 71–96; 1990,
u chung bcu gnyis (The Twelve
si, 1999, 73–161). One may note
as a *tantra* (*rgyud*), the latter
d section. To complicate mat-
expounding Rdzogs chen is to
id, which is in the *mdo* section
–255; see also above).
t has likewise been translated
seng ge sgra bsgrags (The View
's Roar; Rossi, 1999, 165–271).
f the texts rediscovered by the
Dngos grub in 1088 (Orofino,
ts are part of the same tradi-
en but are classified as belong-
ely the texts subsumed under
(Fundamental Teachings; see
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rediscovered but to have been
storical figure Rme'u Dgongs
. 1038).
h Tibetan Buddhist literature,
ar) are abundant in the Bön
one has been translated, with
ree very short biographies of
(Kvære, 1973) and that of
' (Martin, 2001). However, the
Shenrap might be noted here,
s a historical account. As men-
ts from the two-volume *Gzer*
from the 11th or 12th century,
.H. Francke in the early 1920s.
exist: the *Mdo 'dus* in one vol-
what older than the *Gzer mig*
d, and the 12-volume *Gzi brjid*,
treasure" that manifested itself
an snying po (b. 1325). A sum-
ical narrative of the *Gzi brjid* as
f painted scrolls in the Musée
been published by P. Kværne
containing elements that are
aphy of Śākyamuni, the narra-
Tönpa Shenrap biographies also
n with the Tibetan epic of King
ances, it recycles literary as well
t are widely distributed outside
975; Kvaerne, 1980; 1986b).

From about the 11th century onward, the Bön religion gave rise to a vast scholastic and commentarial literature in which the philosophical tenets of Bön were expounded and commented on, either in commentaries to canonical texts or in the form of independent scholastic works, sometimes having the format of encyclopedic compendiums. A careful critical edition of one such work, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* (Clarification of the Gates of Bön), composed by Tre ston Rgyal mtshan dpal in the 14th century, has been published (Mimaki & Karmay, 2007), and a part of it has been translated (see Mimaki & Karmay, 2009; 2010). The translated part is of particular interest as it is a presentation of the *theg pa dgu* ("nine vehicles") into which the rituals and teachings of Bön may be divided (see Snellgrove, 1967). The activities of *gter ston* have also continued unabated up to the present time, and a detailed catalogue of the texts brought to light by one such figure, Bde chen gling pa (b. 1833), has been published recently (Achard, 2004).

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Per Kværne

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PER KVÆRNE

Local Literatures: Sogdian

Buddhist scriptures in Sogdian, an East Middle Iranian language once spoken in Sogdiana, located between the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, in what is now Uzbekistan, have been discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan in China. The extant Sogdian texts are mainly translations from Chinese and date mainly to the 7th–10th centuries.

Sogdiana consisted of several oasis-states, located along the Zarafshan (also known as Zeravshan) and Kashkadarya rivers. The leading cities were Samarkand and Bukhara. Before the Islamization of Central Asia, in particular during the Chinese Sui and Tang dynasties (581–907 CE), the Sogdians played a leading role as international traders along the Silk Road connecting China and the West, with the result that a considerable number of Sogdians settled in East Turkestan and China, where Buddhism was flourishing. (On the history of Sogdians in general, see de la Vaissière, 2005.)

When Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE) visited Samarkand in 630 CE, the Sogdians were Zoroastrians and did not believe in Buddhism (Watters, 1904–1905, 94). This observation, combined with the sparsity of Buddhist remains excavated from former Sogdiana, leads one to assume that Buddhism did not spread to Sogdiana (Compareti, 2008). Thus, the modern discovery of many Buddhist Sogdian texts from Dunhuang (敦煌) and Turfan indicates that the Sogdians adopted the religion only after they immigrated to the area where Buddhism was flourishing. This situation was rightly described by X. Tremblay (2007, 95–97) as "a colonial phenomenon," which most clearly manifests itself in the fact that the bulk of the extant Sogdian texts are based on Chinese translations and apocryphal texts. The Sogdian dependence on Chinese texts is also reflected in the Buddhist Chinese texts that are phonetically transcribed in Sogdian script. (On the peculiarities of Sogdian translations from Chinese originals, see Meisterernst & Durkin-Meisterernst, 2005; 2009; 2012.)

The bulk of Buddhist Sogdian texts were discovered by expeditions from Europe and are currently preserved in libraries and museums in France (Pelliot collection; Dunhuang), England (Stein collection; Dunhuang), Germany (the so-called German Turfan Collection), and Russia (Oldenburg and Krotokov collections; Dunhuang and Turfan), while a meager number of texts are housed in Japan (Ōtani collection; Turfan) and China (National Library of China and Turfan Museum; Dunhuang and Turfan). Virtually all the texts discovered in Dunhuang have been published, but a considerable number of manuscripts from the German collection remain to be edited; a catalogue is, however, in preparation (Reck, forthcoming b). The most basic publications of these materials are by E. Benveniste (1940; 1945), D.N. MacKenzie (1976), F.W.K. Müller and W. Lentz (1934), and A.N. Ragoza (1980); moreover, a series of articles was published by K. Kudara and W. Sundermann (1987; 1988; 1991; 1992; 1998), W. Sundermann (2001; 2006; 2008; 2010), and Yoshida Yutaka (see the bibliography). In addition, Buddhist Sogdian literature has been surveyed by O. Hansen (1968), D. Utz (1978), and Yoshida Yutaka (2009a).

Buddhist Sogdian texts are written on paper, and the manuscripts are either books of *poṭhī* (palm-leaf format) type imitating Indian palm-leaf manuscripts or scrolls consisting of folios of Chinese paper joined together. When copying texts on *poṭhī* sheets, lines run either along the longer (long-lined *poṭhī*) or along the shorter side (short-lined *poṭhī*). Almost all the Buddhist texts known in Sogdian are written in the formal Sogdian script, often referred to as the *sūtra* script. Buddhist Sogdian texts were copied on brand-new sheets of paper, in stark contrast to Manichaean Sogdian texts, many of which are written on the reverse side of Chinese Buddhist texts. Only one text, the so-called *Mstk'r'k cš'nt prxwn pwstk* (*Sūtra* of Condemnation of Intoxicating Drink) discovered in Dunhuang, bears a date, namely 728 CE (see MacKenzie, 1976), the date when it was translated in Luoyang (洛陽).

While nothing linguistic or paleographic indicates that the remaining manuscripts are significantly younger or older than this work, the dating of Buddhist Sogdian texts to the period not earlier than the 7th–8th centuries is supported by other evidence. For example, some of the Chinese originals were produced by those active in translation during the 7th and 8th centuries, such as Xuanzang

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(translated between 645 and 664 CE), Śikṣānanda (實叉難陀; translated between 695 and 704 CE), Yijing (義淨; translated between 695 and 713 CE), and Amoghavajra (Bukong [不空]; translated between 746 and 774 CE). Moreover, the latest stage is likely to be represented by those showing Uighur elements in the colophons (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a, 327–329). In view of the settlement of the Uighurs in the Turfan basin in the late 9th century, these texts seem to be dated to the 10th century.

The places of translation noted in the colophons are Luoyang (see above), Chang'an (長安; Pelliot sogdien 2), and Dunhuang (Pelliot sogdien 8). Since a colophon found in one Turfan text states that it was translated from the Kuchean language (or Tocharian B) by a Kuchean man, the text is likely to have been translated in Kucha or Turfan (Henning, 1940, 59–62; Kudara & Sundermann, 1987, 347–348).

Most Buddhist Sogdian texts are more or less faithful translations of Chinese originals. Yet others seem to have been based on prototypes in either Sanskrit or Tocharian, although it has not been possible to trace their originals.

Buddhist Sogdian texts are unique among those in Central Asian languages – such as Tocharian, Khotanese, and Uighur, not to mention Tibetan, Tangut, and Mongolian – in that Buddhism never attained the status of a state religion among the Sogdians. Thus, there was no state-organized saṅgha of Sogdian monks, and Sogdian Buddhists were therefore not able to enjoy support from the state when translating and copying texts. This had many consequences, one of which was that this lack of organized community may have prevented the establishment of standard Buddhist terminology in Sogdian. For example, in Sogdian Vinaya texts, the term *poyiti* (波逸提; Skt. *prāyaścittika*, *pāyattika*, etc.; atonement, etc.) is rendered in several ways: *p'ytyk*, *p'ytk*, and *p'yty* (Yoshida Yutaka, 2010, 92n13). Since the form of this term can vary according to ordination lineage (on the background of various Indian forms of this term, see von Hinüber, 1985), this situation is only understandable when one considers the fact that the Sogdians did not belong to a particular Buddhist school, nor did they have their own tradition of ordination; they simply adopted the form of the term found in the source text that they were translating.

Despite the diversity shown here, the texts that have come down to us do share a considerable number of Buddhist terms. For example, *wytxwy* (*'t*) *sryßt'm*, "suffering (and) pain," which translates the Chinese term *fannao* (煩惱, "vexation-annoyance"; Skt. *kleśa*, pain, affliction, distress), is most conspicuous, in that the combination is quite common among Buddhist texts, but each component is attested only in this particular combination. The equivalent for the Sanskrit *bhagavān* (the holy one), *pk'ß'm*, is another term encountered in various texts from both Dunhuang and Turfan, based on the Chinese *bojiafan* (薄伽梵), which in turn is the transcription of the Sanskrit word (Sims-Williams, 1983, 138). (On the problems of Indian proper names in Sogdian texts, see also Provasi, 2013.)

It is almost always the case that only small fragments of Sogdian texts remain, of which the originals were often large *sūtras*. In such cases, we are not certain whether the Sogdian versions were entire translations of the originals or only excerpts of interesting parts. One illuminating case is some 80 fragments of a short-lined *poṭhī* book of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvānamahāsūtra* from the German Turfan collection (see below). Since the identified fragments correspond to various places among the 40 volumes of the Chinese original, it is safe to assume that there once existed an entire translation of the *sūtra* and to presume that the same applies to the fragments of other large *sūtras* such as the *Gaṇḍavyūha, Suvarṇabhāsottama*, and *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* that exist in translated Sogdian fragments.

In what follows, the Buddhist Sogdian texts are surveyed in accordance with their contents.

Texts Concerning Beneficent Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

Sogdian lay Buddhists were attracted by a creed that included spells to procure material benefits, the pacification of angry ghosts, and so on. The most popular deities supplicated were Bhaiṣajyaguru ("Medicine Buddha") and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Four different manuscripts of the Sogdian version of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhārāja* have been found (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a), which is quite exceptional among the Buddhist Sogdian texts, since each text is usually represented by only a single copy. The two manuscripts so far published (Pelliot sogdien 6 and one Turfan fragment in Kudara & Sundermann, 1992) are based on Xuanzang's version (*Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* [藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經; *Sūtra* Expounding the Merits of the

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Original Vows of the Tathāgata N
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Lazuli]; T. 450).

The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvar
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Another form of Avalokiteśvar
the Sogdians was Ruyilun guan
called *ckrßrt cynt'mny* (Skt. *cakra*
Sogdian. One text from Dunhuang
was translated from the *Padma*
(*Guanshiyin pusa mimizang ruyi*
zhou jing [觀世音菩薩祕密藏如
Sūtra of the *Dhāraṇī* or Supernatu
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Avalokiteśvarabodhisattvacintā
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text in Brahmi script of the *dhā*
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Original Vows of the Tathāgata Named Medicine Master (Bhaiṣajyaguru) Emitting the Light of Lapis Lazuli]; T. 450).

The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was no less popular than Bhaiṣajyaguru, and several Sogdian texts concerning him are known. One of them is called the *"ry'βr'wkδyšβr pwtystβ mx'stβ 100 'št' n'm swtr γwβty'kh pwstk* (*Sūtra* of the Glorification of 108 Names of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva [Called] Āryavalokiteśvara; Pelliot sogdien 8), which contains a long list of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other supernatural beings, followed by short *dhāraṇīs* and the merits that one obtains by reciting them. Its original has not been identified, but it seems to have been popular among the Sogdians, since another copy of the same text is found among the Dunhuang texts (Pelliot sogdien 8bis). According to its colophon, this text was translated in Dunhuang by the commission of Chorakk of the Xan (Kang [康]) family, whose family members are also named. Pelliot sogdien 7 is a complete text of the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* followed by its *dhāraṇī*; however, the Sogdian texts do not agree with any of the Chinese versions (Meisterernst & Durkin-Meisterernst, 2009).

Another form of Avalokiteśvara popular among the Sogdians was Ruyilun guanyin (如意輪觀音), called *ckrβrt cynt'mny* (Skt. *cakravarti-cintāmaṇi*) in Sogdian. One text from Dunhuang (MacKenzie, 1976) was translated from the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī* (*Guanshiyin pusa mimizang ruyilun tuoluoni shenzhou jing* [觀世音菩薩祕密藏如意輪陀羅尼神呪經; *Sūtra* of the *Dhāraṇī* or Supernatural Spell Belonging to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Secret Repository of the Talismanic Wheel]; T. 1082). Two passages cited from the same text are found in another Dunhuang text (Pelliot sogdiens 14, 15, 30; for three fragments from one manuscript, see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a), which also contains a short passage from a ritual manual based on the same *sūtra* called *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* (觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌; Rituals of Recitation of [the *Dhāraṇī* of] Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Talismanic Wheel; T. 1085), *Avalokiteśvarabodhisattvacintācakrādhyāyakalpa*, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra. A further text in Brahmi script of the *dhāraṇī* of yet another form of the bodhisattva Nīlakaṇṭha (T. 1061, 1111), accompanied by its phonetic transcription in Sogdian script, is also encountered among the Dunhuang texts (La Vallée Poussin & Gauthiot, 1912; Lévi, 1912).

Texts Concerning Popular Ethics and the Vinaya

Another group of texts that stand out among the Buddhist Sogdian texts is that expounding good and bad actions as causes of corresponding effects. The eight commandments for lay Buddhists and the reward for observing them are the subject of the *Dīrghanakhaparivrājakaparipṛcchā* (*Changzhao fanzhi qingwen jing* [長爪梵志請問經]; T. 584; Pelliot sogdien 5). This text is followed by another text (Pelliot sogdien 17; see Yoshida Yutaka, 1985a), a formula for receiving the eight commandments, which is similar to, but not identical with, a group of popular Dunhuang Chinese texts called *Shou ba guanzhaijie wen* (受八関齋戒文; Formula for Receiving the Eight Commandments of Abstinence). The so-called *'krtyh 'nβ'nt ptwry pwstk* (*Sūtra* of the Causes and Effects of Actions; MacKenzie, 1970) is translated from a Chinese apocryphal *sūtra* (*Shan'eyinguo jing* [善惡因果經]; T. 2881). The so-far unidentified *Mstk'r'k cš'nt prxwn pwstk* (see above) is another text belonging to this group. Another text that highlights negative consequences focuses on the eating of meat, which was strictly prohibited in some forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is the only subject of Pelliot sogdien 2, in which relevant passages are cited from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T. 670), the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (T. 120), and the *Da fangguang huayan shi'e pinjing* (大方廣華嚴十惡品經; *Sūtra* of the Chapter on the Ten Bad Actions of the Great and Spacious Garland; T. 2875), the last being a Chinese apocryphon. The commandment not to eat meat and not to drink alcohol is again the subject of Pelliot sogdien 21, but its original text has not yet been identified.

The commandments of Mahāyāna Buddhism, or rather of the bodhisattva *śīlasaṃvara*, are the main subject of another Chinese composition, the *Fanwang jing* (梵網經; T. 1484, **Brahmajālasūtra*), translated into Sogdian (Yoshida Yutaka, 2008b). One fragment from the German Turfan collection cites a passage from the same *sūtra*, but the larger text itself is not identified (Yoshida Yutaka, 2008b). One *poṭhī* folio discovered in Turfan comprises the end part of *Foshuo fanjie zuibao qingzhong jing* (佛說犯戒罪報軽重經; *Sūtra* Spoken by Buddha on the Lightness and Heaviness of the Sin of Transgression of *Śīla* [Precepts]; T. 1467), and the beginning of the *Foshuo shi feishi jing* (佛說時非時經; *Sūtra* Spoken by Buddha on Time and Not-Time; T. 794; see Kudara & Sundermann, 1987). A colophon of one fragment belonging to the same manuscript states that it was translated from the Kuchean (or Tocharian B) language and names the text itself as *šm'r'kh pδkth ywk'* (teaching of the rules of meditation; see Kudara & Sundermann, 1987, 348). The *Śukasūtra* or *Karmavibhaṅga* (*Fo wei shoujia zhangzhe shuo yebao chabie jing* [佛爲首迦長者說業報差別經]; *Sūtra* Spoken by Buddha for a Householder Named Śuka on the Distinction between the Effects of Actions; T. 80) deals with acts and their results in secular life, but what has survived from the Dunhuang Sogdian text is broken just after the story begins (see text 93 in Ragoza, 1980). An unpublished Turfan fragment (So 14700[22]) also contains a passage from the same text.

In conclusion of this section, mention needs to be made of the Vinaya and *Pratimokṣa* in Sogdian. Small fragments of Dharmaguptaka *Prātimokṣa* (*Sifen sengjie ben* [四分僧戒本; Book of *Pratimokṣas* Consisting of Four Sections]; T. 1430; see Yoshida Yutaka, 2000) and three fragments showing a text similar to the 20th to 24th *pāyattikas* (atonements) of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (*Sifen lü* [四分律; Vinaya Comprising Four Sections]; T. 1428; see Yoshida Yutaka, 2008a) are known. The latter text also contains a part corresponding to the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* (四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔; Improved Edition of the *Sifen lü* by Deleting What Is Superfluous and Supplementing What Is Missing; T. 1804).

Narratives

The most well-known Buddhist Sogdian text is the Sogdian version of what in Pali is called the *Vessantarajātaka*, one of the earliest Sogdian texts to be published by modern scholars. There are some controversies surrounding the immediate prototype of the text, which shows the most developed style of any Buddhist Sogdian text. It is therefore perhaps a native Sogdian composition, a retelling rather than a translation (Sims-Williams, 1989). Even so, D. Durkin-Meisterernst (2009) claims that the text was originally based on a non-Chinese text, while Yoshida Yutaka (2013a) argues that the Sogdian text was adapted from the most popular Chinese version *Taizi xudana jing* (太子須大拏經; The *Sūtra* about Prince Xiudana; T. 171).

The *Araṇemijātaka* was very popular in the northern Tarim basin, and in addition to the Sogdian, versions in Tocharian A and B, Tumshuqese, and Uighur have been discovered. The Sogdian text is unique in that every *poṭhī* folio is illuminated on one side (Sundermann, 2001; Ebert, 2001). A story about King Kāñcanasāra from chapter 5 of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, a cycle of legends collected to expound the ten courses of action, is also found in one *poṭhī* folio (Sundermann, 2006). Compared with the corresponding Uighur version, the Sogdian seems to represent an independent recension based on a now lost Tocharian prototype (Sundermann, 2006).

So far, six manuscripts of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* have been identified, and the text seems to have been especially beloved by Buddhist Sogdians (Sims-Williams, 1981; Yakubovitch & Yoshida, 2005). The *sūtra* does not treat particular aspects of Buddhist doctrines, but rather the narratives, parables, and similes extensively used by the Buddha are aimed at illustrating the intrinsic saving virtues of the Buddhist teaching, and particularly of this book, whoever believes it (Canevascini, 1993, 9). Still, the Sogdian version does not agree closely with any other known recensions and must therefore be a free adaptation, again possibly based on the most popular Chinese version, *Sengqiezha jing* (僧伽吒經; **Saṅghāṭasūtra*; T. 423).

A parable about two brothers is also known in a Sogdian version, but its source has not been identified. It involves two men from the same town: one a rich fisherman and the other a poor farmer (Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a). Another unidentified story about a dispute between the Buddha and heretics is attested by 12 fragments from the Russian collection. King Bimbisāra and Upaka also play a role in the story (Sims-Williams, 1981; Livšic, 1996). In another fragment from the German collection, King Prasenajit poses a question to the Buddha concerning the time when the *cakravartin*-king appears. The king's question and the Buddha's answer are closely paralleled by a passage in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (T. 1558 [XXIX] 64b19–20, 25–27; Yoshida Yutaka, 1986, 519).

One unique fragment is the bilingual text of the *Divyāvadāna* in Sanskrit and Sogdian, both written in Brahmi script (Sims-Williams, 1996, 307).

Major Mahāyāna *Sūtras*

Sogdians were also keen on translating major Mahāyāna *sūtras* popular in China and Central Asia. *Sūtras* belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā literature are the *Vajracchedikā* (*Jingang banruoboluomi jing* [金剛般若波羅蜜經]; T. 236; two mss.: Müller & Lentz, 1934, text 8 [the colophon indicates that the scribe bears an Uighur name, Qutlaγ]; MacKenzie,

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1976;), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpā*
banruoboluomi jing [摩訶般若波羅
two mss.: Yoshida Yutaka, 1986; Kud
mann, 1988), and *Prajñāpāramitā*
ruoboluomiduo xin jing [般若波羅蜜
Reck, forthcoming a). Two unidenti
taries of the Chinese version of the
are found among the Turfan fragment
quotations from the *sūtra* have been
Yoshida Yutaka, 2009b; Reck, 2013).
the *βẓ'yrn'y pr'tny' wyδβ'γ* (Treatise o
[*prajñā*] of *Vajra*), and the other is call
wyδβ'γ (Treatise on *Vajra*).

The Sogdian translation of t
Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra (*Da b*
[大般涅槃經]; T. 374) is represented
four different manuscripts. Thus, the
ously very popular among the Sogdian
Lentz, 1934, texts 10, 10a; Utz, 1976; Sun
2010; Yoshida Yutaka, 1994a; 2013b).
pan jing houfen (大般涅槃經後分; La
Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra; T. 377
(see Yoshida Yutaka, 1995). Two inde
sions of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*We*
jing [維摩詰所說經]; T. 475) have
from Dunhuang (MacKenzie, 1976)
from Turfan (Reck, 2012). Similar
sions of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* hav
fied; one from Dunhuang based on
fo huayan jing (大方廣佛華嚴經; T
Yoshida Yutaka, 2013a) and the oth
based on a similarly titled *Da gangg*
jing (T. 279; see Yoshida Yutaka,
is unique in that out of the advent
tagonist Sudhana, only the places
Sudhana visited are translated, an
parts in between are omitted. T
of the *Viśeṣacintibrahmaparipṛcch*
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site of Shorchuq (present-day Qig
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whether the two are independent r

Among the fragments discov
one finds one *poṭhī* folio of the
(*Foshuo wuliangshou jing* [佛說無
see Yoshida Yutaka, 2010), one sc
the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (*Jinguan*
wang jing [金光明最勝王經]; T.
& Lents, 1934, text 7), and anothe
of the *Guanding qiwanerjian she*
zhou jing (灌頂七萬二千神王護比

ıdermann, 2001; Ebert, 2001). A story
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1976;), *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (*Mohe banruoboluomi jing* [摩訶般若波羅蜜經]; T. 223; two mss.: Yoshida Yutaka, 1986; Kudara & Sundermann, 1988), and *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (*Banruoboluomiduo xin jing* [般若波羅蜜多心經]; T. 251; Reck, forthcoming a). Two unidentified commentaries of the Chinese version of the *Vajracchedikā* are found among the Turfan fragments, in which the quotations from the *sūtra* have been identified (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009b; Reck, 2013). One is called the *ßẓ'yrn'y pr'tny' wyδß'γ* (Treatise on the Wisdom [*prajñā*] of *Vajra*), and the other is called the *ßz'yrn'k wyδß'γ* (Treatise on *Vajra*).

The Sogdian translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* [大般涅槃經]; T. 374) is represented by as many as four different manuscripts. Thus, the *sūtra* was obviously very popular among the Sogdians (see Müller & Lentz, 1934, texts 10, 10a; Utz, 1976; Sundermann, 2008; 2010; Yoshida Yutaka, 1994a; 2013b). The *Da banniepan jing houfen* (大般涅槃經後分; Latter Part of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*; T. 377) is also found (see Yoshida Yutaka, 1995). Two independent recensions of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie suoshuo jing* [維摩詰所説經]; T. 475) have survived; one from Dunhuang (MacKenzie, 1976) and the other from Turfan (Reck, 2012). Similarly, two recensions of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* have been identified; one from Dunhuang based on *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* (大方廣佛華嚴經; T. 278; P 20; see Yoshida Yutaka, 2013a) and the other from Turfan based on a similarly titled *Da gangguang fo huayan jing* (T. 279; see Yoshida Yutaka, 1986). The latter is unique in that out of the adventures of the protagonist Sudhana, only the places and people that Sudhana visited are translated, and all the other parts in between are omitted. Two manuscripts of the *Viśeṣacintibrahmaparipṛcchā* (*Siyi fantian suowen jing* [思益梵天所問經]; T. 586) have also been identified, one unearthed at the archaeological site of Shorchuq (present-day Qigexing; Kudara & Sundermann, 1991) and the other in Turfan (Kudara & Sundermann, 1998), but we still do not know whether the two are independent recensions.

Among the fragments discovered in Turfan, one finds one *poṭhī* folio of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*Foshuo wuliangshou jing* [佛説無量壽經]; T. 360; see Yoshida Yutaka, 2010), one scroll fragment of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (*Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* [金光明最勝王經]; T. 665; see Müller & Lents, 1934, text 7), and another scroll fragment of the *Guanding qiwanerjian shenwang hu biqiu zhou jing* (灌頂七萬二千神王護比丘呪經; *Sūtra* on the Spells of Consecration of 72,000 Godly Kings Guarding Monks; T. 1331; see Ragoza, 1980, text 57; Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a). One of the longest scrolls in Sogdian is that of the *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* (觀佛三昧海經; *Sūtra* on the Ocean-like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha; T. 643), generally referred to as the *Dhyāna* text, a Dunhuang text comprising 404 lines.

Texts Based on Chinese Apocryphal *Sūtras*

As mentioned above, the *'krtyh 'nß'nt ptwry pwstk* (*Sūtra* of the Causes and Effects of Actions) was translated from a Chinese apocryphal *sūtra*, as was the *Da fangguang huayan shi'e pinjing*. Similarly, Sogdian renderings of some other apocrypha are known. It is interesting to note that they are all texts often cited in the contemporary Chan (禪) literature in Chinese: two manuscripts of the *Fawang jing* (法王經; T. 2883), one from Turfan (see Yoshida Yutaka, 1985a) and the other from Dunhuang (Pelliot sogdien 23; see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a). The so-called *Dhūtasūtra* has turned out to be the translation of the *Fo wei xinwang pusa shuo toutuo jing* (佛爲心王菩薩説頭陀經; The *Sūtra* Expounded by the Buddha for Bodhisattva Cittarāja; T. 2886; MacKenzie, 1976, 33–51; see Yoshida Yutaka, 1996). A passage from the *Jiujing dabei jing* (究竟大悲經; The *Sūtra* on the Ultimate Great Mercy; T. 2880) is cited in Pelliot sogdien 9 (Yoshida Yutaka, 1984). Pelliot sogdien 16 expounds *śūnyatā* (emptiness) and seems to be related to Chan Buddhism (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009b, 316–317). This short Sogdian text follows a Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* and the Sogdian rendering of the last mantra: *tadyathā oṃ gate gate parāgate parasaṃgate bodhi svāhā* (Bailey, 1951). Moreover, a colophon is provided in Uighur, and the text seems to be dated to the 10th century.

Employment of Chinese Texts

Although these are not Sogdian Buddhist texts properly speaking, that Buddhist Sogdians read and copied texts in not only Sogdian but also Chinese is known from those Buddhist Chinese texts that are phonetically transcribed in Sogdian script. Three such texts have been published. One is a text in which a passage from *Dasheng qi xin lun* (大乘起信論; Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna;

T. 1666) is cited (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2013a). The transcriptions are accompanied by corresponding Chinese characters. The Chinese pronunciation reflected in the transcriptions suggests that it was produced in the early 8th century CE. The second is the transcription of the *Jingang wuli wen* (金剛五禮文; Five Salutations to the *Vajracchedikā*), a popular Chinese text in 10th-century Dunhuang. The third is a small fragment containing the *Liangchao fu dashi song jingang jing* (梁朝傅大士頌金剛經; T. 2732; *Vajracchedikā* Provided with Verses Composed by Fu Dashi of the Liang Dynasty; Hirose Fumitoshi, 2010). On the reverse side of a Chinese Buddhist text, a Sogdian rendering of the title of the Chinese text is found (see Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a). Another Chinese text bears a colophon written by a Sogdian named Shi Lushan (石禄山), who copied the *sūtra* itself to share the merits with his family (Yoshida Yutaka, 2009a).

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YUTAKA YOSHIDA

Local Literatures: Tangut/Xixia

In 1038, Nangxiao (曩霄) of the Weiming (嵬名; *Nywe*^{2} *mji*^{1} [㒓𗁬]) clan of the Dangxiang (党項) tribe, otherwise known as Li Yuanhao (李元昊; 1003–1048), officially accepted the imperial insignia and proclaimed the establishment of the Tangut Empire. "The Great State of White and High" (*Phiow*^{1} *bjij*^{2} *lhjij*^{2} *tha*^{2} [𘟣𗼃𗴂𗂧]; *Da baigao guo* [大白高國]; or Great Xia/Daxia [大夏]) as the Tanguts themselves called their empire, or the Western Xia (Xixia [西夏]) as it emerges from the Chinese sources, existed until 1227, when Tangut power was overwhelmed by the Mongols during the second Tangut raid of Genghis Khan (1162[?]–1227). At the zenith of its power, the Tangut Empire occupied the areas of the modern Chinese provinces of Ningxia, Gansu, eastern Qinghai, northern Shanxi, northeastern Xinjiang and southwestern Inner Mongolia, as well as the southernmost region of Outer Mongolia. Despite the short time span of the empire, Tangut civilization had a lasting impact on other Central Asian nations. One of the major dimensions through which the Tangut heritage demonstrated its vitality was Buddhism. The continued publication of Buddhist texts in the Tangut language and script after the fall of the Tangut Empire is one testimony to this prolonged influence.

The Discovery and Cataloguing of Tangut Buddhist Texts

The field of Tangut studies remained on the margins of Sinology until Colonel P.K. Kozlov's expedition to Khara-Khoto in 1908–1909 uncovered a vast trove of various texts and fragments of mostly but not exclusively Buddhist nature written in the Tangut script. These findings are now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg. As news of Colonel Kozlov's discoveries spread, others went to Khara-Khoto, such as Sir Aurel Stein, who sent back a rich cache of Tangut materials that is now housed in the British Library.

Other discoveries of Tangut texts were made in 1917 in Lingwu (靈武) county in Ningxia (寧夏); as well as in Dunhuang during the first decades of the 20th century; the findings are currently housed in the National Library of China (Zhongguo guojia tushu guan [中國國家圖書館]), the National Palace Museum, and the Library of Beijing University. Other materials belonging to the Tangut textual heritage are scattered around numerous provincial libraries in China (Du Jianlu, 2007, 23–39; Nie Hongyin, 2014, 37–65). Minor repositories of Tangut texts are to be found in libraries and collections in Japan, Sweden, Germany, the United States, and France. Recent important discoveries were made in the Buddhist caves of Shanzui gou (山嘴溝; see *Shanzui gou Xixia shiku*, 2007) and in the basement of the Square Pagoda (Fangta [方塔]) in Baisi gou (拜寺溝; see *Baisi gou Xixia Fangta*, 2005), both in the present-day Ningxia Autonomous Region.

Findings from Ningxia-Hui, Baisi gou, and Shanzui gou are generally datable to the Xixia period (the time span covered by the colophons of the Khara-Khoto texts is from 1084 to 1225; Kychanov, 1999, 23–27), though some texts probably belong to the early Yuan. Despite the discovery of presumably early Tangut texts in Dunhuang (e.g. the Tangut translation of the *Platform Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch, roughly datable to the 1070s; Solonin, 2008, 64–127) the majority of textual discoveries at locations other than Khara-Khoto, Baisi gou, and Shanzui gou belong to the Yuan period. Another deserted Tangut city, known as Lücheng (綠城), not far from Khara-Khoto, might still reveal some more texts of the Xixia period. The absolute majority of the discovered texts are various Buddhist cómpositions.

During the early 1930s, N.A. Nevskij started the first inventory of the Tangut texts in Saint Petersburg and made initial observations concerning the composite Sino-Tibetan nature of the Tangut collection (Nevskij, 1960). His work was continued later by Z. Gorbacheva and E.I. Kychanov (1963) and by Nishida Tatsuo (1975–1977; 1999). The first catalogue of Tangut Buddhist texts from Saint Petersburg was published in 1999 (Kychanov, 1999). The first catalogues of Tangut Buddhist texts preserved in China were prepared by Zhou Shujia (1932, 323–325) and Luo Fucheng (*Xixia studies* 6, 2007, 373–398). The Chinese-language Khara-Khoto texts held in Saint Petersburg were catalogued by L.N. Men'šikov (1984).

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The total number of Buddhist te
language worldwide is not easy to
Khara-Khoto collection in Saint Pet
to 374 independent titles under 76
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number of texts and fragments w
even exceed ten thousand.

Historical Setting

The Tangut Empire occupied the
of the Yellow River and extende
huang and Liangzhou (涼州; mo
[武威]) in the west. The eastern
Tangut state were the powerful em
Liao (遼; 916–1123) and Jurchen Ji
Before the demise of the Liao, with
uts maintained a close relationshi
largely Buddhist (Fujiwara, 201
171–219), the Tangut Empire borde
Song. Tangut-Chinese relations co
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Beginning in the 1130s, the Tangut
rated the territories around Lake
Amdo and Khams (*Xixia Tongshi*,

The unique historical and geo
of the Tangut Empire in many
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Tangut Buddhist literature. The H
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had been major hubs of Sinitic B
least the 4th century CE. The Tang
Helan Mountains (賀蘭山) was a
dhist center where Chan Buddhis
at least since the 8th century CE;
famous monks such as Baotang
714–774 CE). In the east, Wutais
vided a major source of Buddhis
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permission to make pilgrimages
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of the Tangut state. Tangut revere
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Shi Jinbo, 1988, 118–119). The posi

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The total number of Buddhist texts in the Tangut language worldwide is not easy to determine. The Khara-Khoto collection in Saint Petersburg amounts to 374 independent titles under 768 call numbers as catalogued by E.I. Kychanov (1999, 730–738), which covers around half of the extant texts and fragments. If other titles as well as duplicates and variant versions of texts available from both Khara-Khoto and other repositories are considered, then the total number of texts and fragments would approach or even exceed ten thousand.

Historical Setting

The Tangut Empire occupied the areas in the loop of the Yellow River and extended as far as Dunhuang and Liangzhou (涼州; modern-day Wuwei [武威]) in the west. The eastern neighbors of the Tangut state were the powerful empires of the Kitan Liao (遼; 916–1123) and Jurchen Jin (金; 1123–1234). Before the demise of the Liao, with which the Tanguts maintained a close relationship and which was largely Buddhist (Fujiwara, 2015; Solonin, 2013, 171–219), the Tangut Empire bordered the Northern Song. Tangut-Chinese relations collapsed when the Jin occupation of Shaanxi severed direct communication between the Tangut lands and the Song. Beginning in the 1130s, the Tangut Empire incorporated the territories around Lake Qinghai, known as Amdo and Khams (*Xixia Tongshi*, 2005, 282–288).

The unique historical and geographical settings of the Tangut Empire in many ways determined the unique outlook of Tangut Buddhism and the Tangut Buddhist literature. The Hexi (河西) area in general and Liangzhou and Dunhuang in particular had been major hubs of Sinitic Buddhism since at least the 4th century CE. The Tangut heartland in the Helan Mountains (賀蘭山) was a well-known Buddhist center where Chan Buddhism had flourished at least since the 8th century CE; this area attracted famous monks such as Baotang Wuzhu (保唐無著; 714–774 CE). In the east, Wutaishan (五台山) provided a major source of Buddhist inspiration: Chinese sources mention the numerous requests for permission to make pilgrimages to Wutaishan by Tangut authorities before the official establishment of the Tangut state. Tangut reverence for Wutaishan culminated in the establishment of their own version of the sacred site, in the vicinity of their capital Xingqing (興慶; modern-day Yinchuan [銀川]; see Shi Jinbo, 1988, 118–119). The position of the Tangut lands en route to Wutaishan included the empire into the Buddhist pilgrimage network and made the Tanguts open to a variety of Buddhist influences.

The ethnic composition of the Tangut Empire included Uighurs, Tibetans, Chinese, the Kitan, and elements of the once powerful Tuyuhun (吐谷渾) tribe, and the languages of these people were spoken in the empire. The Tanguts maintained contacts with Khotan and other Central Asian states. Almost every nation living in and around Xixia developed its own script, and the Tanguts themselves were no exception. Despite its visual similarity with the Chinese characters, the Tangut script was designed to render the morphology and syntax of a Tibeto-Burman language very different from Chinese.

To the southwest from Xixia, the 10th to the 12th centuries were a period of rekindling Buddhism in Tibet. This process was at least partially initiated in the Tangut lands shortly before the Tangut Empire was proclaimed ('Gos lo tsā ba, 2001, 57–58). After the demise of the Liao and the Jin conquest of the former Chinese-Tangut borderland, the focus of Tangut imperial politics shifted toward expansion to the west, into the then fertile lands around Lake Qinghai and the areas of eastern Tibet, whose Tibetan population was also Buddhist (Iwasaki, 1993, 17–37). Thus the westward advancement of Tangut in the early 12th century encountered the opposite eastward vector of Tibetan Buddhism, which, as the sources in a variety languages indicate, was emerging as a major form of Buddhism in Central Asia during the 12th–13th centuries (Shen Weirong, 2013a, 43–93).

While both Sinitic and Tibetan mainstreams are easily discernible within the Tangut Buddhist heritage, Buddhism in Xixia developed along its own lines and thus is an independent object of scholarly attention. Systematic study of Tangut Buddhism is only beginning, and therefore many hypotheses that seem highly probable still need verification, and many observations concerning the nature of Tangut Buddhism are now being reevaluated.

Buddhist Translations and Buddhist Policy in Xixia

The texts recovered from former Tangut territory are written in three languages: the most numerous are the texts in Tangut, followed by texts in Chinese, while the least numerous are those in Tibetan. This multilingual textual production reflected the multiethnic composition of the population of the Tangut Empire. Historical circumstances determined the division of the Tangut Buddhist texts into two major groups: those translated from Chinese and those translated from Tibetan originals. The Tangut texts of Sinitic Buddhism generally relied on written source texts, whereas the compositions of Tibetan subject matter (especially various liturgical and ritual writings) were sometimes based on "oral transmissions" by various Tibetan masters. Thus, these texts were originally composed in the Tangut language alone or sometimes in both Tangut and Chinese (Suo Luoning, 2013, 243–247; see below); the exact Tibetan originals of such texts probably will never be found. Texts composed in Xixia by Tangut Buddhists also belong to the realms of Sinitic or Tibetan Buddhism; therefore they are not easily discerned from the translations of hitherto unknown originals.

The present article concentrates on the texts in Tangut. In discussing specific texts, the Tangut version of a text's title is provided, together with its transcription based on the phonetic reconstruction by Hwang cherng Gong (龔煌城); titles of Sanskrit, Chinese, or Tibetan originals are cited together with the numbers from Taishō Tripiṭaka (T), Beijing (P), and Derge (D) editions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon; for well-known texts, the Tangut titles are omitted. Numbers according to E.I. Kychanov (Kych) are provided for all Tangut texts. In cases in which the title of the Chinese or Tibetan original is unknown (or if it is an original Tangut work), the title is translated. The following exposition is based on the textual repertoire available from Khara-Khoto with occasional references to other repositories of the Tangut texts.

Tangut Practices of Translation

The stele inscription *Daxia guo zang sheli jieming* (大夏國葬舍利碣銘; Great Xia Inscription on Burying *Śarīra* [i.e. Buddhist Relics]; dated 1038) speaks of the first Tangut emperor Yuanhao as one who "reveres with folded palms and protects the precious realm of the Vajrayāna, [and] majestically reveres the way of the Buddha." The stele also calls the emperor "the inventor of the *fan* [番; i.e. Tangut] script" (see *Xixia Studies*, 2007, 87; Dunnell, 1995, 39). This record reveals the close relationship between the invention of the Tangut script and the initial propagation of Buddhism in the Tangut Empire. All the available sources are unequivocal in stating that the Tangut emperors were vigorous supporters of Buddhism and promoted large-scale Buddhist activities in their empire, including publication of the Tangut, Chinese, and Tibetan version of various compositions under imperial supervision.

Examples of privately produced texts and of the texts published (or commissioned) by the temples are also numerous in the Tangut collections; manuscript copying of *sūtra*s was a widespread practice among the Tanguts as well (Nishida, 2012a, 371–397).

Generally, the history of the Buddhist translations in the Tangut Empire can be divided into three periods: the initial translation during the 11th century, followed by a period of revision and new translations during the 12th century, and the final years of Xixia, when the Buddhist translations and publications became even more associated with the "state-protection" policy in the wake of the second Mongol offensive, as one can indirectly infer from the preface to the revised edition of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (Golden-Light *Sūtra*) from 1214 (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 48–49, 230–231).

Colophons and prefaces to surviving Tangut publications are the basic sources concerning the translation and distribution of Buddhist texts in the Tangut Empire. Two of the most informative are the Tangut texts of the *Miaofa lianhua jing xu* (妙法蓮華經序; Preface to the *Sūtra* of the Lotus of the Good Law), dated to the period of 1049–1069 (Nishida, 2012b, 191–192; Shi Jinbo, 1988, 234–236), and the preface to the Tangut translation of the *Guoqu zhuangyan jie qian foming jing* (過去莊嚴劫千佛名經; T. 446a–b) published in 1312 (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 316–324), that is, after the demise of the Tangut state. Other important sources include the aforementioned preface to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* from 1214 and another preface to the same text by Yixing Huijue (一行慧覺; ?–1314[?]), an important Tangut monk active during the Yuan. This preface is dated to 1247, that is, also after the fall of Xixia (Shi Jinbo, 306–309). One more important source is the so-called "Preface to the Five *sūtra*s" found in the Tangut edition of the Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra.

All sources agree that the project of translating Buddhist texts into Tangut was initiated by the first Tangut emperor, Yuanhao. The preface to the *Guoqu zhuanyan jie qian foming jing* states that the emperor appointed a group of 32 translators supervised by the state preceptor *Phie*^{1} *Tsjiir*^{1} *dźiej*^{2} ([illegible]; 白法信; *Bai Faxin; the first syllable is a phonetic transcription, whereas the last two are the monastic name *Dharmaśraddha) and by the monk *Sjij*^{2}*bji*^{1} ([illegible]; 智光; *Zhiguang [智光]; *Prajñāprabha). The surname Bai (白) often indicates Uighur ethnicity (Yang Fuxue & Chen Aifeng, 2011, 156–166), thus

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the information from the preface accords with the epigraphical sources, which mention that Uighur monks originally were in charge of translating Chinese texts into Tangut. The translation project was initially carried out in the Gaotai si (高台寺), established in 1047 (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 316–324), and the Chengtian si (承天寺). Apart from the imperial family itself, Buddhism in Xixia was promoted by two major clans, the Mozang (沒藏) and the Liang (梁); these were the clans of empresses dowagers who controlled Tangut politics during the reign of the young emperors Liangzuo (諒祚; 1047–1067) and Bingchang (秉常; r. 1068–1086; see *Xixia Tongshi*, 2005, 220–240).

The preface to the *Guoqu zhuangyan jie qian foming jing* further indicates that during the 53 years following the year 1038, 3579 *juan* (fascicles) of Buddhist texts belonging to both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna were produced (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 322). The texts were later corrected on the basis of the so-called Northern and Southern *sūtras* (probably meaning the Liao and Chinese editions of the Buddhist canon) during the rule of the "City-Protecting Emperor" (*Hu cheng di* [護城帝]; *wejr¹ we¹ dzjwi²* [𘟙𘟚𘟛]) – this title in all probability represents the fifth emperor, Renxiao (仁孝; 1139–1193).

The imperial patronage of Buddhist translations manifests in editorial remarks such as "imperially translated" (*mee² lhej²* [敍𘟜]; i.e. *yuyi* [御譯]), "imperially revised" (*mee² njar¹* [敍𘟝]; i.e. *yujiao* [御校]), or "translated by the imperial order" (*zur² bju¹ lhej²* [𘟞𘟟𘟜]; i.e. *fengzhao yi* [奉詔譯]) found on the printed Buddhist texts in both Tangut and Chinese. Manuscript copies made from the woodblock prints also reproduced these remarks.

Although one might doubt the actual participation of the emperors in the daily translation routine, there is evidence that at least the third Tangut emperor, Bingchang, and his mother, Empress Dowager Liang, symbolically supervised the translation process. The famous Tangut engraving known as Translation of the *Sūtras* (*yijing tu* [譯經圖]), now in the National Library of China (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 307, 311), contains images of them both taking part in a translation session (*yijing chang* [譯經場]) supervised by the monk *Sjij²bji¹* (see above). This evidence is corroborated by the text of the preface to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* from 1247, in which Bingchang and his mother are mentioned as the chief translators of the text.

Judging from the available evidence, two types of translation procedures were employed in the Tangut translation project. As the engraving Translation of the *Sūtras* implies, in translating Chinese scriptures, the Tanguts adopted the Chinese practice of translation sessions, in which a translation was produced through the collective effort of several experts. This is probably one of the reasons that Tangut translations from the Chinese are in most cases anonymous. One such translation session is described in the preface to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*. The text indicates that due to the inadequacy of previous translations, a new "translation session" (*lhej² ·io̧¹* [𘟜𘟠]; i.e. *yichang* [譯場]) was established under the guidance of the State Preceptor, "expert in Tangut and Chinese Dharma," the "head of Tangut translations" (*mji² lhej² ·wə¹* [𘟡𘟜𘟢]; *fanyi zhu* [番譯主]), and others (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 280–283; there is some ambiguity concerning the identity of the figures involved). The translation was completed on the basis of a careful comparison of previous Tangut versions, Chinese versions, and commentaries.

In most cases, however, the colophons to the Tangut publications only mention the names of the translators of the text into Chinese, such as Kumārajīva (343–413 CE) or Xuanzang (玄奘; 602–664 CE); such titles as Master of Chinese *Sūtras* (*Zar¹ tshji² rejr² u² tsjiir¹ dzjiij²* [𘟣𘟤𘟥𘟦𘟧𘟨]; *Han qijing zang fashi* [漢契經法師]) occur in reference to the translators of the Chinese source texts and not the Tangut translators (e.g. Kychanov, 1999, 45).

The penetration of Tibetan Buddhism into Xixia initiated the introduction of a new translation procedure that implied cooperation between a certain master and a translator (or group of translators), as was the normal practice in Tibet. The master "transmitted" (*deej¹* [𘟩]; *chuan* [傳]), "collected" (*śioo¹* [𘟪]; *ji* [集]), or sometimes "composed" a text that was then translated into Tangut by a specific disciple or a group of disciples. Tibetan and Indian masters were often identified as "experts in the five Indian wisdoms" (*lji mə¹ ŋwe¹ bju¹* [𘟫𘟬𘟭𘟮]; **Xitian wuming* [西天五明]) or experts in the "Tibetan Tripiṭaka" (*lji¹ phə² gu² ljij² so̧¹ u²* [𘟫𘟯𘟰𘟱𘟲𘟦]; *Xifan Zhongguo Sanzang* [西番中國三藏]) or "translators" (*lu² tśja¹ wa¹* [𘟳𘟴𘟵]; *lo tsā ba*). Sometimes the Indians and Tibetans bear Tangut official titles of state preceptors or imperial preceptors, whereas their Tangut collaborators emerge under a variety of honorary and official titles. In many cases different titles in fact indicate various stages of the career of a single person (Dunnell, 2009, 41–78).

The Tangut practice of translating Buddhist scriptures included the official certification of the correctness of a translation; when available, the texts were checked against their Sanskrit originals.

The certification was carried out by the members of the Tangut Buddhist administration (the so-called Office of Virtue, the *Gongde si* [功德司]; see Shi Jinbo, 2014, 139–157): such titles as Head of Tangut Translations and Verifier of the Meaning of Translated *Sūtras* (*Lwər^2 rejr^2 lhej^2 wo^2 ljạ^1* [[illegible]]; *yijing zhengyi* [譯經證義]; Kychanov, 1999, 688) are often accompanied by an indication that the holders of these titles were officials in the *Gongde si*. Sometimes the translation procedure implied double translation, from Sanskrit to Tibetan and then into Tangut, or a translation based on the Tibetan version and the Sanskrit original. The most famous Indian in the Tangut Empire, Jayānanda (*fl.* mid-12th cent.), verified his translations before authorizing them. The Tangut translation of the *Śjɨj^2 buu^2 zjɨr^1 tjij^1 rewr^2 njɨ^2 tśhja^2 ioow^1 ljị^1 śjoo^1 ljaa^1* [[illegible]]; *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcaya gāthā*; *'Phags pa shes rab pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa*; Kych 371–379; D 13/P 735; see Duan Yuquan, 2014) mentions that it was personally checked by Jayānanda according to the Sanskrit text (Kychanov, 1999, 483). Another version of the same text indicates that it was retranslated on the basis of an "Indian commentary."

As mentioned above, some of the texts imported from Tibet were also translated into Chinese (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 56–57). One well-known example is *Tha^1 tshjij^1 śjɨj^2 tha^2 ·u^2 sọ^1 bju^1 tjị^1 lwər^2 rejr^2* ([illegible]; i.e. the translation of *Triśaraṇagamana*; *Gsum la skyabs su 'gro ba*; D 225/P 891), which was also translated into Chinese (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 55–56). This practice applied not only to the *sūtras* but also to the liturgical and ritual compositions, such as an esoteric scripture translated from Tibetan as *Upadeśa of All Tathāgatas in the Hundred Syllables* (*Mjor^1 ljij^2 ŋowr^2 ŋowr^2 jij^1 ·jir^2 dji^2 tshji^1 ŋwuu^1* [[illegible]]; **Rulai yiqie zhi bai zi yaoyu* [如來一切之百字要門]; Kych 292). According to the colophon, this text was transmitted by the imperial preceptor *Dwewr^2 swew^1* ([illegible]; *Jueming* [覺明]) – probably identical with *Chos kyi seng ge (see below) – and others, then translated from Sanskrit (into Tibetan?), and finally translated into both Tangut and Chinese. Such examples can be multiplied.

The corpus available in the Tangut language includes all the basic categories of Buddhist literature. However, evidence suggests that the first to have been translated into Tangut were fundamental Mahāyāna *sūtras* and Sinitic repentance rituals (Suo Luoning, 2014, 22–39). Due to chronological priority, basic Mahāyāna terminology found in the Tangut translations of Buddhist texts is based on the Sinitic Buddhist vocabulary. Some Tangut terms are phonetic reproductions of the Chinese transcriptions of Indic words, whereas others are translations of Sinitic terms into Tangut. Translations from Tibetan in many cases use this terminology as well.

Tangut Legal Regulations and Formation of the Buddhist Corpus

Tangut legislation contains several stipulations that have determined the composition of surviving Tangut Buddhist literature. The Tangut *Revised and Newly Promulgated Law Code of Tiansheng Reign Period* (1150) preserves important information on the textual and doctrinal repertoire of Tangut Buddhism. According to this code, the level of monastic competence was assessed by the office of the prime minister (*zhongshu* [中書]; Arakawa, 2014, 62–64).

The *Tiansheng Code* discriminated between Tangut-Tibetan and Chinese-speaking monastic communities. The *Code* stipulates that candidates for the leading positions in monastic communities (Chinese or Tangut-Tibetan-speaking) were required to be able to explain the doctrines of "Prajñāpāramitā (*pa2 żja2* [漬儀], *bore* [般若]), "Vijñānavāda (*lew2 sjij2* [燠懦], *weishi* [唯識]), "Mādhyamaka (*gu2 tśjaɪ* 輜噥, *zhongdao* [中道]) and the "Hundred Dharmas" (*·jir2 tsjüri* [illegible], *baifa* [百法] i.e., Abhidharma). Other teachings included the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*wjaɪ ljuu2* 塢衡, *Huayan* [華嚴]) and *The Awakening of Faith* (*tha2 ·u2 dźjij śjwoɪ ljɨɪ* 棒羌由囝彤, **qi xin* 起信). This doctrinal repertoire fully emerges among the available Tangut texts translated from either Chinese or Tibetan (see below). This division resembles the structure of the Buddhist canon and applies to both the Chinese and Tibetan Collections of Buddhist texts. Of special interest here is the category of the "Awakening of Faith," which probably was introduced by the Tanguts for the texts dealing with generation of the *bodhicitta*: texts of this category are widely represented in the Tangut collections worldwide.

The list of texts mandatory for members of both the Tangut-Tibetan and the Chinese Buddhist communities numbered 11 texts for each type of community; seven of these texts overlap. The list of texts includes the [*Sūtra*] *of the Humane King for State Protection* (*dźjwu^{1}mjɨ^1·wejr^2 lhjij^2* [[illegible]]; *Renwang Huguo* [仁王護國]; Kych 65–67; T. 246), *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*mã^1 śju^1 źjɨr^1 ɣiej^1* [[illegible]]; *Wenshu Zhenshi ming* [文殊真實名]; Lin, 2006), "Chapter on the Vows of Samantabhadra" (*nji^2 mee^2 dźjɨ tjị^1 tjij^1* [[illegible]]; *Puxian Xingyuan pin* [普賢

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ts mandatory for members of both an and the Chinese Buddhist com- red 11 texts for each type of com- f these texts overlap. The list of e [*Sūtra*] *of the Humane King for* (*dźjwu^{1}mji^{1}·wejr^{2} lhjịj^{2}* [臻膌㶆隫]; [仁王護國]; Kych 65–67; T. 246), *ṃgīti* (*mã^{1} śju^{1} źjɨr^{1} ɣiej^{1}* [䋝箫緰蚤 *ashi ming* [文殊真實名]; Lin, 2006), /ows of Samantabhadra" (*njɨ^{2} mee^{2}* 䋝䐮㩮]; *Puxian Xingyuan pin* [普賢

行願品], available in a variety of copies), "Scripture on the 35 Buddhas" (*sọ^{1} ɣạ^{2} ŋwə^{1} tha^{1}* [𗏁𗍫𗍭𗀔], a title with which several texts may be identified), and a text referred to as *Śjɨj^{2} tha^{1} mja^{1}* [𗼃𗀔𗅉]; *Sheng fo mu* [聖佛母]). The latter title probably indicates the Tangut translation of *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* based on the Chinese text of *Foshuo Fomu chusheng san fazang bore boluomiduo jing* (佛說佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經; T. 228; Kych 22–31) translated by Shihu (施護) during the Northern Song and its Tibetan counterpart (P 734/D 13). Other mandatory texts include the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* (*Stong chen po rab tu 'joms pa*; D 558 = 1059/P 177; Kych 214–230), as well several other scriptures generally associated with the ideology of "state-protection."

Other texts include the "Gāthā of State Protection" (*lhjịj^{2} ·wejr^{2} tśjụ^{1} gjuu^{2} rjur^{1} ljaa^{1}* [隫㶆𗒘𗗚𗈪𗂸]; currently unidentified), "Chapter on the Universal Gate of Avalokiteśvara" (*rjur^{1} ɣiẹ^{2} bioo njɨ^{2} lụ^{1} tjịj^{1}* [𗈪𗏹𗇋𗘅𗖵𗒘]; *Guanshiyin Pumen pin* [觀世音普門品]; available in a variety of copies), the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* with verses (Kych 634–635), and *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* (*tha^{1} tśjɨw^{2} pjụ^{1} zji^{2} jịj^{1}* [𗀔𘃡𘓐𗦇𗥂]; *Foding Zunsheng tuoluoni* [佛頂尊勝陀羅尼]; Kych 335–340; T. 967, 968, etc.) as well as not easily identifiable texts such as the "Laudation for Śākyamuni" and the "Great Ritual" (*tha^{2} tshwew^{1} kjụ^{1}* [𗉣𗦳𗣼]; *da gongyang* [大供養]; Arakawa, 2014, 4–55, 62–65). The above doctrinal and textual repertoire emerges almost completely in the Khara-Khoto findings. Since the title of the *Tiansheng code* states that it was "revised and newly promulgated," one may infer that the list of mandatory texts existed at least throughout the 12th century and the Buddhist teachings mentioned therein circulated in the Tangut state at the same time.

Another major factor that determined the character of extant Tangut Buddhist literature was the Buddhist faith of the Tangut imperial family. Colophons indicate that during major national Dharma assemblies (the biggest one probably took place in 1189 for the 50th anniversary of Renxiao's enthronement), such texts as the *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuai tian jing* (觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經; T. 452), the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, the "Vows of Samantabhadra," and the *Sūtra of the Humane Kings* were published in Tangut, Chinese, and Tibetan in thousands of copies for distribution among the participants in order to generate merit for the deceased members of the imperial clan and secure the well-being of the empire (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 40–41; Suo Luoning, 2014, 22–39). These texts, found in multiple copies, constitute a substantial part of the Khara-Khoto collection (esp. in Chinese).

Extant Tangut texts belong to a variety of categories of Buddhist literature including *sūtras*; Vinaya; and various types of commentaries, exegetical treatises, liturgical manuals, and contemplation guides. Unlike the *sūtras* that circulated both as printed texts and as manuscripts, the majority of commentarial and liturgical literature is in manuscript form; there are only a few examples of printed publications of these genres.

In what follows I specify a category of fundamental scriptures, which includes the translations of the basic *sūtras*; Vinaya texts are also included into this group. A second category, of nonscriptural sources, covers major exegetical treatises and commentaries. A third category includes texts associated with various "schools" or "traditions" of Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism. Finally I briefly introduce literature on rituals, practices of contemplation, and yoga. This division is purely expediential. The survey concludes with a short discussion of the Tangut Buddhist canon.

Fundamental Scriptures

Scriptures Translated from Chinese

Chinese sources indicate six occasions on which a Great Collection of *Sūtras* (i.e. *Dazang jing* [大藏經], presumably a version of the *Kaibao zang* [開寶藏], published from 971 to 983 CE) was presented by the Song court in response to Tangut requests during the period of 1031–1073 (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 63, 335–336). Therefore it seems highly probable that in their translations of Buddhist texts from Chinese, the Tanguts were motivated by a notion of a *Dazang jing*. This is also suggested in their use of a specific term, *mji^{2} tha^{2} ·ụ^{2} lwər^{2} rejr^{2}* (𗼻𗉣𗖵𗦫𗔍; i.e. *Fan Dazang qijing* [番大藏契經]; The Great Collection of *Sūtras* in the Tangut [Mi] Language). This term is attested on the imperial seal attached to the text of the Tangut translation of *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing* [長阿含經]; T. 1; Kychanov, 1999; 45; Kych 1; see also below).

Taken at face value, the Tangut data presented above means that before the end of the 11th century, important Mahāyāna scriptures were already translated into Tangut from Chinese. This observation is in line with the internal evidence derived from the Tangut publications: most of the texts attributed to Bingchang's and part of those attributed to

Qianshun's reigns bear the mark "translated" (*lhej* [[illegible]]; *yi* [譯]), whereas *sūtras* from later reigns, especially Renxiao's, are in many cases labeled "edited" or "revised" (*njar*^{2} [[illegible]]; *jiao* [校]; Kychanov, 1999, 15–18).

The repertoire of the texts translated during Bingchang's era includes basic Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (*Da Boruo boluomiduo jing* [大般若波羅蜜多經]; Xuanzang's version), *Lotus Sūtra* (妙法蓮華經; generally based on Kumārajīva's version, the text apparently was edited several times in Tangut imperial history; Kych 8–19; Nishida, 2012c, 307–333, Nishida, 2005); other versions of the text are also available; *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie suo shuo jing* [維摩詰所說經]; Kumārajīva's version; Kych 159–164), *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Da fangguang fohuayan jing* [大方廣佛華嚴經] in 80 chapters; Śikṣānanda's version; Kych 84–90), Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* (*Da banniepan jing* [大般涅槃經]; Dharmakṣema's version; Kych 110–117), *Mahāratnakūṭasūtra* (*Dao Baoji jing* [大寶積經]; Kych 97–102), and the *Diamond Sūtra*. This list covers only texts with relatively clearly established dates; in reality, the repertoire of the *sūtras* translated during the 11th century might have been much broader.

Although Tangut Buddhism can be generally identified as Mahāyāna, the idea of the Tripiṭaka motivated the Tanguts to translate all categories of scriptures. Versions of Hīnayāna texts translated from Chinese and probably from Tibetan include the *Dīrghāgama*, *Fo Benxing ji jing* (佛本行集經; T. 190; Kych 6), and *Tha*^{1} *tshjij*^{1} *wee*^{1} *lja*^{1} *lwər*^{2} *rejr*^{2} ([illegible]; **Fo shuo shenglai jing* [佛說生來經]; Kych 343–345; probably a translation of the Tibetan version of *Jātakanidāna*, *Skyes pa rabs kyi gleng gzhi'i bstan pa*; D 32/ P 748).

The Tanguts also translated esoteric scriptures imported from the Northern Song. One such example is the *Tha*^{1} *tshjij*^{1} *śjij* ^{2} *gjij*^{1} *mja*^{1} *thow*^{1} *lo*^{1} *dzji*^{1} *lwər*^{2} *rejr*^{2} ([illegible]), which corresponds to the *Foshuo shengyaomu tuoluoni jing* (佛說聖曜母陀羅尼經; T. 1303; Kych 259–267, originally translated into Chinese by Fatian [法天]). The texts devoted to the cult of celestial bodies formed a specific group of cultic compositions, which apparently was very influential in the Tangut Buddhism.

The repertoire of Vinaya texts available in Tangut seems to be limited to the translation of the Chinese versions of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (e.g. Mūlasarvāstivāda *Ekaśatakarman*, *Genben shuo yiqie you bu bai yi jiemo* [根本說一切有部百一羯磨]; T. 1453; Kych 289) and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda (Nidāna)mātrikā*, *Genben shuo yiqie you bu* (*nidana mudejia* (根本說一切有部目得迦; T. 1452; Kych 288), produced originally by Yijing (義凈; 635–713 CE) during the Tang. This does not exhaust the Vinaya corpus known to the Tanguts: fragments of a variety of compositions on the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya circulated in Chinese.

Scriptures Translated from Tibetan

Beginning in the 1130s, the connections between Xixia and Tibet intensified just as the Tangut emperors became well-known as the patrons of Buddhism. The Tangut Empire turned into a major destination for Tibetan monks. The most prominent figures who made their way to Xixia include the Indian *paṇḍita* Jayānanda (*Dzja*^{1} *ja*^{1} *a nja*^{2} *djaa*^{1} [[illegible]; [illegible] 阿難捺]; mid-12th cent.; known as the first Tangut Imperial Preceptor; van der Kuijp, 1993, 188–197) and Sumatikīrti (*Sju*^{1} *mja*^{1} *tji*^{1} *kji*^{2} *rji*^{2} *tji*^{1} [[illegible]]; Wei Wen, 2013, 301–331).

Contacts with Tibet led to a revision of the previously existing versions of Buddhist scriptures. *Sūtras* "revised" during Renxiao's reign include the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Mahāmayūrīvidyārājadhāraṇī*, and *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, among other important scriptures originally translated during Bingchang's time. In some cases, the new translations and revisions from Renxiao's period betray growing dependence on the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions of the scriptures (Sun Bojun, 2010a, 8–15, 26–27). The revisions included changes in the usage of transcription rules for the *dhāraṇīs* and different usage of the personal pronouns, as has been demonstrated by Nishida Tatsuo for the Tangut translations of the *Lotus Sūtra* (e.g. Nishida, 2012b, 192–194).

The list of *sūtras* translated from Tibetan includes such works as *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* (*Stong chen po rab tu 'joms pa*; D 558 [= 1059]/P 177; Kych 214–230), *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī* (*'Phags pa rig sngags kyi rgyal mo so sor 'brang ba chen mo*; P 179/ D 561; Kych 239–252), *Vajracchedikā* (*'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa*; P 739/D 16; Kych 380), and *Triśaraṇamgamana* (Kych 382–383; Nishida, 2012a, 390–393).

In some cases, we have editions which combine translations made from Tibetan and Chinese originals under one cover. One such example is the *Tha*^{1} *tshjij*^{1} *·a mji*^{1} *thow*^{1} *lwər*^{2} *rejr*^{2} ([illegible]; *Fo shuo Amituo jing* [佛說阿彌陀經]; T. 366). Among six available copies of the Tangut translation, one bears the mark of "imperial translation" of Bingchang and Empress Dowager Liang, the colophon to another

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[illegible]]; *Dehui 德慧; Kychanov, 1999; 354-

Translations of *tantras* are underre
the Tangut collections. Although some
mention the "four types of *tantra*" (
twẹ^{1} [[illegible]]) as well as the two
of *tantras*, namely *pha rgyud* (*so*^{2} *m*
[illegible]]) and *ma rgyud* (*dẹ*^{1} *mər*^{2} *twẹ*^{2} [
their transmission lineages (Soloni
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located so far. Titles and quotations
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道密集; *Dasheng*, 1983, 367–428).

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unique version of the Tangut trans
Saṃpuṭatantra (*Gjuu*^{2} *rjur*^{1} *zji*^{2} *nji*
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kyi gleng gzhi dang gsang chen dpal k
zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po; D 1
available from the finds in Baisi gou (
2010, 407–417). The cycle of *Cakrasa*
Tangut is represented by a variety of
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(see below).

Nonscriptural Sources

The Tangut Buddhist heritage inclu
of texts that belong to various tradi
and Tibetan Buddhism. A brief introd
texts might allow a better insight int
eted nature of Tangut Buddhism. Th
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([illegible]; *shu* [疏]; "expanded comment
zhu [註]; "commentary"), *phie*^{1} ([illegible];
nation"), *la*^{1} ([illegible]; *ji* [記]; "notes"),
which represents the Chinese genre
"schematic commentary"; see be
Nishida, 1999, xi–xii).

ych 289) and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* *ā, Genben shuo yiqie you bu* (*nidana*) 一切有部目得迦; T. 1452; Kych 288), ally by Yijing (義淨; 635–713 CE) dur- is does not exhaust the Vinaya cor- e Tanguts: fragments of a variety of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya circu- .

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text mentions the "imperial translation" by Renxiao, the colophon to the third version informs that it was printed and edited in. One publication contains not only a copy of the *sūtra* text, but also a copy of a Pure Land *sādhanā*, prepared with the cooperation of the famous Kashmiri Imperial Preceptor Jayānanda and a prolific Tangut translator Dehui (*Tśhja*^{2} *źjir*^{1} [[illegible]]; *Dehui 德慧; Kychanov, 1999; 354–356).

Translations of *tantra*s are underrepresented in the Tangut collections. Although some Tangut texts mention the "four types of *tantra*" (*ljɨɨr*^{1} *mə*^{2} *mər*^{2} *twẹ*^{1} [[illegible]]) as well as the two basic classes of *tantras*, namely *pha rgyud* (*so*^{2} *mər*^{2} *twẹ*^{1} [[illegible]]) and *ma rgyud* (*dẹ*^{1} *mər*^{2} *twẹ*^{2} [[illegible]]), and their transmission lineages (Solonin, forthcoming; Nishida, 1999, xl), none of these texts has been located so far. Titles and quotations from various *tantras* also emerge in the Tangut-period compositions in Chinese included in the Yuan-Ming collection of Buddhist texts *Dasheng yaodao miji* (大乘要道密集; *Dasheng*, 1983, 367–428).

Apart from quotations in various texts, a unique version of the Tangut translation of the *Saṃpuṭatantra* (*Gjuu*^{2} *rjur*^{1} *zji*^{2} *njɨ*^{2} *ŋwu*^{2} *phjoo*^{2} *mər*^{2} *twẹ*^{1} [[illegible]]; **Rgyud thams cad kyi gleng gzhi dang gsang chen dpal kun tu kha sbyor zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*; D 1199/P 2329) is available from the finds in Baisi gou (Shen Weirong, 2010, 407–417). The cycle of *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* in Tangut is represented by a variety of ritual manuals, whereas the root *tantra* has not yet been identified. The same is true for the texts of the Hevajra cycle (see below).

Nonscriptural Sources

The Tangut Buddhist heritage includes a selection of texts that belong to various traditions of Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism. A brief introduction to these texts might allow a better insight into the multifaceted nature of Tangut Buddhism. The genres identified within the corpus of Sinitic texts include *gjɨɨ*^{2} ([illegible]; *shu* [疏]; "expanded commentary"), *bjij*^{2} ([illegible]; *zhu* [註]; "commentary"), *phie*^{1} ([illegible]; *jie* [解]; "explanation"), *la*^{1} ([illegible]; *ji* [記]; "notes"), and *ka*^{2} ([illegible]), which represents the Chinese genre of *kepan* (科判; "schematic commentary"; see below; see also Nishida, 1999, xi–xii).

Fundamental Commentaries Translated from Chinese

Tanguts translated fundamental exegetical compositions from both Chinese and Tibetan; however these translations are not numerous. One major text pertaining to the realm of Chinese Prajñāpāramitā commentarial literature in Tangut translation is the *Da Zhidu lun* (大智度論; *tha*^{1} *sjij*^{1} *gju*^{1} *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} [[illegible]]; **Da Zhidu benmu* [大智度本母]; here and in the examples below, the Tangut translators used *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} ["[illegible]"; *benmu* (本母)] instead of *ljị*^{1} [[illegible]], which translates Chinese *lun* [論]; T. 1509; Kych 290). This text was popular in Xixia: its fragments have been retrieved from a variety of locations throughout the former Xixia territory (Peng Xianqian, 2007, 110–114).

The majority of exegetical treatises translated from Chinese pertain to the Vijnanavada and Abhidharma subject matter. Currently identified texts include the translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (original title *Yujia shi di lun* [瑜伽師地論]; T. 1579; *·juu*^{1} *khja*^{2} *dzjiij*^{2} *ljɨ* *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} [[illegible]]; Kych 293), the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*tha*^{2} *·u*^{2} *a phji*^{1} *tha*^{1} *mo*^{2} *śioo*^{1} *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} [[illegible]]; *Dasheng Apidamo jilun* [大乘阿毘達磨集論]; T. 1605; Kych 295), and *A phji*^{1} *tha*^{1} *mo*^{2} *tśhja*^{2} *·wo*^{2} *rjir*^{2} *bju*^{1} *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} ([illegible]; i.e. Xuanzang's translation of *Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, *Abidamo shun zhengli lun* [阿毘達磨順正理論]; T. 1572; Kych 291) by Saṅghabhadra (Zhongxian [眾賢]). One more text in this category is *The Clarification of the Sacred Teaching* (*Śjij*^{2} *tsjiir*^{1} *dźju*^{1} *wejr*^{1} *mər*^{2} *mja*^{1} [[illegible]]; i.e. the translation of Asaṅga's *Xianyang shengjiao lun* [顯揚聖教論]; T. 1602; Kych 294). The above list is indicative of a general inclination toward texts translated by Xuanzang (*Na*^{1} *tha*^{1} [[illegible]]; "The Great Profound").

The aforementioned texts remain undated. The date on the manuscript of the *Yogācārabhūmi* indicates that it was copied during 1215–1224, but no indications on the date of the original translation are available. Importantly, many of these texts survive as manuscripts written in highly cursive script; sometimes the texts contain interlinear notes and comments, probably by the reader. The overall impression is that the texts in this category were not intended for wide distribution. The circulation of these texts was probably limited to the monastic community in Khara-Khoto.

Fundamental Commentaries Translated from Tibetan

Scriptures devoted to Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamaka (*Dbu ma*) form an important group within the Tangut textual heritage; however the provenance of only several texts has been properly established so far. Some external evidence allows suggesting Tangut familiarity with the six basic treatises of Nāgārjuna; but no identified versions of these texts are available so far. Currently it appears that the Tangut understanding of the "Middle Way" was determined by the Tibetan Bka' gdams curriculum (see below; Solonin, forthcoming).

Apart from that, one important work of Prajñāpāramitā subject matter widespread in Xixia was the translation of Haribhadra's commentary (*vṛtti*) on Maitreyanātha's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*Śjɨj*^{2} *buu*^{2} *zjɨr*^{1} *tjɨj*^{1} *rewr*^{2} *njɨ*^{2} *tshji*^{1} *ŋwuu*^{1} *dzjiij*^{2} *ɣiew*^{1} *mjor*^{1} *·ju*^{2} *wo*^{2} *ljuu*^{2} *tshjij*^{2} *ljị*^{1} *dźju*^{1} *ljaa*^{1} [[illegible]]; *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa*; D 3786/P 5191; Kych 393–399). The Tangut translation is based on the revised Tibetan version by Rngog lotsā ba Blo ldan shes rab and Go mi 'chi med, which was compared with the Sanskrit text and translated for Renxiao under the supervision of the state preceptor and finally personally revised by the emperor. The text circulated as both manuscript and woodblock print.

Other popular texts such as the aforementioned *Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasañcayagāthā* (12 copies) as well a few other compositions (e.g. Kych 654–658) were produced by Jayānanda's circle around 1149; their popularity was secured by the high esteem of the translator. A Tangut version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Po*^{2} *tjɨj*^{2} *kjir*^{1} *sjij*^{1} *jij*^{1} *dźjɨ* *kha*^{1} *·o*^{2} *śjij*^{1} [[illegible]]; Kych 400–402; Kych 402 seems to be an "official translation" of the text; D 3871/P 5272) together with a currently unidentified commentary called *Notes to the Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Po*^{2} *tjɨj*^{2} *kjir*^{1} *sjij*^{1} *jij*^{1} *dźjɨ* *kha*^{1} *·o*^{2} *śjij*^{1}*la*^{1} [[illegible]]; Kych 403–404) and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*ɣiew*^{1} *lew*^{2} *zji*^{2} *sjoo*^{1} *jij*^{1} *ljaa*^{1} *ljị*^{1} [[illegible]]; Kych 439) by Śāntideva (*fl.* 7–8 cents.; *Śja*^{1} *tja*^{1} *thew*^{1} *wa*^{1} [[illegible]]) are indicative of the Tangut attempts to create an integrated systematic Buddhist worldview. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* appears to have been a widely studied text in the Tangut Empire: it circulated in both printed and manuscript formats and at least in two translations; whereas the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is currently extant only as a fragmented manuscript (Nishida, 2012a, 393–396).

Currently no translations from Tibetan Vinaya or Abhidharma have been identified. This is likely because the prestige of Xuanzang's and Yijing's translations was well established by the time of the considerable inflow of Tibetan texts into Xixia. Some Vijñānavāda texts might still turn out to have been translated from Tibetan or composed in Xixia on the basis of Tibetan expositions of the doctrine, though at present the provenance of these texts has not yet been properly established.

Judging from the above, in translating both fundamental scriptures from Chinese or from Tibetan, the Tangut Buddhists chose not the fundamental texts such as *Mūlamadhyamikakārikā* or the root *tantras* but instead the detailed commentaries and exegetical (supporting) treatises. At the same time, some of the originals of important Mahāyāna *śāstras* were available in Chinese or Tibetan versions. The nature of the Tangut appropriation of Buddhism should be the subject of future studies.

Texts of Buddhist Schools in the Tangut Translations

In general, both Sinitic and Tibetan parts of the Tangut Buddhist corpus are dominated by the genres related to the realm of Buddhist practice rather than doctrine: out of 768 entries catalogued by E.I. Kychanov, about 170 titles belong to various doctrinal compositions (*sūtras*, *śāstras*, fundamental commentaries, etc.), whereas the rest of the collection consists of different types of *dhāraṇi* texts and ritual and meditation guides. As surviving colophons indicate, the majority of the texts that explicate the teachings of the so-called schools (*zong* [宗]) of Sinitic Buddhism as well as Tangut local compositions of this type came into wide circulation probably starting from around 1168–1189. A similar time frame applies to the datable texts translated from Tibetan.

Texts of Sinitic Buddhist Schools (*zong*)

The earliest attempt to introduce a systematic understanding of Buddhism based on the Sinitic model is again dated to Bingchang's period: the encyclopedia *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相; *lwər*^{2} *dzjij*^{1} *do*^{2} *jij*^{1} [[illegible]]; T. 2121; *Xixia Studies*, 2007, 390–391; originally commissioned by Liang Wudi (梁武帝; 464–549 CE), was translated into Tangut and published under the patronage of Bingchang and his royal mother.

The subject matter of the Sinitic text
Xixia that can be related to the "school
Buddhism is quite uniform and gravi
the teaching provisionally identified
Chan (華嚴禪) or, in a broader sense, a
sion of Huayan teaching developed
Chengguan (清涼澄觀; 737–838 CE; *gji*^{1}
and Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密; 740–
xjow^2 [[illegible]]) during the late 8th-mid-
This version of Huayan enjoyed a cer
ity in the Northern Song and was wide
Liao (Solonin, 2013, 171–219).

The Huayan tradition is represen
ments of the Tangut translation of
Notes to the Expanded Commentary to
vataṃsakasūtra (*Tha*^{2} *tśhja*^{2} *wa*^{2} *th*
lwər^2 *rejr*^{1} *gjɨɨj*^{1} *bju*^{1} *wo*^{2} *śja*^{2} *bjij*^{1} [
[illegible]]; a translation of a vers
Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu ya
佛華嚴經隨疏演義記]; Kych 491). The
identifying other compositions based
guan's Commentary still survives.

The repertoire of Zongmi's texts in
lations is much broader and include
Zhu shuo Chan yuan zhuquan jidu xu
詮集都序; T. 2015; Kych 321–323, 646,
Nie Hongyin, 2001, 3–22; 2011, 35–57) i
copies, accompanied by a variety of c
not available in Chinese (they were pr
Tangut compilations). Another impo
Zongmi is the *·Io̱*^{1} *dwewr*^{2} *gjɨɨj*^{2} *jij*^{1} *zjɨɨr*
phju^1 *khwə*^{1} ([illegible]
shu zhi luebu diyi shangban [圓覺
一上半]; i.e. *Yuanjue jing lueshu chao*
鈔]; T. 248), which was discovered i
(see *Shanzui gou*, vol. I, 2007, 56–62;
157–184). Importantly, most of these
as woodblock prints, which attests to
culation.

The text in the greatest quantity
portion of the Tangut Buddhist cor
Five Questions and Answers on Budd
by the State Preceptor Zhong while H
in the Guangzhai Monastery (*Thow*
dzjiij^2 *Bji*^{1} *pju*^{2} *'jim*^{1} *mjii*^{1} *u*^{2} *dzjiij*^{1} *tśhjɨ*^{1}
tha^2 *wo*^{2} *dja*^{1} *·jɨr*^{1} *njɨɨ*^{1} *ɣạ*^{2} *ŋwe*^{1} *·jɨr*^{1} *hụ*
[illegible]
Zhong Guoshi zhu Guangzhai si zho
ershiwu wenda [唐忠國師住光宅寺
理二十五問答]; Kych 719–734; anot
ies were located recently), the Tang
of an otherwise unknown "recorded

anslations from Tibetan Vinaya ve been identified. This is likely ige of Xuanzang's and Yijing's vell established by the time of flow of Tibetan texts into Xixia. texts might still turn out to have m Tibetan or composed in Xixia etan expositions of the doctrine, he provenance of these texts has rly established.

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ddhist Schools (*zong*)

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The subject matter of the Sinitic textual corpus in Xixia that can be related to the "schools" of Chinese Buddhism is quite uniform and gravitates toward the teaching provisionally identified as Huayan Chan (華嚴禪) or, in a broader sense, a specific version of Huayan teaching developed by Qingliang Chengguan (清涼澄觀; 737–838 CE; *gji^1 bioo^1* [illegible]) and Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密; 740–841 CE; *kjwi^1 ɣjow^2* [illegible]) during the late 8th-mid-9th centuries. This version of Huayan enjoyed a certain popularity in the Northern Song and was widespread in the Liao (Solonin, 2013, 171–219).

The Huayan tradition is represented by fragments of the Tangut translation of Chengguan's *Notes to the Expanded Commentary to the Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (*Tha^2 tśhja^2 wa^2 tha^2 wja^2 ljuu^1 twər^2 rejr^1 gjɨɨj^1 bju^1 wo^2 śja^2 bjij^1* [illegible]; a translation of a version of T. 1736; *Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yan yi ji* [大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義記]; Kych 491). The possibility of identifying other compositions based on the Chengguan's Commentary still survives.

The repertoire of Zongmi's texts in Tangut translations is much broader and includes his famous *Zhu shuo Chan yuan zhuquan jidu xu* (諸說禪源諸詮集都序; T. 2015; Kych 321–323, 646, 625, 626, 749; Nie Hongyin, 2001, 3–22; 2011, 35–57) in a number of copies, accompanied by a variety of commentaries not available in Chinese (they were probably native Tangut compilations). Another important text by Zongmi is the *·Iọ^1 dwewr^2 gjɨɨj^2 jij^1 zjɨɨr^1 ljɨ^1 lew^1 tsew^2 phju^1 khwə^1* ([illegible]; *Yuanjue jing shu zhi luebu diyi shangban* [圓覺經疏之略補第一上半]; i.e. *Yuanjue jing lueshu chao* [圓覺經略疏鈔]; T. 248), which was discovered in Shanzui gou (see *Shanzui gou*, vol. I, 2007, 56–62; Solonin, 2014, 157–184). Importantly, most of these texts survived as woodblock prints, which attests to their wide circulation.

The text in the greatest quantity in the Sinitic portion of the Tangut Buddhist corpus is *Twenty-Five Questions and Answers on Buddhist Principles by the State Preceptor Zhong while He Was Staying in the Guangzhai Monastery* (*Thow^1 tśhjow^1 lhjij^2 dzjiij^2 Bji^1 pju^2 ʻjim^1 mjii^1 u^2 dzjiij^1 tśhjɨ^1 dzjɨj^1 ʻji^1 dzjwo^2 tha^2 wo^2 dja^1 ·jɨr^1 njɨɨ ^{1} ɣạ^2 ŋwe^1 ·jɨr^1 hụ^2* [illegible]; *Tang *Zhong Guoshi zhu Guangzhai si zhongren wen foli ershiwu wenda* [唐忠國師住光宅寺爾時眾人問佛理二十五問答]; Kych 719–734; another two copies were located recently), the Tangut translation of an otherwise unknown "recorded saying" (*yulu* [語錄]) of a once prominent Tang-dynasty Chan master, Nanyang Huizhong (南陽惠忠; ?–775 CE; Solonin, 2012b, 267–347). The general tenor of this text connects it with the Huayan Chan system. The text exists in about 20 copies from Khara-Khoto alone, which makes it probably one of the most popular Buddhist texts in Xixia. The text with the second most numerous copies is the Tangut translation of the *Jingtu Shi yi lun* (淨土十疑論; T. 1961; Sun & Han, 2012, 98–107; Kych 436–438) by Tiantai Zhiyi (天台智顗; 538–597 CE).

Other components of the Huayan repertoire include the *Golden Lion of Huayan* (*Wjạ^1 tshjij^2 kiẹ^1 ka^2 tśjij^2 dzwə^1* [illegible]; Kych 304; *Huayan Jin shizi zhang* [華嚴金獅子章]; T. 1880; Sun Bojun, 2010b, 67–74) and *Contemplation on Returning to the Source* (*ɣjow^1 lhjwo^2 bioo^1* [illegible]; *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* [修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀]; T. 1876;) by Xianshou Fazang (賢首法藏; 636–712 CE) edited by Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源; 1011–1088; Sun Bojun, 2010c, 57–69). Another important example is the unique text *Bjij^2 Wjạ^1 tshjij^2 tsjiir^1 kiẹj^2 bioo^1 ɣa^1 na^1 thwuu^1 la^1* ([illegible]; *Zhu Huayan fajie guan men tongxuan ji* [注華嚴法界觀門通玄記]; Kych 306; Chinese version available in fragments) by a little-known Huayan master from the Northern Song, Guangzhi Bensong (廣智本嵩; *fl.* mid-11th cent.), who was important in the Tangut State (Nie Hongyin, 2011a, 118–123). Generally, these Huayan works are representative of the Huayan repertoire as it emerged during the Northern Song. Again, foundational compositions of the Tang-period Huayan have not yet been located within the Tangut corpus.

Some Huayan or Huayan Chan texts were imported from the Liao and translated into Tangut. Here one should mention the *Meaning of the Perfect Luminous Mind According to the Ultimate One Vehicle* (*Dzjɨ^1 dźjwa^1 lew^1 io^1 swew^1 njiij^1 wo^2* [illegible]; **Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi* [究竟一乘圓明心義]) and other texts by the Liao Buddhist master Tongli Hengce (通理恒策; 1049–1099; *wo^2 dar^1* [illegible]; Solonin, 2014; Kych 501; Chinese version available in fragments from Khara-Khoto). Another example is the *Tjɨj^1*[illegible] (*jing* [鏡]; Kych 752), a translation of the *Jing xin lu* (鏡心錄), a work of the famous Liao master Yuantong Daoshen (圓通道殿; 1056?–1114[?]; Solonin, 2012a, 137–188) existing only in Tangut.

The Chan heritage is represented by fragments of the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Solonin, 2008, 163–185), *Treatise on the Contemplation of Mind*

(*Tha^1 mo^2 tha^2 dzjiij^2 bioo^2 njiij^1 mər^2 mja^1* [[illegible]], and **Damo dashi guanxin lun* [達摩大師關心論]; i.e. *Damo poxiang lun* [達摩破相論]; T. 1220; a work by Shenxiu [神秀; 606–706 CE]; Sun Bojun, 2012, 266–303). The Tanguts were aware of the genre of the Chan-Buddhist hagiography, as is testified by the discovery of *The Most Important of the Lamp: Part Three* (*Tjij^1 tshji^1 sọ^1* [[illegible]]; **Deng yao san* [燈要三]; Kych 756), a fragment of the Tangut translation of an abridged version of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄; T. 2076).

Such texts as *Mirror of the Perfect Mind* (*Io^1 njiij^1 tjɨj^1* [[illegible]]; **Yuanxin jing* [圓心鏡]), *Illuminating Mind of the True Way* (*ɤiej^1 tśja^1 njiij^1 swew^1* [[illegible]]; **Zhen dao xin zhao* [真道心照]), and *Teachings and Ritual of the Hongzhou School* (*Xu^1 tśjiw^2 mər^2 dzjiij^2 dzju^1 tjɨj^1* [[illegible]]; **Hongzhou zongshi jiaoyi* [洪州宗師教儀]), together with its commentary devoted to the exposition of the Chan teaching of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一; 709–788 CE), are all written in the Huayan Chan paradigm (Solonin, 2014, 203–245). No Chinese originals of these texts have been discovered so far; these texts are provisionally identified as local Xixia compositions.

Apart from the aforementioned texts, the Tangut Abhidharma curriculum includes several expositions of the *Hundred Dharmas of Mahāyāna* (*tha^1 u^1 ·jir^2 tsjiir^1* [[illegible]]; *Dasheng baifa* [大乘百法]; Kych 296, 502, 300), which are of questionable identity. One text, *A Brief Exposition of the Treatise on the Hundred Dharmas of Mahāyāna* (*tha^1 u^1 ·jir^2 tsjiir^1 swew^1 ɣa^1 mər^2 mja^1 ljow^2 śja^2* [[illegible]]; *Dasheng baifa mingmen lun lueshi* [大乘百法明門論略釋]; Kych 300) is currently identified as the translation of the *Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* (大乘百法明門論; T. 1836) by Puguang (普光). Another text, *The Bright Mirror: Collection of the Hundred Dharmas of Mahāyāna* (*tha^1 u^1 ·jir^2 tsjiir^1 swew^1 tjɨj^2 śioo^1* [[illegible]]; *Dasheng bai fa mingjing ji* [大乘百法明鏡集]; Kych 296), was originally identified as T. 1614, that is *Baifa Mingmen lun* (百法明門論). As it appears now, the Vijñānavāda curriculum is represented by just one text, *The Notes to the 20 Verses on the Mind-Only* (*Njɨɨ^1 ɤa^2 lew^1 sjij^1 la^1* [[illegible]]), which was originally identified as the translation of the *Weishi ershi lun shuji* (唯識二十論述記) by Kuiji (窺基; T. 1834; Kych 298–299). The present survey provisionally includes them into the category of doctrinal writings translated from Chinese; however, they should be subjected to a more serious scrutiny before their affiliation can be properly established.

Texts of Tibetan Buddhist Schools

Among the Tibetan compositions devoted to the exposition of the doctrine translated into Tangut, the most noticeable are the texts revolving around the translation of the *Satyadvayāvatāra* (*Njɨɨ^1 dźji^2 'o^2 śjij^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 405–408; *Bden pa gnyis la 'jug pa*; D 3902/ P 5298) by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054). Currently, two versions of the Tangut translation have been identified. About six commentaries to this text have been so far discovered in the Tangut collection in Khara-Khoto, and several fragments of a similar subject matter were discovered in Shanzuigou. Among these *The Exposition of the Two Truths According to Rngog lo tsā ba* (*Ŋwə^1 lu^1 tśja^1 wa^2 tshjij^1 tjɨj^2 njɨɨ^1 dźjị^2 wo^2 la^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 633) is identified as a composition by Rngog lotsāba Blo Ldan shes rab (1059–1105) or by a member of his circle. Another important text in this category is *The Explanation of the Meaning of the Treatise on the Entry into the Two Truths* (*Njɨɨ^1 dźji^2 ɤa^2 'o^2 śjij^1 mər^2 mja^1 jij^1 wo^2 phie^1 la^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 619) by *Po^{2}tjɨj^2 ka^1 tśjij^2* ([illegible]; *菩提獅子; *Byang chub seng ge; Solonin, forthcoming). The existence of so many texts belonging to this group indicates the intensive relationship that once existed between the Tangut Empire and early Bka' gdams masters (Iuchi, 2012, 58–62). However, no Tangut translation of another fundamental text by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, the *Bodhipathapradīpa*, has yet been identified.

In the Khara-Khoto collection, one can discern a noticeable presence of Tangut translations of texts on "valid cognition" based on Tibetan originals. External evidence indicates that the Tanguts had an awareness of the "seven treatises" of Dharmakīrti. However, only the *Tśhja^2 wo^1 gjɨwr^2 rjar^1 gjij ^{1}ɣjɨr^1* ([illegible]), a translation of the *Nyāyabinduprakarāṇa* (*Rigs pa'i thigs pa shes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa*; D 4212/P 5711; Kych 423–424) has been identified. Among the texts within this cluster, one can also note the *Tśhja^2 wo^1 gjɨwr^2 jij^1 gjwi^1 wo^1 dzju^1 śja^2* ([illegible]; Elucidation of the Meanings of the Phrases of *Nyāyabindu*) composed by *Źjɨr^1 ɣwie^1* ([illegible]; *Jinamitra*); this text is probably a translation of the *Rigs pa'i thigs pa'i don bsdus pa* (D 4233/P 5732; *Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha*; Kych 426–429), however, more detailed study is needed. Other texts that mention "valid cognition" in their titles need to be researched before their identity can be confirmed.

Apart from the above, several Tangut texts seem to form a specific cluster revolving around impor-

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tant Mādhyamaka topics, such as the p
svātantrika debate and the nature of th
ship between the two truths. The ident
these texts and their origins is a task for t

Ritual and Meditation Texts

The textual repertoire of Tangut Buddhis
nated by texts pertaining to various aspe
dhist practice. Thus such specific catego
ŋwuu^1 ([illegible]; *man ngag* [*upadeśa*] or *g*
[*āmnāya*]), *tsjiir^1 da^2* ([illegible]; *fashi* [法
[*vidhi*]), *kju^1 śjij^1* ([illegible]) or *wji^1 śjij^1* (
sgrub thabs; or *krama*, *rim pa*) are especi
ous in the Tangut collections. Other gen
śjā^1 djij^2 ([illegible]; *chanding* [禪定]) or *l*
[illegible]; *nianding* [念定]; contemplation m
most numerous are the texts in the *man*
(Kychanov lists about 60 independent ti
to a variety of subjects).

The Sinitic segment of the liturgical s
Tangut is dominated by the *Njij^2 wjuu^1*
dźjar^2 rewr^2 tsjiir^1 ([illegible]; i.e.
tance Ritual of Liang Wudi [*Cibei daoch*
慈悲道場懺法]; T. 1909; Kych 307–316),
dates to Bingchang's reign. The tran
publication of this work were part of
measures to propagate Buddhism by t
Dowager Liang, just as was the public
Jinglü Yixiang mentioned above. This t
the most numerous in the Khara-Khot
and elsewhere; its copies are widely re
other Tangut collections (Yang Zhigao,
Kych 307–316); the text was republishe
Tangut Buddhist canon during the Y
Han, 2005, 111–118).

Another popular ritual text whose po
Tangut Buddhism can be clearly establ
Ordinary Rituals for [*Attainment*] *of Bo*
tjɨj^2 njij^1 ljɨ^1 'ju^2 wji^2 lew^2 tsiir^1 da^1 [
[illegible]]; *Byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa*
blang pa'i cho ga; *Bodhicittotpādasam*
D 4493/P 5406; Kych 411–420) by Jitā
translated by Sumatikīrti and Blo lda
This work is available in several co
manuscript and woodblock print form
manual was included among the *chos*
teachings) of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, thus
gest a connection between the Bka' gda
in the Tangut Empire and the popular
composition.

an Buddhist Schools

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la^1 [[illegible]]; Kych
as a composition by Rngog lotsā
rab (1059–1105) or by a member of
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Two Truths (*Njɨɨ^1 dźji^2 ɣa^2 ʻo^2 sjij^1*
phie^1 la^1 [[illegible]
Po^{2}tjij^2 ka^1 tśjij^2 ([illegible]; *菩提
b seng ge; Solonin, forthcoming).
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Ritual and Meditation Texts

The textual repertoire of Tangut Buddhism is dominated by texts pertaining to various aspects of Buddhist practice. Thus such specific categories as *tshji^1 ŋwuu^1* ([illegible]; *man ngag* [*upadeśa*] or *gdams ngag* [*āmnāya*]), *tsjiir^1 da^2* ([illegible]; *fashi* [法事]; *cho ga* [*vidhi*]), *kju^1 śjij^1* ([illegible]) or *wji^1 śjij^1* ([illegible]; *sādhanā*; *sgrub thabs*; or *krama*, *rim pa*) are especially numerous in the Tangut collections. Other genres include *śjā^1 djij^2* ([illegible]; *chanding* [禪定]) or *lə düjɨj^2* ([illegible]; *nianding* [念定]; contemplation manual). The most numerous are the texts in the *man ngag* genre (Kychanov lists about 60 independent titles devoted to a variety of subjects).

The Sinitic segment of the liturgical scriptures in Tangut is dominated by the *Njij^2 wjuu^1 rejr^2 lhjoor^1 dźjar^2 rewr^2 tsjiir^1* ([illegible]; i.e. the *Repentance Ritual of Liang Wudi* [*Cibei daochang chanfa*; 慈悲道場懺法]; T. 1909; Kych 307–316), which also dates to Bingchang's reign. The translation and publication of this work were part of a system of measures to propagate Buddhism by the Empress Dowager Liang, just as was the publication of the *Jinglü Yixiang* mentioned above. This text is one of the most numerous in the Khara-Khoto collection and elsewhere; its copies are widely represented in other Tangut collections (Yang Zhigao, 2011, 99–103; Kych 307–316); the text was republished within the Tangut Buddhist canon during the Yuan (Wang Han, 2005, 111–118).

Another popular ritual text whose position in the Tangut Buddhism can be clearly established is *The Ordinary Rituals for* [*Attainment*] *of Bodhicitta* (*Po^2 tjij^2 njij^1 ljɨ^1 ʻju^2 wji^2 lew^2 tsiir^1 da^1* [[illegible]]; *Byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa dang yi dam blang pa'i cho ga*; *Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi*; D 4493/P 5406; Kych 411–420) by Jitāri (originally translated by Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan shes rab). This work is available in several copies in both manuscript and woodblock print format. This ritual manual was included among the *chos chung* (small teachings) of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, thus one can suggest a connection between the Bka' gdams teaching in the Tangut Empire and the popularity of Jetāri's composition.

Tangut ritual and meditational texts (not necessarily tantric) of Tibetan origin are distributed among several yogic systems, namely those of the *lam 'bras*, Vajravarahī, Cakrasaṃvara, Mahāmudrā, Avalokiteśvara, and Hevajra. The rituals of the 35 buddhas, food-offering ceremonies, and so forth, which were popular in the Tangut Empire, later resurfaced in the Yuan-and Ming-period ritual compositions.

As far as esoteric texts are concerned, the *Hevajratantra* cycle in Tangut is represented by a commentarial fragment on the root *tantra* *Lhju^1 ɣjɨ^1 njij^2 mər^1 twẹ^2 jij^1 la^1* ([illegible]; Notes on the *Hevajratantra;* Kych 354, 355) and a ritual manual whose title is tentatively translated as The Ritual of Consecration on the Hevajra *Maṇḍala* of the Nine Buddhas (*Lhju^1 ɣjɨ^1 njij^2 gjɨɨ^1 tha^1 gu^2 tśjị^{1}bju^1 dzju^2 lhjij tśjɨ^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 327). Both the ritual manual and the commentary are provisionally identified as belonging to the tradition of Rngog Chos rdor (1036–1102; Solonin, forthcoming; based on D. Martin's suggestion). One more Hevajra *sādhanā* was identified within the collection known as The Light of Amṛita: Two Texts by the "*Vajra* Born from the Sea" (*Tsə̣^{1} bji^1 ŋjow^2 tshjij^2 ɣjɨ^1 njij^2·jwɨr^2 gu^2 njij^2* [[illegible]]). This collection, attributed to Saroruhavajra ([illegible]; *海生金剛; *Mtsho skyes rdo rje*), contains a text that Nishida identifies as *Dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i sgrub thabs* (D 4115/ P 1218; Kych 711; the Tangut text attributes the collection to Ḍombi Heruka; Nishida, 2012a, 395).

Lam 'bras texts are represented by several compositions, out of which one is found in a large number of copies. The text *Precious Torch Elucidating the Bodhisattva Study of Fruit and Path as One-Practice* (*Po^2 tjɨj^2 kjɨr.^{1} sjij^2 ɣiew^1 lew^2 tśja^2 ljɨ^1 mja^2 rjir^1 ja^2 śjij^1 dzju^1 śja^2 ljɨ^1 zjur^2* [[illegible]]) is available in 27 copies (Kych 458–486). Together with the "recorded sayings" of Huizhong, it is one of the two most popular texts in Xixia. The author of this work is *Ljɨ^1 ka^1 tśjij^2* ([illegible]; *Bao shizi [寶獅子]; **Dkon mchog seng ge*; ?–1219), that is, the Tangut imperial preceptor and first Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa's (1110–1193) disciple sent to the Tangut state (Sperling, 1987, 32–50). In general, the titles of *lam 'bras* texts from the Khara-Khoto collection resemble those preserved within the *Dasheng yaodao miji.* However, textual comparison demonstrates substantial deviations between the Tangut and Chinese versions (Sun Bojun, 2014, 111–123).

In many cases the *upadeśas* (*man ngag*) and *vidhis* (*cho ga*) of the Vajravarahī and Six Yogas systems are anonymous. However, the most prolific author and "transmitter" of these teachings was *Tsjiir^1 ka^1 tśjij^2* ([illegible]; *Chos kyi seng ge; otherwise known as Yar lungs pa [*ja^1 ljow^2 sjɨ^2 pja^1*([illegible])]; Dunnell, 2009, 41–78; Sperling, 2005, 1–26; this character emerges in the texts under a variety of names and titles). The texts that he transmitted in Xixia, among others, include the *Ritual for Contemplation of Vajravarahī* (*ɣjị^1 njij^2 mjɨ^2 lheew^2 mja^1 jij^1 lə djɨj^2 wji^1 śjij^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 542), the *Attainment of the Four Consecrations through Dhāraṇī* (*ka ·jiij^1 ŋwu^2 ljɨr^1 dzju^2 lhjij śjij^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 547), and several compositions on the Six Yogas. So far, no Tibetan originals for the works transmitted by Yar lungs pa in the Tangut state have been discovered, and therefore his teaching might have circulated only in Xixia and the Tsong kha area. Thus, these works are provisionally included in the category of Tangut native Buddhist literature.

Other basic Six Yogas texts, attributed by their colophons to Nāropa, include the *Upadeśa on the Essence of the Six Dharmas* (*Tśhjɨw^1 tsjiir^1 ·jij^1 kwər^1 tshji^1 ŋwuu^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 605–607) and a composition with a title that provisionally may be translated as *Upadeśa for the Unity of Desire and Joy* (*Kięj^2 rejr^2 ·iọ^1 lwu^1 phji^1 sjij^1 tshji^1 ŋwuu^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 593, 594; Solonin, forthcoming).

A cluster of Mahāmudrā texts available from the Tangut collections is almost completely duplicated in the *Dasheng yaodao miji* (Suo Luoning, 2013, 237–243); these texts are generally identified as the compositions associated with the Bka' brgyud tradition. The most popular Mahāmudrā text in Xixia was the *Tha^1 dźiej^2 njɨ^2 dźjwa^1 tshji^1 sjoo^1* ([illegible]; *Ultimate Upadeśa on the Great Seal*; Kych 661–665) found together with several commentaries also available in Tangut. This text is a Tangut native compilation by a Tangut Buddhist leader Dehui (*Tśhja^2 źjir^1* [[illegible]]; Dehui[德慧]; Solonin, 2013, 263–264; Nishida, 1999, xlii-xliv); one of the commentaries to the text recorded the actual procedure of an oral transmission that Dehui received from a Tibetan master. This text was one of the few *upadeśas* to have circulated in printed form, probably also due to the high standing of its author, who occupied a number of prestigious posts in the Tangut Buddhist administration.

The currently available *grub mtha'* repertoire (e.g. *sọ^1 ljụ^2 gjɨɨ^1·ụ^2 dźju^1 śja^2* [[illegible]]; **Sku gsum theg pa dgu'i 'grel pa*; Kych 493) reveals that the Rnying ma doctrinal taxonomy of nine vehicles was well-known in the Tangut state. As is the case with other Rnying ma compositions, these texts include expositions of four types of yoga (i.e. [1] *a tji^2 ·jo^2 ŋwər^1* [[illegible]; *atiyoga*], [2] *a njuu^2 ·jo^2 ŋwər^1* [[illegible]; *anuyoga*; *rnal 'byor rgyud*], [3] *mja^1 xa^1 ·jo^2 ŋwər^1* [[illegible]; *mahāyoga*); etc.) as well as of other vehicles (Solonin, forthcoming). Another text, known as the Introduction into the Five Parts of Dharmadhātu: Final Part (*Tsjiir^1 kięj^2 ŋwe^1 djij^1 gu^2 bu^1* [[illegible]]; Kych 709), is a translation of a previously unknown account of Berotsana's (*Pji rjo tshaw nja* [[illegible]]; i.e. Vairocana, one of the "seven chosen" [*sad mi mi bdun*] from the period of first propagation of the dharma in Tibet) travel to India in search of the supreme dharma of liberation during the time of Khri srong de'u btsan (790–844 CE). This text resembles the famous biography of Vairocana known as *'Dra 'bag chen mo* (Solonin, forthcoming).

One more specific category of Buddhist literature to be mentioned here is the translations from Tibetan into Chinese made in the Tangut state. Here one can mention the recently discovered *Xi jingang kongxing mu wangjin lüe ji da mi benxu* (喜金剛空行母網禁略集大密本續; Shen Weirong, 2013b, 142–175), which is a Xixia translation of the *Hevajratantra*; another text is *Zui sheng shangle ji benxu xianshi ji* (最勝上樂集本續顯釋記), dated to the Huangjian (皇建) years of Xixia (1210–1211), a translation of a hitherto unknown commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Wei Wen, 2013, 301–331). So far, no Tangut versions of these compositions have been identified.

The Tangut Buddhist Canon

Unlike the Kitan or Jurchen, the Tangut Empire never undertook the publication a Buddhist canon in Chinese (Li Jining, 2003, 470–481; however comp. Shi Jinbo, 1988, 98–100). However, the Tangut Buddhists were well aware of what a Buddhist canon is; relevant vocabulary and system of numeration for the multivolume compositions also existed in the Tangut language. The Tangut text of the *Imperial Preface to the Newly Translated Tangut Tripiṭaka* (*Phiow^1 bjij^2 lhjij tha^2 sjɨw^1 lhej^1 sọ^1 u^2 śjɨj^2 dzjiij^1 bu^1* [[illegible]]; i.e. *Da Baigao guo xinyi Sanzang shengjiao xu* [大白高國新譯三藏聖教序]; Nishida, vol. II, 1975–1977, 6–7; Shi, 1988, 283–285) seems to demonstrate the existence of a Tangut Buddhist canon as early as the Tangut imperial

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The growing importance of Tang
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and Guanzhuba (管主八; *fl.* mid-14t
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Yixing Huijue collected available te
the collection was published (Shi J
318). This initial publication was
by Guanzhuba, who published a T
version of the Buddhist canon in
(萬壽寺) in Hangzhou from 1293
2006, 125–127; Wang Jingru, 1932,
2005, 298–312, 312–331, 347–370; W
This publication was probably un
a larger project of systematizing
canon, which was carried out du
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therefore there is no reason to do
Although fragments of the Tang
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ga], [2] *a njuu*^{2}*·jo*^{2}*ŋwər*^{1} [[illegible];
yor rgyud], [3] *mja*^{1}*xa*^{1}*·jo*^{2}*ŋwər*^{1} [[illegible]
ga); etc.) as well as of other vehicles
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ha^{2} *sjiw*^{1} *lhej*^{1} *sọ*^{1} *u*^{2} *śjij*^{2} *dzjiij*^{1} *bu*^{1}
[illegible]]; i.e. *Da Baigao guo xinyi*
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period. However, no data on the time and place of the publication of canon is available from this text.

The imperial seal on the translation of the *Dīrghāgama* mentions that the text was originally prepared under the supervision of the fourth emperor Qianshun, edited by Renxiao, and added to the Tangut Tripiṭaka housed in the monastery *ŋwər*^{1} *lhji*^{2} *ljwu*^{2} *tshja*^{2} ([illegible]; "Retribution for Joy of All Under Heaven"; 天下慶報) by Renxiao's wife, Empress Luo. The name of the monastery indicates that it was built in the Tianqing (天慶) reign period (1194–1206). These dates indicate the time frame for the existence of this Buddhist canon. The text on the seal may be interpreted as indicating that there existed a catalogue or registry of the Tangut Buddhist canon, in which the text was recorded. Currently there is no other information on this original Buddhist canon. However, its structure is probably revealed in the aforementioned paragraph of the *Tiansheng Law Code*.

The growing importance of Tangut monks in the Yuan period allowed Buddhist leaders of Tangut origin, such as Yixing Huijue (一行慧覺; ?–1314[?]) and Guanzhuba (管主八; *fl.* mid-14th cent.), monk-registrar (*senglu* [僧錄]) in Hangzhou (杭州), to collect Tangut texts and republish them as a Tripiṭaka. Yixing Huijue collected available texts, and in 1270 the collection was published (Shi Jinbo, 1988, 317–318). This initial publication was later enhanced by Guanzhuba, who published a Tangut-language version of the Buddhist canon in the Wanshou si (萬壽寺) in Hangzhou from 1293 to 1306 (Duan, 2006, 125–127; Wang Jingru, 1932, 1–15; Shi Jinbo, 2005, 298–312, 312–331, 347–370; Wang Han, 2005). This publication was probably undertaken within a larger project of systematizing of the Buddhist canon, which was carried out during the Yuan. Guanzhuba's publication amounted to 50 copies, which were distributed in the former Tangut lands. The information about this publication is found in a variety of sources in both Chinese and Tangut, therefore there is no reason to doubt its veracity. Although fragments of the Tangut publications bearing Guanzhuba's office seal have survived (e.g. a copy of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* held in Princeton University), which corroborates the source data on Guanzhuba's publication activities, the surviving Tangut Buddhist textual corpus lacks editorial uniformity, which impedes judgment on the actual structure and repertoire on the Tangut Buddhist canon.

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Local Literatures: Khotanese

Khotanese Buddhist literature is the body of writings of Buddhist content written in Khotanese, the Eastern Middle Iranian language of the Buddhist Saka Kingdom of Khotan on the southern branch of the eastern Silk Route (in present-day Xinjiang), and preserved in a large number of manuscripts in Brahmi script from the 5th to the 10th century. These were recovered chiefly by expeditions from the West and Japan in the 20th century. New material has come to light in recent years. Fundamental editions of Khotanese texts are by H.W. Bailey (vols. I–V, 1945–1985; ^{2}1981), R.E. Emmerick and I.M. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja (1995), and P.O. Skjærvø (2002). On Khotanese literature, see O. Hansen (1968, 77–83), M.J. Dresden (1977), R.E. Emmerick (^{2}1992), H.W. Bailey (1982, 63–80; 1983), A. Iwamatsu (1985), H. Kumamoto (1985; ^{2}2012), R.E. Emmerick and P.O. Skjærvø (1990), M. Maggi (2008; 2009), and P.O. Skjærvø (^{2}2012). (In this article, Buddhist terms are as a rule in Sanskrit; Khotanese equivalents are added on occasion especially if they are not Indian loanwords. Conventional English titles are used for texts whose original titles are unknown.)

The greater part of the extant Khotanese literary texts are Buddhist works. Khotan played an important role in the transmission of Buddhism from India to China and Tibet and was the stronghold of Mahāyāna in Central Asia from the 3rd–4th centuries to its conquest by the Qarakhanids shortly before 1006. The Chinese monk Zhu Shixing (朱士行), the first known case of a Chinese journeying west in search of Buddhist scriptures, found the Sanskrit text of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in Khotan probably in 260 CE, and the Khotanese monk Mokṣala translated it into Chinese in 291 CE (T. 221). Another copy of the Sanskrit text was brought to the Chinese capital of Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) by the Khotanese monk Gītamitra in 296 CE. Another Khotanese monk, also called Gītamitra, brought the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* to China and translated it in 376 CE. The second part of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T. 374; trans. Dharmakṣema between 414 and 421 CE) was obtained in Khotan. Part of the Sanskrit original of the smaller *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (T. 278; trans. in 418–420 CE) was found there by Zhi Faling (支法領), another Chinese monk in search of Buddhist scriptures outside China, around the beginning of the 5th century CE. The Chinese pilgrims Faxian (法顯) and Xuanzang (玄奘), who were in Khotan in 401 and 644 CE respectively, state that Mahāyāna flourished there. The other Khotanese translators of Buddhist works into Chinese (Gītamitra, Devendraprājña, Śikṣānanda, Zhiyan [智嚴], a Khotanese prince who was sent to China as a hostage and became a monk in 707 CE, and Śīladharma) mostly translated Mahāyāna scriptures. A Mahāyāna text was translated into Chinese in Khotan by the Indian monk Bhagavaddharma (Bagchi, 1927, 214–215; Zürcher, ^{3}2007, 61–63; Kumamoto, ^{2}2012, 145). Most importantly, extensive remains of Mahāyāna Sanskrit texts have been recovered from Khotan (e.g. the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* with a two-folio introduction in Khotanese and chapter colophons in Sanskrit and Khotanese; see Emmerick, 1974; Chandra, ^{2}1977; Maggi, 2009, 342–343). These need to be taken into account if a complete picture of Buddhist literature in Khotan is to be obtained (see also e.g. Karashima & Wille, 2006–2009). However, Buddhist texts in Khotanese are an essential part of the same picture and important sources on the development of Mahāyāna. In the case of translations, they often reflect an older state of the text than the earliest extant Sanskrit manuscripts, so that all interested in the history of especially Mahāyāna Buddhist texts ignore Khotanese literature at their peril.

The older manuscripts in Khotanese were produced in Khotan, while the younger ones came from Dunhuang. Apart from a *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* fragment whose colophon points to the late 8th century CE (Skjærvø, 1991, 270), none of the literary manuscripts from Khotan is dated, and only an approximate dating on paleographic grounds is possible between the 5th and the 9th century. The manuscripts from Dunhuang, partly dated, are largely from the 10th century, but some may go back to the late 9th century. The texts are written in a variety of linguistic stages that are usually grouped under the labels of Old and Late Khotanese. Rare Late Khotanese forms in early manuscripts point to a situation of diglossia in Khotan from

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the 5th–6th centuries, when Late Khotanese must have already been the socially accepted variety of everyday use. Such linguistic developments crept, only occasionally at first, into manuscripts in Old Khotanese, the older literary variety of Old Khotanese reserved for religious literature and formal speech (Emmerick, 1987, 42) but surfacing increasingly often until Old Khotanese was abandoned even in writing, presumably as a consequence of the Tibetan occupation of Khotan, which brought about a break in the tradition of Buddhist learning between the 8th and 9th century (Kumamoto, [2]2012, 149). Manuscripts from Khotan are therefore either in Old or in Late Khotanese; manuscripts from Dunhuang are all in Late Khotanese.

Faint echoes of the oral literature of Iranian descent can only be glimpsed in the legends on the foundation of Khotan and the stylistic tendency to variation rather than repetition (Skjærvø, 1998; [2]2012, 127–128). The beginnings of written literature and Buddhist literature in Khotanese coincide and can be placed in the 5th century, when the earliest manuscripts, including some folios of the *Book of Zambasta* and translations of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* and other *sūtra*s, can be dated paleographically (Sander, 2005), and when the author of the *Book of Zambasta*, containing itself translations of *sūtras*, regrets that still "the Khotanese do not value the Law at all in Khotanese" (23.4; Emmerick, 1968) and prefer Sanskrit as the language of the dharma (see Maggi, 2004).

Most Khotanese Buddhist texts were probably translated from Sanskrit, though many parallel texts are known to us today only in Chinese or Tibetan. The Khotanese adopted various translation techniques for rendering the terminology of their originals, and Khotanese Buddhist terminology never developed into a fixed system of equivalences such as was established by the Tibetan translators: one Sanskrit term may be rendered by more than one genuine or borrowed Khotanese equivalent and vice versa. As many Prakrit and Sanskrit words had entered the Khotanese vocabulary before the earliest extant texts, a solution at hand was to continue simply using Sanskrit technical terms (see Emmerick, 1983; Degener, 1989b; Skjærvø, [2]2012, 126–134). Thus, loanwords are less numerous in Old Khotanese texts, where interpretative translations in line with the exegetical tradition are frequently found, than in Late Khotanese texts written after centuries of acquaintance with Buddhism (von Hinüber, 1973, 5–6).

Khotanese versions range from close translations to free paraphrases. Translations of *sūtra*s, particularly the oldest ones, reproduce their originals as closely as possible, but the Khotanese did not content themselves with literal renditions and took care not to misrepresent the meaning of their originals, so that amplifications and comments were sometimes inserted. The greatest freedom is reached in the case of edifying tales, which are recast rather than just paraphrased, as the Late Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna* shows (De Chiara, 2013b).

Since few manuscripts are dated, let alone the texts themselves, Khotanese Buddhist literature is best presented systematically rather than chronologically.

Original Doctrinal Compendia

Book of Zambasta

The *Book of Zambasta* is an Old Khotanese poem known to us from a largely preserved 7th-century CE manuscript and a number of variant fragments (Emmerick, 1968), the earliest ones of which can be dated to the 5th century CE (Maggi, 2004; see also Martini, 2013). It expounds the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism with a polemic attitude toward what the text itself derogatorily terms "Hīnayāna" (Martini, 2013). The conventional title *Book of Zambasta* refers to the name of the official who ordered the text to be written or copied in the main manuscript. The work consisted of 3,547 verses and 24 chapters: chapters 2–14 are virtually complete; chapters 1 and 15–19 are fragmentarily preserved; a lost chapter existed between chapters 21 and 22 (Maggi, 1998b, 287–288); chapters 17–18 are in reality a single chapter (Maggi & Martini, 2014); of chapters 22, 23, and 24, there survive 100 of 336, 228 of 372, and 336 of 659 verses respectively.

As an early indigenous composition, the work displays a concentric structure, which presumably betrays Iranian oral composition techniques: the structurally and thematically central chapter 13 expounds the advantages of the Mahāyāna over earlier Buddhism and is surrounded by the doctrinal chapters 3–12 and 14–21, which are in turn surrounded by the more legendary chapters 1–2 and 22–24 (Maggi, 2004; see also Martini, 2014, on the formal features and compositional process of chapter 5). The more doctrinal chapters 3–21 of the *Book of Zambasta* deal with the following:

- chapter 3: meditation on loving kindness (*maitrī*);
- chapter 4: thought of awakening (*bodhicitta*) and Buddha nature (*tathāgatagarbha*; Degener, 1989a);
- chapters 5–6: the Buddha's teaching in a Vijñānavāda perspective;
- chapters 7–9: emptiness (*śūnyatā*; Khot. *ttuśśāttāti*);
- chapters 10–12: bodhisattva career;
- chapters 14–16: Mahāyāna Buddhology and bodhisattva path;
- chapters 17–19: fallacy of worldly pleasures; and
- chapters 20–21: meditation on impurity (*aśubhabhāvanā*).

Chapter 1 is a *sūtra* preached by Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Free paraphrases of *sūtras* are chapters 2 (*Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa*; Régamey, 1990), 3 (*Da fangguang fo huayan jing xiuei fen* [大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分]; Duan, 2007; Martini, 2011), 22 (*Maitreyavyākaraṇa*; Kumamoto, forthcoming), 23 (*Tathāgatapratibimbapratiṣṭhānuśaṃsa*), and the second half of chapter 24 (*Candragarbhasūtra*; Nattier, 1991). Chapter 5 recalls the theme of such texts as the *Pitāputrasamāgamasūtra* (Martini, 2014, 339n8), chapter 12 the section on moral conduct in Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the first half of chapter 24 such accounts of the Buddha's life as the *Lalitavistara*. The work quotes many, often unsourced texts, including the ones in chapter 6, which contains "a verse… from each *sūtra*" (6.1), though only four from the *Vajracchedikā* (6.15), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (6.3), *Hastikakṣya* (6.41; see Liu & Chen, 2014, 294n3), and *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (6.24) have been identified.

The survival of numerous fragments from different manuscripts besides the main one reveals the positive reception and popularity that the *Book of Zambasta* enjoyed in Khotan. A folio from a 5th-century CE manuscript found in non-Mahāyāna Qarashahr, where it was presumably brought with a view to propagate the Mahāyāna, attests to the importance that the Khotanese attached to the text (Maggi, 2004). A complete Late Khotanese version of the Buddha's preaching to his father (ch. 5) in the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* shows that the text was still regarded as authoritative in the 10th century, when Old Khotanese texts were no longer being copied.

Minor Doctrinal Compendia

An unparalleled Old Khotanese prose – the *Bodhisattva Compendium*, known from remains of one manuscript from Khotan (see the list in Skjærvø, 2002, 607) – is a treatise on the bodhisattva doctrine. Superimposition of Late Khotanese forms on the original text by means of additional vowel marks and interlinear additions of syllables suggests use of the manuscript over time.

The *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* is a complete Late Khotanese original composition in verse written by (a) Devendraśūrasiṃha on a Dunhuang roll under King Vīśa' Śūra (r. 967–978 CE). It is a compilation on the doctrine of selflessness (*nairātmya*), which draws on various sources, including earlier Khotanese literature (Bailey, ²1981, 113–135): some 70 verses are from the *Book of Zambasta* (Emmerick, 1968, 440–453); 17 lines repeat an amplification in the Khotanese *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*; more or less free quotations are taken from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* and *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*; and an unparalleled description of the three afflictions (*kleśa*) of attachment (*raga*; Khot. *bryāä*), aversion (*dveṣa*; Khot. *ysurri*), and delusion (*moha*; Khot. *jaḍia*) as doctrinal monsters and kings of the *rākṣasas* is of special interest (Emmerick, 1977a; 1977c; 1988; 1997; 1998; Degener, 1986).

Another metrical compendium of Mahāyāna doctrines in the form of question and answer, most likely a Khotanese original composition, is the Late Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti* contained in two Dunhuang manuscripts and lacking the beginning (Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 48–50; Skjærvø, 2002, 489–499). It opens with a description of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path (*bhūmi*) and quotes passages from and mentions several texts, and an unsourced quotation from the *Ratnakūṭa* is found. It also has a section about the prohibition of drinking wine and eating meat, which recalls chapter 8 of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (see also Maggi, 2013, with references).

Avadāna Literature

A concise and lively style characterizes Khotanese *avadānas*, whether in verse or in prose. All are contained in Late Khotanese manuscripts from Dunhuang.

The *Sudhanāvadāna*, in two recensions, tells in verse the love of Prince Sudhana (identified with the Buddha) and the fairy Princess Manoharā, their separation, Sudhana's journey in search of his wife, and their final reunion (De Chiara, 2013a;

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2014). It includes motifs from folk tales (Degener, 2013). The Khotanese version is not a translation of any of the known versions of the story and shows exclusive agreements with the Sanskrit *Sudhanakinnaryavadāna* of the 11th-century Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra (De Chiara, 2013b).

Most of the prose *Aśokāvadāna*, only the beginning of which survives, actually derives from the *Kuṇālāvadāna*, though it is arranged differently from the Sanskrit and other versions (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 40–44; 1966; Dragoni, 2013–2014). The lost part may have referred to Aśoka's and Kuṇāla's role in the foundation of Khotan as it is found in Tibetan and Chinese sources (Skjærvø, 1987).

Two episodes of a *Kaniṣkāvadāna* are extant (Bailey, vol. II, 1945–1985, 107–108; 1965, 107–108): inspired by the four guardian kings (*lokapālas*), who – disguised as boys – build a *stūpa* of mud, King Kaniṣka has a *stūpa* and a monastery built; his spiritual adviser, Aśvaghoṣa, casts a lump of clay on the *stūpa*, and an image of the Buddha predicts his awakening. Similar stories occur elsewhere, but only the Khotanese organized them into a narrative.

An incomplete *Nandāvadāna* in prose exemplifies compensation for liberality and retribution for avarice through the story of the stingy merchant Nanda and his generous servant: the servant is reborn as Nanda's rich son and Nanda as the blind and misshapen son of a beggar woman (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 45–47; Emmerick, 1970b; 1973; see Handurukande, 1984 for the Sanskrit).

The beginning of the *Love Story*, an unparalleled metrical *avadāna*, recounts the falling in love of a householder's son and a minister's daughter (Maggi, 1997).

The Khotanese *avadāna*-like *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the Hindu myth of Rāma and Sītā a Buddhist setting (Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 65–76; 1940–1942) and turns it into a Buddhist myth by stating that Rāma (identified with the Buddha) defeated the chief Hindu gods Śiva and Viṣṇu (Emmerick, 2000). In the opening episode, not found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Paraśurāma avenges his Brahman father by killing King Daśaratha, Rāma's father, and then goes on slaying kings and setting up Brahmans until he is in turn killed by Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa (identified with the future buddha Maitreya). The text abounds in fable material.

Mahāyāna *Sūtras* and Related Texts

Prajñāpāramitā Literature

Scriptures on the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*; Khot. *prajñāpārāmatā*) range from very long to extremely short *sūtras*. In Khotanese, only short texts are known, mostly from Dunhuang.

A complete Khotanese version of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, an early summary of the *Prajnāpāramitā* teachings, was written before 941 CE (Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 20–29; Konow, 1916) and is preceded by a metrical introduction, which also explains the title as what "shatters all acts (and) defilements, as well as obstructions (and) grievous sins, like diamond" (2r4–v2). The Khotanese version deviates partly from the Sanskrit original, as the translator endeavored to render the meaning of the original through paraphrases and additions, some of which derive from his knowledge of Asaṅga's commentary, the *Triśatikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Kārikāsaptati* (Degener, 1989b). A commentary in 17 stanzas replaces the single final Sanskrit stanza (Emmerick, 1977a).

A translation of the longer *Hṛdayasūtra*, a highly condensed summary of the *Prajnāpāramitā* teachings, survives in part (Skjærvø, 1988), but a complete commentary on the shorter *Hṛdayasūtra* titled *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* – not to be confused with the homonymous collection in the Chinese canon (T. 220) – is extant (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 54–61), some statements of which indicate its author's affiliation with the Vijñānavāda (Lancaster, 1977).

The only witness of a late Old Khotanese version of the tantric *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* is a manuscript from Khotan that alternates esoteric sections in Sanskrit with exoteric sections in Khotanese (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 24–34). The latter are an integral part of the *sūtra* and extol the esoteric parts, which the translator decided to keep in their original linguistic shape. The Sanskrit text of the work was only partially known from this Khotanese manuscript before the recent discovery of an almost complete Sanskrit manuscript from Tibet (see Tomabechi, 2009).

Three Dunhuang manuscripts preserve the late compilation titled *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā* in Sanskrit in Late Khotanese orthography (Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 102, 118; vol. V, 356–359).

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, and Related Texts

A Late Khotanese metrical summary of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* from Dunhuang was meant to provide people "with the *sūtra*'s meaning in the Khotan language" (Bailey, ^{2}1973, 3). This and the substantial manuscript remains of the Sanskrit text from Khotan (see Chandra, ^{2}1977; Wille, 2000) suggest that the Khotanese may have used the Sanskrit original instead of Khotanese translations.

Two fragments belonging to a single folio from Khotan attest to the existence of an Old Khotanese translation of the *Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanirdeśa* (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 225–226; Chen, 2010).

A paraphrase of 16 stanzas of the *Bhadracaryādeśanā* is found in the *Book of Zambasta* (11.62–77). A complete Late Khotanese metrical version is known from a Dunhuang manuscript (Asmussen, 1961). This devotional text closes the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* but was soon regarded as an independent text. In it, the believer confesses his sins and expresses the hope to be reborn in Sukhāvatī, Buddha Amitābha's "pure land," and attain awakening. The Khotanese translation adds an initial invocation and a final prayer.

The term *deśanā* means here both "confession" of sin for future restraint and "profession" of faith and vows to attain awakening and rescue beings from suffering, the first being a prerequisite to the latter. The *Bhadracaryādeśanā* is one of several Late Khotanese *deśanā* texts, among which is the *Deśanāparivarta*, extracted from the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* and transmitted separately. Further *deśanā* texts composed in Khotan are a metrical *deśanā* (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 53, 62–66; 1962) and the *Verses of Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi*: (a son of King Viśa' Sambhava; r. 912–966 CE) from Dunhuang (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 47–52; Emmerick, 1980), as well as the incomplete *Hymn to Amitāyus* (Amitāyus being another name for Amitābha) from Khotan (Bailey, vol. IV, 1945–1985, 36–37, 129–135).

The Late Khotanese metrical *Karmāṃ deśana* from Dunhuang, possibly an original work, deals with confession from a Mahāyāna viewpoint: only by recognizing the insubstantiality of all things, including one's acts (*karman*) and their ripening (*vipāka*), does one attain awakening (Emmerick, 1977b).

Closely connected with the practice of *deśanā* are *namo* (adoration) texts probably composed in Khotan. These contain lists of names of buddhas and bodhisattvas, including local buddhas unknown to the Indian tradition. The ones currently called *Deśanā I* and *Deśanā II* contemplate the existence of billions of buddhas in crores of aeons and promise atonement for sins to those who hear, recite, or have their names written (Skjærvø, 2002, 542–550; for a variant, see Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 112–116). That *deśanā* texts, *namo* texts, and such theoretical texts as the *Karmāṃ deśana* all belong together is shown by the fact that a single manuscript contains a *namo* text, the *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, the *Deśanāparivarta*, and the *Verses of Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi*: among others and that, in another manuscript, the *Karmāṃ deśana* is preceded by a *namo* text. Other Khotanese devotional texts are the *Triśaraṇa* formula (Skjærvø, 2002, 486–487; see also Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 64) and several invocations from Dunhuang.

A complete folio from Khotan preserves part of an early Khotanese text that is known from the two Chinese versions *Da fangguang fo huayan jing busiyi fo jingjie fen* (大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分; T. 300) and *Da fangguang fo huayan rulai busiyi jingjie jing* (大方廣如來不思議境界經; T. 301) translated by the Khotanese monks Devendraprajña and Śikṣānanda respectively. The Khotanese text seems to be closer to Devendraprajña's version (Skjærvø, 2002, 332–333; Chen, 2012, 270–273).

Ratnakūṭa, *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and Related Texts

Fragments of three manuscripts from Khotan witness an Old Khotanese translation of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (Skjærvø, 2003), the most ancient core of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection in the Chinese canon (T. 310). The text circulated in Khotan, as it did in India, under the title *Ratnakūṭa* (Khot. *Ratnakūla*), as it is so called in the *Book of Zambasta*, the *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*, and the Khotanese version itself. The Sanskrit is extant in a virtually complete manuscript and some fragments from Khotan (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 2002; see also Martini, 2010). In a newly identified folio, the Khotanese rendering "What am I seeking?" (ch. 23) surprisingly reflects a mistake in the main Sanskrit manuscript, where an original *kim aham arghāmīti* (What am I worth?) was replaced in error with *kim ahaṃ margāmīti* (What am I seeking?), a possible reading that had eluded the attention of modern scholars (Maggi, forthcoming a). Several sourced and unsourced quotations from the *Ratnakūṭa* and other texts of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection are to be found in the *Book of Zambasta* (Martini, 2010; 2013, 31–41; Dhammadinnā, 2013).

The only surviving folio of an
translation of the longer *Sukhāvatī*
the homage and the first lines of the
praise of Buddha Lokeśvararāja Bud
in a past life of his as the bodh
Dharmākara (Skjærvø, 2002, 176).
Sanskrit recension was presumably
ferent from the well-known Nepalese

Saṅghāṭasūtra, *Suvarṇabhāsott*
and Other *Sūtras*

The *Saṅghāṭasūtra* must have been
in Khotan, as it is represented by
folios and fragments from at least
of an Old Khotanese version. It was
sūtras translated into Khotanese, sin
agrees with the oldest Sanskrit ma
text from about 500 CE, and a man
dated paleographically to the 5th or
tury (Canevascini, 1993; see also Dua
forthcoming b).

The Late Khotanese *Bhadrakalpik*
on the names of the buddhas (*budd*
is known from two Dunhuang ma
dated from 943 CE (Bailey, ^{2}1981,
1929). The Khotanese version differs
nese and Tibetan translations (T. 425
2009, 199). There were two traditio
the number of buddhas who will app
aeon (*bhadrakalpa*): they will be fiv
an earlier tradition, but one thous
to a later one. The Khotanese *Bhad*
apparently conflated the two tra
speaks of 1,005 buddhas, though the
lists only 998 names (Emmerick,
above on Late Khotanese *namo* texts
Deśanā I and *II* contained in the same
the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*).

The *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* is an ea
text devoted to Bhaiṣajyaguru, the obj
cult as the buddha of medicine in all
to awakening as a healing of rebirth.
tanese translation, preserved in a nu
ments (see the list in Maggi, 2009, 386
correspond closely with the Sanskri
versions (Skjærvø, ^{2}2012, 135).

Ten folios from Khotan preserve
Khotanese version of the *Vimalakī*
(Skjærvø, 1986; Emmerick & Vorob'ëva
1995, 213–214; for the Sanskrit, see
2004). It is fairly close to the Sanskri
and, where it differs, it occupies a
mediate between Kumārajīva's (ea

adition. The ones currently called
śanā II contemplate the existence
dhas in crores of aeons and promise
ns to those who hear, recite, or have
tten (Skjærvø, 2002, 542–550; for a
y, vol. III, 1945–1985, 112–116). That
no texts, and such theoretical texts
leśana all belong together is shown
single manuscript contains a *namo*
caryādeśanā, the *Deśanāparivarta*,
of Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi: among oth-
another manuscript, the *Karmāṃ*
ed by a *namo* text. Other Khotanese
are the *Triśaraṇa* formula (Skjærvø,
e also Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 64)
ations from Dunhuang.

lio from Khotan preserves part of
se text that is known from the two
Da fangguang fo huayan jing busiyi
(大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分;
fangguang fo huayan rulai busiyi
廣如來不思議境界經; T. 301) trans-
anese monks Devendraprajña and
ctively. The Khotanese text seems
evendraprajña's version (Skjærvø,
en, 2012, 270–273).

hāvatīvyūha, and Related

hree manuscripts from Khotan
Khotanese translation of the
(Skjærvø, 2003), the most
e *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection in the
(T. 310). The text circulated in
n India, under the title *Ratnakūṭa*
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robyova-Desyatovskaya, 2002; see
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Mahāratnakūṭa collection are to
Book of Zambasta (Martini, 2010;
nadinnā, 2013).

The only surviving folio of an Old Khotanese translation of the longer *Sukhāvatīvyūha* contains the homage and the first lines of the song uttered in praise of Buddha Lokeśvararāja Buddha Amitābha in a past life of his as the bodhisattva named Dharmākara (Skjærvø, 2002, 176). The underlying Sanskrit recension was presumably somewhat different from the well-known Nepalese one.

Saṅghāṭasūtra, Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, and Other *Sūtras*

The *Saṅghāṭasūtra* must have been very popular in Khotan, as it is represented by more than 140 folios and fragments from at least 27 manuscripts of an Old Khotanese version. It was one of the first *sūtras* translated into Khotanese, since it essentially agrees with the oldest Sanskrit manuscript of the text from about 500 CE, and a manuscript can be dated paleographically to the 5th or early 6th century (Canevascini, 1993; see also Duan, 2010; Maggi, forthcoming b).

The Late Khotanese *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, a *sūtra* on the names of the buddhas (*buddhanāmasūtra*), is known from two Dunhuang manuscripts, one dated from 943 CE (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 75–90; Konow, 1929). The Khotanese version differs from the Chinese and Tibetan translations (T. 425; D 94; Skilling, 2009, 199). There were two traditions concerning the number of buddhas who will appear in the good aeon (*bhadrakalpa*): they will be five according to an earlier tradition, but one thousand according to a later one. The Khotanese *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* apparently conflated the two traditions, as it speaks of 1,005 buddhas, though the preserved text lists only 998 names (Emmerick, ^{2}1992, 20–21; see above on Late Khotanese *namo* texts, including the *Deśanā I* and *II* contained in the same manuscript as the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*).

The *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* is an early Mahāyāna text devoted to Bhaiṣajyaguru, the object of a special cult as the buddha of medicine in all its aspects up to awakening as a healing of rebirth. The Old Khotanese translation, preserved in a number of fragments (see the list in Maggi, 2009, 386n191), does not correspond closely with the Sanskrit and Chinese versions (Skjærvø, ^{2}2012, 135).

Ten folios from Khotan preserve part of an Old Khotanese version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (Skjærvø, 1986; Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 213–214; for the Sanskrit, see Study Group, 2004). It is fairly close to the Sanskrit and Tibetan, and, where it differs, it occupies a position intermediate between Kumārajīva's (early 5th-cent.) and Xuanzang's (mid-7th-cent.) Chinese translations (T. 475–476; see also Skjærvø, 1986, 230).

An early scripture connected with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* is the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, a text about meditation on emptiness and the concentration (*samādhi*) called *śūraṅgama* as a means to the attainment of awakening. Substantial remains of two manuscripts of an Old Khotanese version are extant (Emmerick, 1970a; Skjærvø, 2002, 220, 223, 266–268, 329, 409–423). One of the manuscript fragments of the Sanskrit original betrays Khotanese influence in the spelling *manyuśrī* for Mañjuśrī's name. The Khotanese version differs in a number of places from the Tibetan and the Chinese translations (Emmerick, 1970a, 13, 23).

The *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* is the most largely preserved Khotanese *sūtra* translation (Skjærvø, 2004; see also Duan, 2006). All manuscripts are in Old Khotanese and come from Khotan with the exception of the metrical version of the Late Khotanese *Deśanāparivarta* from Dunhuang (see above). The Khotanese manuscripts represent all five stages of development of the Sanskrit text with the exception of the very first (Skjærvø, vol. I, 2004, 32–71): recension A (see T. 663; Dharmakṣema's version), the much longer recension B (see the text in Nobel, 1937), recension C (see T. 664, which adds new material to Dharmakṣema's version), recension D (see D 556), and recension E (see T. 665; Yijing's [義淨] version). The Old Khotanese materials go back to an old version, which essentially agrees with recension B but preserves a better text than the Nepalese manuscripts. In the course of time, the copyists attempted to improve the text, and agreements with the Chinese translations suggest the existence of a Central Asian recension. The Late Khotanese *Deśanāparivarta* agrees with Yijing. A summary of the text is offered, among other matters, by the introduction to the Old Khotanese version.

A Late Khotanese metrical *Pradakṣiṇāsūtra*, known from a Dunhuang manuscript possibly to be dated to 995 CE (Bailey, ^{2}1981, 72–74; 1974), diverges from the other known versions and presents itself as a *sūtra* preached by the Buddha about the advantages deriving from worshipping Buddhist monuments.

The *Karmavibhaṅga* is a popular text on the consequences of good and evil actions. The Old Khotanese version, preserved in three fragmentary manuscripts, does not contain the amplifications characteristic of the other known versions – including the Central Asian Sanskrit one – and must reflect an early stage of the text (Maggi, 1995; see Kudo, 2004 for the Sanskrit).

Two folios of an early Late Khotanese *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* from Khotan are extant (Bongard-Levin & Tyomkin, 1969; Maggi, 2009, 294–296). The text lists categories of Mahāyāna doctrine arranged by number. The surviving Khotanese preserves the core of the text and looks like an abbreviated paraphrase, if compared with other known versions (Kumamoto, 1996), from which it also diverges in that it contains a list of *sūtras*.

A fragmentary folio of a manuscript from Khotan contains the opening section of an Old Khotanese translation of the *Hastikakṣyasūtra*, a verse of which is quoted in the *Book of Zambasta* and whose title is mentioned in the *Book of Vimalakīrti* in connection with non-origination of phenomena (Skjærvø, 2002, 577–578; Chen, 2012, 273–276; see also Liu & Chen, 2014).

Dhāraṇīs

Dhāraṇīs probably originated as a support for memorization of points of doctrine and meditative experiences but eventually developed into protective spells including invocations, partially intelligible words, and partially meaningless syllables, which characterize tantric texts referred to as *dhāraṇī*(*sūtra*)s.

The *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* contains a *dhāraṇī* taught by the Buddha for lengthening one's lifespan by venerating Buddha Aparimitāyus and the *sūtra* itself. A Late Khotanese version has come down to us in two manuscripts and one folio from Dunhuang (Duan, 1992). A fragment from Khotan seems to belong to a different version (Maggi, 1998a, 490).

Of the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, a collection of *dhāraṇīs* offering protection from demons, a Late Khotanese excerpt about demons causing children's diseases survives partially in a Dunhuang bilingual manuscript in Chinese and Khotanese used as an amulet (Maggi, 1996; Skjærvø, 2002, 583). Other amulets (*rakṣās*) with apotropaic drawings, *dhāraṇīs*, or texts (see e.g. Skjærvø, 2007; Duan, 2009; and the list in Maggi, 2009, 400n226) give expression to the most extreme form of folk beliefs in Buddhist Khotan.

An Old Khotanese translation of the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra*, displaying a few agreements with some of the Chinese translations (T. 1009, 1011–1018), is known from a number of folios and fragments from four manuscripts from Khotan (see Skjærvø, ^{2}2012, 135; and the list of mss. in Skjærvø, 2002, 607; other mss. in Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 38–40; Duan, 1993). The *dhāraṇī* proper is found in Late Khotanese orthography on a Dunhuang roll (Bailey, vol. III, 1945–1985, 77–78).

Five fragments from four manuscripts from the Khotan region witness an archaizing Late Khotanese version of the *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhānāmadhāraṇī* (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 233; Skjærvø, 2002, 24–25, 383–384; Yoshida, 2004, 27–28; see also Chen, 2012, 276–278).

A Late Khotanese *Sumukhasūtra* containing several *dhāraṇīs* preached by the Buddha, the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, and other bodhisattvas and deities against all evils and for long life is extant in a Dunhuang manuscript of 943 CE (Emmerick, 1997–1998).

Scanty remains of an Old Khotanese translation of the *Agrapradīpadhāraṇī* survive in a fragment from Khotan (Skjærvø, 2002, 224; Chen, 2012, 267–270).

An archaizing Late Khotanese version of the *Jñānolkadhāraṇī* is found on several folios from at least five partly unpublished manuscripts from Khotan (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 21–24; Skjærvø, 2002, 349, 355, 451), which attest to the popularity of this text aimed at protection and deliverance of beings (the correspondence with T. 1397 and 1398 is not close; Leumann, 1920, 160–161).

Two Late Khotanese *dhāraṇīs* from Khotan without known parallels are the *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī* and *Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī*. In the archaizing *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī*, devotion to the compassionate bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is expressed in the initial confession formula (*deśanā*) and in one of the protective *dhāraṇīs* that the text contains (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1995, 43, 239–250; see also Maggi, 1998b, 285). The *Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī* refers to itself as a *sūtra*, mentions Buddha Amitāyus three times and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara together with another bodhisattva whose name is lost in a gap, and aims at protection from diseases and various evils (Skjærvø, 2002, 370–373).

Three Sanskrit *dhāraṇīsūtras* in Late Khotanese orthography are known: *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* (Bailey, vol. V, 1945–1985, 325–326), *Buddhoṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* (Bailey, vol. V, 1945–1985, 368), and *Sitātapatradhāraṇī* (Bailey, vol. V, 1945–1985, 359–376).

Hymns

Two texts are known to belong to the genre of hymns in praise of the Buddha (*stava, stotra*). A bilingual fragment preserves a tiny portion of Triratnadāsa's (5th century?) *Guṇāparyantastotra* in Sanskrit and Old Khotanese. The manuscript, probably produced in Khotan though allegedly found in the Kucha region on the northern branch of the eastern Silk Route, alternates single Sanskrit stanzas with their

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Khotanese translation, which is
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Esoteric Buddhism

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Finally, Vajrayāna is mentioned
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Sanskrit-Khotanese Conversation M

Buddhism in Non-Doctrinal Te

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gle Sanskrit stanzas with their

Khotanese translation, which is possibly in verse (Skjærvø, 2002, 136; Hartmann & Chen, forthcoming). And the Late Khotanese *Jātakastava*, possibly an original poetic composition written under King Viśa' Śūra, is entirely preserved in a Dunhuang manuscript. It is based on the stories taken from the Buddha's former births and extols the virtues of the Buddha-to-be through concise summaries of 52 stories, each one closed by a praising formula (Dresden, 1955).

Esoteric Buddhism

That Vajrayāna or esoteric Buddhism had followers among the Khotanese is documented directly by only a few untitled Late Khotanese texts in 10th-century manuscripts from Dunhuang. The so-called *Vajrayāna Text*, a short prose treatise on the rosary, belongs to a genre that is also known from Tibetan texts from Dunhuang and is most likely based on a Tibetan source (Skjærvø, 2002, 292–296; see also Stein, 1987, 268–272). The *Vajrayāna Verses* (dated 971 CE), the *Vajrayāna Verses of Cā Kīmä-śani*, and the beginning of another Vajrayāna text are *deśanās* written on a single roll (Skjærvø, 2002, 551–556). Finally, Vajrayāna is mentioned in the colophon of the *Jātakastava*, two letters in verse, and the *Sanskrit-Khotanese Conversation Manual.*

Buddhism in Non-Doctrinal Texts

The Buddhist environment in which they were produced often surfaces in Khotanese non-doctrinal literary texts. Thus, two thirds of the so-called *Lyrical Poem*, preserved in six Dunhuang manuscripts, are devoted to the magnification of love, but the rest exhorts the reader to abstain from worldly pleasures and recalls Indian mythological instances of men ruined by women (Kumamoto, 2000).

Buddhist monks often feature in Late Khotanese epistolary poetry as the authors of fictive letters in verse contained in 10th-century Dunhuang manuscripts, which elaborate on the theme of separation of travelers on the road from family, teachers, and friends in the homeland (see e.g. Kumamoto, 1991).

Khotanese panegyrical literature is of course imbued with Buddhism. The metrical *Panegyric on King Viśa' Kīrtta* from Khotan celebrates the king's funding, in 806 CE, of religious activity for the sake of welfare in his reign under Tibetan sway (Skjærvø, 2002, 285). The metrical *Panegyric on King Viśa' Dharma*, written when the king sent an embassy to Dunhuang in 982 CE to ask for the hand of a Chinese princess, opens with a lengthy Vajrayāna invocation mentioning the buddha Vairocana (Skjærvø, 2002, 522–524). The elaborate prose *Panegyric on King Viśa' Saṃgrāma* – Viśa' Saṃgrāma possibly reigned in 9th century – also from Dunhuang, praises the king, on the occasion of a ceremony performed by monks at the end of the rainy season, for erecting a monastery and his religious merits imparting well-being to Khotan (Bailey, vol. II, 1945–1985, 101–107; 1965).

Late Khotanese medical texts from 10th-century Dunhuang belong to the Indian ayurvedic tradition, which spread in Central Asia along with Buddhism. The *Jīvakapustaka*, preserved by a manuscript in Khotanese and Sanskrit (Bailey, vol. II, 1945–1985, 135–195; Konow, 1941; see also Chen Ming, 2005), opens with an antidote taught by the Buddha to Jīvaka, who is called "the king of physicians" in the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* (l. 358). The Khotanese version of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* (Bailey, vol. I, 1945–1985, 1–104), whose Tibetan translation was included in the Tanjur (D 4434; Emmerick, 1980–1982) contains an introduction in verse, which states that the work was translated so that

> [b]y the truth of those Three Jewels, due to divine compassion and due to faith too, may all diseases be removed in both ways. May (all beings) obtain enlightenment as it may please them. (trans. Emmerick, 1983, 21)

It is significant that many words and sentences relating to Buddhism occur in the 10th-century *Sanskrit-Khotanese Conversation Manual* from Dunhuang (Kumamoto, 1988) and that the *Itinerary*, describing a journey to Kashmir under King Abhimanyugupta (r. 958–972 CE), pays special attention to *stūpas* and Buddhist monasteries on the way (Skjærvø, 2002, 524–526).

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Mauro Maggi

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Discovery and Scholarship

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MAURO MAGGI

Local Literatures: Uighur

Although Buddhists were active in the First Turk Empire (552–612 CE), there is scant evidence of the dharma among the Turks during the Second Turk Empire (692–742 CE) and even less during the subsequent Uighur Steppe Empire (744–840 CE), especially since in the second half of the 8th century CE Manichaeism had become the state religion. Nevertheless, once this empire collapsed and various groups of Uighurs began migrating to the oasis cities of the Gansu corridor and the Tarim basin, they once again came into contact with Buddhism. However, it was not until the late 10th century that the Uighur elite began sponsoring the large-scale translation of Buddhist texts into their own language. And although this tradition continued up through the 17th century, the bulk of the extant Uighur Buddhist literature derives from the West Uighur Kingdom of the 9th to 14th centuries.

Discovery and Scholarship

The first Western scholar to take notice of this literature was S. Julien, who in his work on a catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, prepared under the auspices of Khubilai (Kublai) Khan in 1285–1287, came to realize that the dharma had also been translated into a Turkic language. And this observation was subsequently confirmed during the famous Silk Road expeditions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when Uighur Buddhist texts and a vast array of fragments were discovered.

The 1889–1890 Russian expedition to East Turkestan was the first to discover Uighur manuscripts. And this collection of texts, which was sent back to Saint Petersburg, was subsequently added to by N.R. Petrovskij, the Russian consul in Kashgar, and by N.N. Krotkov, the consul at Kulja and Urumqi and as a result of the expeditions of S.S. Oldenburg in 1909–1910 and 1914–1915 and those of S.E. Malov in 1909–1911 and 1913–1914. All of these manuscripts are now stored in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Yet the Russians were not the only ones traversing the Silk Road. On account of "The Great Game," the British financed the Hungarian explorer Marc Aurel Stein for his three famous expeditions to East Turkestan in the years 1900–1901, 1906–1908, and 1913–1915, during which he discovered the famous walled-up library in cave 17 at Dunhuang, which was filled with manuscripts in numerous languages, including Uighur, which are now part of the Stein Collection at the British Library. The four German expeditions of Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq in 1902–1903, 1904–1905, 1905–1907, and 1913–1914 were, however, the most successful in acquiring Uighur Buddhist manuscripts. They are now housed at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Another major body of Uighur texts was acquired by the three expeditions financed by the Japanese count Ōtani in 1902–1904, 1908–1909, and 1910–1914, which are now housed for the most part in the Ryūkoku University Library in Kyoto. Two other collections are in the Bibliothèque nationale and the Musée Guimet in Paris.

In addition to these six major collections of Uighur Buddhist literature, there are several smaller ones in China, Finland, Sweden, and Turkey.

Upon the discovery of these manuscripts, scholars began the work of deciphering and translating them almost immediately. In Russia, the project of publishing the Uighur Buddhist manuscripts was initiated by the Turkologist W. Radloff, whose work was subsequently continued by S.E. Malov. Simultaneously in Berlin, F.W.K. Müller began the publication of the Turfan collection in the four issues of his Uigurica series (1908–1931). Following him, the publication of the Buddhist manuscripts housed in the Turfan collection was continued by a range of scholars in the series Türkische Turfantexte (1929–1958), and then the Berliner Turfantexte series (16 vols. from 1971 to 2013).

Such foundational philological work has also been carried out by other scholars working on other collections, such as the ongoing translations in the Xuanzangs Leben und Werk subseries, the Uighur texts published in volumes XII, XIV, XVII, and XXVII of the Bibliotheca Buddhica series, and J.R. Hamilton's two-volume edition of the manuscripts from Dunhuang (1971; 1986). In terms of current scholarship on Uighur Buddhist literature, it is important to note

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the academic project Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, which since 1987 has published 19 catalogues of Uighur Buddhist manuscripts and block prints. In addition, the entire Berlin collection is now available online either at Digitales Turfanarchiv or at the International Dunhuang Project. Other collections such as the Ōtani Collection of the Ryūkoku University Library are also accessible on the International Dunhuang Project website.

The Literature

The extant Uighur Buddhist literature is extensive and diverse. It is translated from several different source languages, and it covers the full range of Buddhist traditions (Elverskog, 1997). Thus, not only are there fragments from all five of the *āgamas* and a range of other *nikāya* texts, but there is also a full array of both Mahāyāna and tantric texts. In addition there are extant translations of the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda Vinayas as well as Chinese apocrypha and numerous commentaries on works of Vasubandhu. There are also original Uighur works.

Yet even though there is such a wide array of texts, it is unknown whether there ever developed an Uighur canon (Wilkens, 2013). Rather, it seems more likely that most Uighur Buddhist texts were translated on special occasions. In particular, it is clear that the desire to generate merit was a driving factor in the preparation of these translations. So much so, in fact, that there even developed a special text genre called "transfer of merit" (*buyan ävirmäk*). The Uighurs were also apparently greatly interested in texts related to the confession of sins.

Translations from Sanskrit

Although there are a few colophons that mention Uighur Buddhist texts having been translated from Sanskrit (Uig. *äntkäk*), it is unclear whether Uighur monks actually used Sanskrit texts as the basis for their translations. There is little evidence for direct translations from Sanskrit originals, though one example is the *Triskandhakadharmasūtra* alias *Vinayaviniścaya Upāliparipṛcchā*, which was used for the confession of sins by venerating the 35 bodhisattvas and was translated from Sanskrit into Uighur by Prajñāśrī (Hazai, 1976).

Another possible link to Sanskrit sources is evidenced in numerous Uighur Buddhist texts written in Brahmi script. Even though it is unlikely that these Brahmi-script texts are the earliest Uighur Buddhist texts, as argued by earlier scholarship, it is certainly the case that they represent a connection with the Sanskrit heritage in Central Asia. Moreover, judging from the large amount of bilingual Sanskrit/Uighur texts in Indian Brahmi script, it is clear that the knowledge of Sanskrit among Uighur monks was widespread (Maue, 1996; 2015).

While most of the Uighur and Sanskrit/Uighur texts written in Brahmi script are from a wide array of *nikāya* traditions, from *āgama* collections through Vinaya and Abhidharma to *gāthās* and *jātakas*, there are also some Uighur translations of Mahāyāna scriptures written in Brahmi script. One such text is a fragment that corresponds to a translation of the *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai da beixin tuoluoni jing* (千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經; *Dhāraṇīsūtra* of the Thousand-Eyed and Thousand-Armed Bodhisattva Guanshiyin with a Vast, Wholly Perfect, Unimpeded and Great Compassionate Heart; T. 1060; Maue, 1996, no. 43).

On account of the vast majority of Uighur Buddhist texts having been written in the Sogdo-Uighur script, it is unclear for whom these Brahmi script texts were prepared. Indeed, whether Uighur Buddhist translations were prepared by monks for monks, or for both monks and laypeople, or eventually only for laypeople is difficult to judge. Nevertheless, from the numerous extant colophons, it is clear that it was mostly laypeople who ordered copies of these texts (Kasai, 2008).

At the same time, how these translations and their propagation fit into the economic base of monasteries and their income is unclear. We have a few Uighur documents about monastic financial matters, such as lists of alms and of regulations for preachers; however, we know little about how the production of texts fits into the Uighur Buddhist economy. Nevertheless, on the basis of his work on the glosses in Tocharian and Sanskrit texts, D. Maue has shown that Uighurs were involved in the production and/or use of Sanskrit texts (Maue, 2009; 2010). In addition, the existence of an Uighur version of a story about King Jīmūtaketu and his son Jīmūtavāhana, which is based on an Indian story that became famous through the drama *Nāgananda* by Harṣa, makes it clear that Uighurs were familiar with the Sanskritic tradition, even though they

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The Sogdian Tradition

Although the Sogdian influence on Old Turkic culture is widely accepted, there is very little evidence that Uighur Buddhist texts were actually translated directly from Sogdian. For example, fragment So 18276 in the Berlin Collection contains a colophon noting a heretofore unidentified Sogdian Buddhist *sūtra*, which confirms that either Sogdian and Uighur authors/scribes were either working together or a Uighur was copying a Sogdian text (Yoshida, 2008). Nevertheless, this one example belies the fact that Sogdian was not a main source language for Uighur Buddhist texts.

Even so, a few Uighur texts were written in Sogdian script (Fedakâr, 1991–1996). But since these texts are not dated, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions about the nature of Sogdian-Uighur translation history. In fact, it is quite possible that the reason these Uighur texts are in Sogdian script is simply because the scribes were more familiar with the Sogdian script than the newer Uighur one, a supposition that is lent further credence by the fact that some of the Uighur fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, although written in Sogdian script, were actually translated from Chinese (Maue & Röhrborn, 1980; Zieme, 2000).

The Tocharian Tradition

The earliest layer of Uighur Buddhism is connected with the Tocharians, who had a strong Buddhist-oriented culture during the second half of the 1st millennium. Some colophons give clear evidence of translations from Tocharian into Uighur having taken place during the 10th and early 11th centuries. Among these are two prose works, the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (Garland of Legends Pertaining to the Ten Courses of Action) and the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (*Sūtra* on the Meeting with Maitreya).

The *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* is a collection of ten books arranged according to the ten *karmapathas* (courses of action; Wilkens, 2010; a complete edition of the corpus by J. Wilkens is in preparation). Each book is embedded into a frame story in which the master teaches the pupil to avoid evil deeds by quoting stories from the extensive *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature (Geng, Laut & Wilkens, 2005). The origin of all these Uighur versions has not yet been identified (Wilkens, 2010), but some of the extant colophons (see Kasai, 2008) of the Uighur translations of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* attest that it was first translated from Tocharian B (*küsän tili*) into Tocharian A (*toxrı tili*) and then into Uighur (*türkčä*).

The *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, which focuses on Buddha Maitreya, was translated from the Tocharian *Maitreyasamitināṭaka*. It is now the focus of the project Gesamtedition der alttürkischen Überlieferung zur Maitreya Literature (Complete Edition of the Old Turkic Transmissions of the Maitreya Literature), led by J.P. Laut at Göttingen.

In addition to these two major works, there is a Uighur colophon that testifies to a translation of an unknown Buddhist commentary from Tocharian B into Uighur (*türk* [*tili*]). The unidentified commentary is a discussion about the characteristics of a bodhisattva, which also mentions meditation and the theory of emptiness. This reveals that the Uighur translations of Tocharian texts were based on not only *nikāya* but also Mahāyāna sources (Kasai, 2004; 2006).

The Chinese Tradition

The majority of Uighur translations were made from a wide variety of Chinese Buddhist texts. In most cases, however, we have no knowledge how the translations were actually produced, though we know some of the translators, such as Šıŋko Šäli Tutuŋ (see Röhrborn, 1998), who worked in the early 11th century. Nor do we know how or why certain Chinese texts were chosen to be translated. Nevertheless, on the basis of the extant material, it is clear that the Uighurs drew on two main source groups. The first were well-canonized texts such as Kumārajīva's version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and the other were the Buddhist texts that were popular in the Dunhuang region.

Āgama Translations

Āgama translations were made from Chinese into Uighur (for an overview of the fragments known up to 2010, see Aydar, 2010; for a collection of studies on the Uighur Āgama fragments preserved in the Etnografiska Museet of Stockholm, see Kasai & Raschmann, forthcoming), though in most cases, these translations are not complete but rather extracts taken from Chinese *āgamas*. As such, the Uighur texts very often include the *āgama* passage in Chinese. In some cases, however, the extracted passages replace the Chinese character with dashes, dots, or circles (see photograph of Ch/U 7209 verso, edited in Kudara & Zieme, 1990, plate VII; a digital image is available at http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu7209versototal.jpg). How or why this was done is unclear. There were apparently no fixed rules for extracting *āgama* passages. But some manuscripts that give extracts of only *gāthās* are rather consistent in keeping to the rule. Their worth as Buddhist literature is not high, but since these compilations are word-for-word translations, one gets exact information on how a given Chinese word was understood by the translators. Despite the great number of fragments (more than 110, some of which are complete leaves), there are only a very few overlapping texts. One example is the *Candrasūtra* (see Zieme, 2000; also Raschmann & Wilkens, 2009, 33–47).

Prajñāpāramitā Literature

Most of the Uighur versions of texts belonging to the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature were recently assembled in a comprehensive volume (Yakup, 2010), in which a number of texts were compared to their Chinese sources including the *Vajracchedikā*, some related commentaries, and the *Hṛdayasūtra* (Heart *Sūtra*).

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra and Commentaries

Although the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* gained wide acceptance in Central and East Asia, there are no complete Uighur versions extant. However, quite a few different manuscripts and translations of the *sūtra* are known (Zieme, 2005b). Whether the Uighur version was translated from Sogdian or Chinese is still debated. Nevertheless, most of the Uighur fragments belong to chapter 25 (according to Kumārajīva's Chinese version), which is also known as an independent work entitled *Guan jing* (觀經; *Sūtra* on Guan[shiyin] [Avalokiteśvara]), in which Avalokiteśvara appears in 33 different shapes in order to become attractive to different groups of persons who wish to be rescued from their calamities.

Many Chinese commentaries to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* are also known, and one of the most famous (*Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* [妙法蓮華經玄贊]; The Profound Praise of the Lotus *Sūtra* of the Wonderful Law; T. 1723) was translated into Uighur (Kudara, 1988).

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Commentaries

One of the famous and widespread Mahāyāna *sūtras* is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. There are several Chinese versions, but again it is Kumārajīva's rendering (T. 475) that was widely used in Central Asia and was also the source of the Uighur translation(s), of which fragments exist (Zieme, 2000a). A peculiar manuscript in the Turfan Collection of Berlin consists of large *pustaka* (palm-leaf shaped) leaves containing an Uighur commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Kasai, 2011). Even though there are abundant commentaries on this *sūtra* in Chinese, the Uighur manuscript does not closely match any of these. Thus, either the Uighur commentary was based on a totally unknown Chinese commentary or, as seems to be more plausible, it is a reworking by using Chinese commentaries rather freely and thus creating a new independent commentary. A further distinctive feature of this Uighur work is its lively similes that are used to demonstrate the meaning of *ālayavjñāna* (store consciousness), a central concept in Yogācāra philosophy (Kasai, 2011; 2009).

Suvarṇabhāsottama and Commentaries

That the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* (*Sūtra* of Golden Light) was the favorite *sūtra* among Uighur Buddhists is proven by the fact that manuscripts of its Uighur version(s) are found in nearly all collections of Turfan materials. The source text for the Uighur version was Yijing's (635–713 CE) Chinese translation (*Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* [金光明最勝王經]; T. 665), although recent research shows that some other texts may have been consulted in the translation process (Wilkens, 2001).

The chapters of this *sūtra* are devoted to different themes, thus giving the impression of a kind of anthology of Buddhism. It starts with an account
of Buddha's life and ends with the
story of the hungry lioness. Two cha
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S.-C. Raschmann edited a three-vo
describing some one thousand Ui
of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* in the Be
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text enumerates about 144 items for
2013 (Uçar, 2013).

Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra

The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (*Sūtr*
Garland of Flowers) is one of the l
Mahāyāna Buddhism. There are thr
sions in Chinese translations (in 4
T. 293], in 60 *juan* [Buddhabhadra;
80 *juan* [Śikṣānanda; T. 279]), all
Uighur, to judge from extant fr
ever, the existence of a translation
40 volumes can only be assumed b
that the Uighurs had a joint editio
in 60 and in 40 volumes (Kudara
Nevertheless, at least three differen
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(Vows on the Practices of the Bodh
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of Buddha's life and ends with the famous *jātaka* story of the hungry lioness. Two chapters are texts on the confession of sins, which in Uighur Buddhism played a great role for the laity. Another famous chapter explains the *rājaśāstra* (advice [for the] king) to keep the country peaceful and ordered; this *rājaśāstra* follows Indian concepts about how rulers or kings should behave in relation to people and realm. Other parts are praises of gods and bodhisattvas. The chapter on medicine interwoven with mantras is also based on Indian concepts explaining the four elements of the body (earth, water, fire, and wind), their relation to the seasons and to food, and so on.

The Saint Petersburg Collection has two large manuscripts that were written, according to their colophons, in Gansu in 1687 (first edited by Radloff & Malov, 1913–1917). These are the most recent manuscripts in the classical Uighur language. Uighur inscriptions of the Wenshushan grottoes in the same region have shown that the old literary language was still in use in the late 17th century for writing *ad hoc* texts (Yusup & Zhang, 2012). In recent years, S.-C. Raschmann edited a three-volume catalogue describing some one thousand Uighur fragments of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* in the Berlin Collection, enabling further research on the text (Raschmann, 2000–2005). A recent bibliography on this Uighur text enumerates about 144 items for the years 1908–2013 (Uçar, 2013).

Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra

The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (*Sūtra* of Buddha's Garland of Flowers) is one of the largest *sūtras* of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There are three different versions in Chinese translations (in 40 *juan* [Prajña; T. 293], in 60 *juan* [Buddhabhadra; T. 278], and in 80 *juan* [Śikṣānanda; T. 279]), all translated into Uighur, to judge from extant fragments. However, the existence of a translation of the *sūtra* in 40 volumes can only be assumed based on the fact that the Uighurs had a joint edition of the *sūtras* in 60 and in 40 volumes (Kudara & Oda, 1983). Nevertheless, at least three different block-printed editions of the *sūtra* in 40 volumes existed (Yakup, 2008). The famous *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* (Vows on the Practices of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra), the final part of the last book, played a great role in some Uighur circles, as many fragments of manuscripts and block prints are extant (Zieme, 1982).

Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*

Besides some edited fragments of the Uighur version of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra*, not much is known about this translation. Of special interest is a colophon, insofar as it contains the Indian author's name Dharmakṣema (385–433 CE), which so far is attested only in Chinese transcriptions. The Uighur form D(a)rma[k]šeme proves that the Sanskrit reconstruction of Tanwuchan (曇無讖) as Dharmakṣema is correct (Yusup, 1998).

Amitābha Buddhism

Amitābha Buddhism (Pure Land Buddhism) is presented by all its central scriptures, the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (觀無量壽經; *Sūtra* of the Contemplation on Amitābha; T. 365), as well as the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (Expansion of [the Buddha Realm Called] Sukhāvatī [Land of Bliss]; in two *juan*) and the *Amitābhasūtra* (the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*; T. 366; in one *juan*). The first is an original Chinese composition, despite its traditional claim of Sanskrit origin. This prose text, which presents and explains the 16 meditations, survived in only a very few leaves of a Uighur prose translation. But a larger part of the *sūtra* is known in a kind of reworking in Uighur alliterative stanzas in a Yuan-period block-printed version and therefore had better be regarded as an original Uighur text (Zieme & Kudara, 1985). The belief in Amitābha is well documented by a great variety of Uighur colophons. Moreover, a large four-*juan* work expounding the doctrine of Amitābha Buddhism by several quotations from the basic texts in the first three *juan* has to be mentioned, the last *juan* of which contains hagiographies of different persons beginning with famous Buddhist monks and ending with some laywomen. Probably modeled on Wang Rixiu's *Longshu (zengguang) jingtu wen* (龍樹[增光]淨土文; Text about the Pure Land, from Longshu; 1161 CE), the Uighur work entitled *Abitaki* has great value, as its Chinese original seems to be lost. *Abitaki* (*Amituo jing* [阿彌陀經]; *Sūtra* on [Buddha] Amitābha) is here not the *Amitābhasūtra* mentioned above but a generic title of a scripture of Amitābha Buddhism.

Säkiz yükmäk yaruk sudur

Some four hundred fragments of manuscripts and block prints are known from translations of the apocryphal Chinese *sūtra Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* (佛説天地八陽神咒經; *Dhāraṇīsūtra* on the Eight Lights of Heaven and Earth, Spoken by Buddha), a comprehensive study of which was written by J. Oda and published in 2010. The oldest version may belong to the early years of the 10th century, when the large-scale translation work by Uighur Buddhists began, and a distinction should be made between two translations (Ligeti, 1971).

Other *Sūtras*

There are also extant Uighur translations of such *sūtras* as the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* (*Sūtra* on [Bodhisattva] Kṣitigarbha ["Earth Store"]; Zieme, 1990) and the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (*Sūtra* on [Buddha] Bhaiṣajyaguru ["Medicine Master"]; Yusup, 2004).

Commentaries

Translations from Chinese treatises are also known. In the foregoing, the commentaries to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* were mentioned, but many other published and unpublished fragments of commentaries exist (Özertural, 2012).

Some leaves of a manuscript in the Berlin Collection are identified as parts of an Uighur translation of the *Dasheng rudao cidi* (大乘入道次第; The Order of Entering the Way According to the Mahāyāna; Zieme, 2012b). The author of this text is Zhizhou (智周; 679–723 CE or 668–723 CE), a disciple of Huizhao (慧沼; 650–714 CE), a master of the lineage of the Dharmalakṣaṇa (Faxiang [法相]; Yogācāra) school in China.

Ritual Texts

Mention should be made of a Uighur translation of the Chinese *Cibei daochang chanfa* (慈悲道場懺法; Confession Ritual on the Platform of Mercy and Benevolence; T. 1909). It is a large work of ten volumes ordered by Liang Wudi (梁武帝; 464–549 CE) to absolve the sins of his evil wife. It was translated into Uighur by Küntsün Šäli tutuŋ from Bešbalık, who probably was a *nomdaš* (comrade in dharma) of the more famous Šıŋko Šäli Tutuŋ, who was also from Bešbalık. The work is known under the (shortened) Uighur title *Kšanti kılguluk nom* (*Sūtra* on How to Make Confession; Wilkens, 2007).

Biographies

The Uighur translation of the ten-volume biography of Xuanzang, written by Huili and his pupils, the *Datang daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* (大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳; Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the [Monastery] Daciensi of the Great Tang; T. 2053), was undertaken by – or under the leadership of – Šıŋko Šäli Tutuŋ, who flourished around the early 11th century. The translation exists in several manuscripts, but only the largest one enables us to have an impression of old Uighur book culture, as only very few passages of all other manuscripts are preserved. A richly commentated reedition of the Uighur manuscript is currently being prepared (e.g. Aydemir, 2013).

Tantric Buddhism

Although the majority of Uighur tantric texts were translated from Tibetan during the Mongol period, some tantric works were translated earlier, presumably from Chinese, such as some *sūtras* from the Avalokiteśvara corpus. These translations also belong to the work of Šıŋko Šäli Tutuŋ. The majority of these fragments of several manuscripts can be ascribed to a translation of the aforementioned *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai da beixin tuoluoni jing*. There exists an Uighur edition in five volumes, since some leaves carry leaf numbers of the "fourth (volume)," which are translations of the *Padmacintāmaṇisūtra*. Since this work is also a separate *sūtra* in Chinese, the *Ruyi lun tuoluoni shenzhou jing* (如意輪陀羅尼神咒經; Talismanic Wheel *Dhāraṇīsūtra*; T. 1082), which was translated by Śikṣānanda (652–710 CE), one can assume that this *sūtra* was incorporated into this composite manuscript as a fourth volume. In this sense, it seems clear that Uighur Buddhists arranged some of their translations into composite editions (still unpublished).

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An apocryphal *sūtra* of Chinese origin should also be mentioned here, the *Foding xin tuoluoni jing* (佛頂心陀羅尼經; *Dhāraṇīsūtra* of the Essence of the Buddhoṣṇīṣa), which derives from an earlier Song period work, the *Foding xin guanshiyin pusa da tuoluoni jing* (佛頂心觀世音菩薩大陀羅尼經; *Dhāraṇīsūtra* of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin [Avalokiteśvara], Essence of Buddhoṣṇīṣa). The Uighur version was rather widespread and popular among laypeople, because it demonstrates in exemplary stories from Indian and Chinese sources the effectiveness of the veneration of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of mercy (Kara & Zieme, 1986).

Shiwang jing

One work known only from Dunhuang and Turfan is the *Shiwang jing* (十王經; Scripture on the Ten Kings; Teiser, 1994). Like its Chinese forerunners, the Uighur fragments, although more fragmentarily preserved than the beautiful Dunhuang Chinese scrolls, can be grouped into a pure text version and an illuminated one. S.-C. Raschmann has published some results of joining fragments from Berlin and Saint Petersburg (Raschmann, 2012b).

The Uighur translation is faithful to the Chinese version, but some fragments have additional text portions, a fact relevant to S. Teiser's observation (Teiser, 1994, 95–101) that it is important to look at the question whether the *Shiwang jing* has been transmitted as a composite manuscript. So far, mainly because of the very fragmentary state of the Uighur manuscripts, we cannot say exactly whether there were such composite manuscripts among the Uighur material, but recently one fragment of a block-printed version has been discovered (U 4278). This points to the possibility that Uighur versions of the *Shiwang jing* circulated during the Yuan dynasty.

Chinese Texts Known Only from Dunhuang and Chan Buddhism

The dependence of Uighur Buddhism on Buddhist literature, which was flourishing in Dunhuang, has been established. The story of Kalyāṇaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara (the good and the bad prince) is a fine example. This manuscript from cave 17 (Hamilton, 1971) is a retelling of the Chinese *jātaka Da fangbian fo baoen jing* (大方便佛報恩經; Great Skillful-Means *Sūtra* on the Buddha's Repayment of Kindness; T. 156). This text is not a word-for-word translation, but it is also not a *bianwen* (變文; transformation text) as suggested earlier (Rong, 2001, 295–296). However, there is an Uighur rendering of the *bianwen* of Maudgalyāyana (Zieme, 2011a), and some other texts, such as a translation of the *Wutaishan zan* (五臺山贊; Praise of Wutai Mountain; Zieme, 2002) and of Chan poems on the Night Watches (五更轉頌; Zieme, 2007) or the 12 Hours (十二時; Zieme, 2012d), were edited (Zieme, 2012d).

Chan texts also circulated among the Uighurs. The *Yuanjue jing* (圓覺經; *Sūtra* of Complete Enlightenment; T. 843), widely used by Chan practitioners in China and beyond, was well known among Uighur Buddhists as can be judged from the numerous extant manuscripts and block prints (Zieme, 1982). In addition, there are at least two different manuscripts of one or two commentaries to this *sūtra* (Kudara, 1992). Of special interest is a version of the *Guanxinlun* (觀心論; Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind; T. 2833; Yakup, 2010, 235).

Abhidharma

Abhidharma literature in Chinese was studied and translated by Uighur Buddhists (Shōgaito, 2008). The following Uighur Abhidharma texts are known:

- some leaves of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*;
- rather large fragments of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkātattvārthānāma*;
- one leaf of the *Abhidharmakośakārikā*;
- commentaries on the *Abhidharmakośakārikā*;
- commentaries on the *Abhidharmaprakaraṇa*; and
- some leaves of the *Abhidharmanyāyānusāra* (Shōgaito, 2014).

The Tibetan Tradition

The influence of Tibetan Buddhism among the Uighurs is evidenced in not only the translation of Tibetan texts but also the writing of Uighur texts in Tibetan script and the use of Tibetan glosses in Uighur manuscripts (Maue, 1996).

A large group of Uighur texts composed in the Yuan period (13th–14th cents.) belongs to the tantric Buddhism of the Tibetans and Mongols. These texts were mostly translated from Tibetan originals such as the *Guruyoga*, composed by Sa skya Paṇḍita. In other cases, the Uighur authors may have also used Sanskrit and Chinese versions. Among known works are fragments of an Uighur translation of the *Aparamitāyurjñānasūtra* (*Sūtra* of the [Buddha] of Infinite Life and Knowledge; an edition of this and other tantric texts is in preparation; see Yakup, 2012), the *Sitātapatradhāraṇī* (Röhrborn & Róna-Tas, 2004), the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* (Müller, 1910, 27–50), a collection of some fragments from the *Pañcarakṣā* (Zieme, 2005a), and a Vajrasattva ritual (still unpublished). A large composite manuscript of translations or adoptions of some of Nāropa's scriptures known as the *Totenbuch* (Zieme & Kara, 1978) has been also studied also from the Indological side (Dietz, 2010–2011).

Only the first of the four parts of the manuscript is a reworking of the *Bar do thos grol* (Tibetan Book of the Dead). The second part, entitled Instruction of the Deep Teaching to Follow the Four Lines according to the Way, is related to Nāropa's tradition, but only the similar Tibetan text *Rim pa bzhi lam du slong ba* (Guide of the Four Lines) could be found so far. The third part is an incomplete description of Nāropa's teaching of the six dharmas, while the last part explains the six offerings to Cakrasaṃvara.

The Uighur translation of the opening text of some editions of the Tibetan and the Mongolian Kanjurs, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, is known from some different translations (Kara & Zieme, 1977).

A rather voluminous manuscript is the Uighur translation of the *Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍalābhisamaya*, a description of practicing the Śrīcakrasaṃvara *maṇḍala* (Kara & Zieme, 1976, text A).

Original Uighur Works

Poetic texts might be considered to be the best candidates for Uighur original works. This, however, is not always the case, as can be seen from the example of the *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna* (see above), which is based on a verse text preserved in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and other languages. It was translated by the Uighur scholar and poet Anzang (13th cent.; Zieme, 1991, 310–312), again in verses, namely in the strophical alliteration system that was predominant in Uighur poetry. Moreover, he also composed other poems on similar topics based on prose sections of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (Zieme, 1991, 127–175).

Among the manuscripts written in Brahmi and Uighur script, there are colophons and praises of other types. One peculiar manuscript contains *ślokas* composed in the Uighur way (with head rhyme) written in not only Brahmi script but also Sanskrit language. These stanzas are followed by a line-by-line rendering in Uighur prose (Laut & Zieme, 1990).

The problem of original Uighur texts in prose needs a special treatment. Apart from word-for-word translation, all Uighur translations have their specific traits. The *Insadisūtra* (Tezcan, 1974) is a composite manuscript. Its first part consists of a retelling – in a completely new style – of the story of the nun Sundarī, accused for her intention to kill the Buddha. Here we find a mixture of prose and alliterating verses and a treatise on the monastic *pravāraṇā* ceremony, when in India the rainy season ended and monks were gathering to commemorate Buddha's meditation and to confess sins, for which no exact parallel exists. But the author quotes from the *Dharmapada* as well as from Chinese commentaries (Zieme, 2006). The second part of the manuscript is an original Maitreya hymn using and elaborating passages of some Chinese texts (Zieme, 2013a).

Among the literary heritage of the Buddhist Uighurs, there is a large number of confession texts. Not only were the voluminous texts *Cibei daochang chanfa* (see above) and *Cibei daochang shuichan* (慈悲道場水懺; Confession [by Using] Water [to Clean Oneself from Sins] on the Platform of Mercy and Benevolence; T. 1910) translated but also probably others. What is really astonishing is the high number of manuscripts corresponding to T. 1909, while there is only a single manuscript corresponding to T. 1910. A large number of scrolls, *pustakas*, and also stitched booklets belonging to a *Kšanti kılmak nom*, mentioned above, are also extant. How was it possible that, besides the translation of repentance *sūtras*, a new text came into existence?

One may argue that at least one reason was the special religious situation during the 10th century. The Uighurs had introduced Manichaeism in their empire in the mid-8th century CE, and this continued when they moved into East Turkestan. It is important to recognize that in Manichaeism, for both the elect and the auditors, confession of sins was a great theme. Indeed, the famous Manichean text of confession, the *Xuāstvanīft*, was widespread in the Uighur realm (Clark, 2013). Thus, when the Uighur ruling elite decided toward the late 10th century to give up Manichaeism and to adopt Buddhism as their sole religion, they also had to create, among others, a standard work to serve the

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1. the bad influence of evil deeds, demonstrated by giving examples of famous kings like Aśoka, Menander, and Kaniṣka, who after converting to Buddhism all became pious Buddhists;
2. lists of sins; and
3. the danger of hell and the promise of meeting Maitreya while still on earth.

In addition to "negative confession" and "positive confession," J. Wilkens introduced the term "prophylactic confession," which is very appropriate to Central Asian Manichaean and Buddhist confession texts (Wilkens, 2003, 14).

Yet the Uighur interest in confession is not limited to texts such as the *Kšanti kılmak nom*. Rather, in colophons the transfer of merit is documented on a large scale, including to ghosts, members of nobility, and one's own family. All of these single scrolls, booklets in *pustaka* format, or stitched booklets were produced on personal request by laypeople who dedicated their effort and money to bring about a meritorious work. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell anything about the use of these products.

Conclusion

Uighur Buddhism, as far as we know of it, is very fragmented and diverse. It follows different traditional lines, among which the predominant one is the Chinese tradition. The major schools known from Buddhisms in Dunhuang became influential among Uighurs in Turfan too. Nevertheless, it is not easy to give a definite answer to the question when and where a special school was widely accepted or followed. Only few names of translators are known, and in general, their activities may be due to some trends or to some hazardous selections. Efforts to elucidate these questions have already started but must be strengthened in the future together with the preparation of accurate editions and, if necessary, reeditions of the Uighur Buddhist texts.

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Peter Zieme

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PETER ZIEME

Local Literatures: Mongolia

The vast body of Buddhist literature in Mongolia can be classified into three general categories:

1. the Buddhist canonical literature translated into the Mongolian language;
2. the original Mongolian writings composed in the Middle and Classical Mongolian languages; and
3. the original Mongolian works composed in the Classical Tibetan language.

Some Mongolian authors wrote predominantly in the Tibetan language, others wrote equally in both Tibetan and Mongolian, and yet others wrote primarily in Mongolian. In terms of literary genres, the original Mongolian Buddhist writings include ritual texts, meditational manuals, liturgies and eulogies, didactic poetry, didactic stories, legends, biographies, prophetic literature, epics, plays, and a wide range of scholarly treatises on philosophy, logic, linguistics, poetics, history, medicine, veterinary, astronomy-cum-astrology, and law. A mere list of Mongolian Buddhist authors and their collected works occupies multivolume catalogues, and one cannot do justice to the wealth of Buddhist literature in Mongolia briefly.

The 14th Century: The Emergence of Buddhist Literature among the Mongols

The development of Buddhist literature among the Mongols began in the late 13th century. During the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), under the patronage of Mongol emperors, Uighur, Mongolian, and Chinese Buddhist scholars came into contact for the first time, especially on account of the Mongol court sponsoring the preparation of several new Chinese Buddhist canons. But unlike the Uighur literary tradition, which drew on a vast array of literary sources, the Mongolian Buddhist literature largely derived from the Tibetan tradition. Thus when Kublai Khan (Qubilai Khan; r. 1260–1294) built the White Pagoda Temple in Daidu (present-day Beijing), the translation of Buddhist texts from Tibetan into Mongolian and Uighur had begun.

Among the early Mongolian translations, the most influential were Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Mong. *Bodhisaduva-nar-un yabudal-dur oroqui*), translated by the Sakya (Sa skya) scholar Choiji Odser (Chos kyi 'od ser) in 1305 (Cleaves, 1954). Twelve pages of the original translation were discovered in Turfan and published by F.C. Cleaves in 1954. A revision of Choiji Odser's translation was prepared by Urad Güüshi Bilig-ün dalai and printed in 1748. In 1311, Chosgi Odsir also wrote a commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, which was published in a thousand copies in Daidu in 1312. Sakya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's *Legs par bshad pa'i rin po che'i gter* (Treasury of Elegant Sayings; Mong. *Erdeni-yin sang*) was translated by Sonom Gara in the same century. During the first half of the 14th century, Mongolian translations of Buddhist texts from the Chinese language began to emerge. One such text was the *Doloyan ebügen neretü odun-u sudur* (*Sūtra* of the Big Dipper), translated by the Uighur scholar Alintemür in 1328 (Elverskog, 2008). Other texts were the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and the *Saptabuddhakanāmamahāyānsūtra*, translated by another Uighur translator, Biranaširi, who also translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* from Sanskrit and the *Acintyasamādhisūtra* from Tibetan.

Early translators also composed their own works. Choiji Odser wrote in Tibetan the *Mdzad pa bcu gnyis 'grel* (Twelve Deeds of the Buddha), based on the *Lalitavistara*, and it was later translated many times into Mongolian (Poppe, 1967). As an adherent of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism, Choiji Odser also composed *Makhagaliin Magtaal* (The Hymn to the Four-armed Mahākālī, the female protective deity of the Sakya order). Both of his texts were translated into Mongolian by his disciple Sherab Sengge (Shes rab seng ge), who also translated the Uighur version of the *Pañcarakṣā* into Mongolian (Aalto, 1950), the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (Aalto, 1954) in 1328 and the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, which was also prepared in a quadrilingual version during the Ming dynasty (Vira, 1961). These 14th-century works inspired the later, more systematized translations of Buddhist literature into Mongolian and a proliferation of Buddhist literary culture among the Mongols, especially

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from the 17th to the 19th century, when many excellent translators and authors emerged.

The 17th to 20th Centuries: A Proliferation of Buddhist Literature among the Mongolian Peoples

The Kanjur (Mong. *ganjuur*; Tib. *bka' 'gyur*) and Tanjur (Mong. *danjuur*; Tib. *bstan 'gyur*)

Following the decline of Buddhism in the 15th and 16th centuries, Altan Khan (1508–1582) of the Tumeds, having converted to Buddhism, patronized the learned Mongolian translators in his capital of Hohhot. In 1587, for the sake of a correct pronunciation of Sanskrit mantras and *dhāraṇī*s, Ayushi Güüshi introduced a special set of letters for the proper transcription of Sanskrit and Tibetan letters into the Uighur-Mongolian script. A Mongolian translation of the Tibetan Kanjur was completed in 1607 under the patronage of Namudai Sechen Khan, a grandson of Altan Khan, but surviving copies of that translation have not been found.

In 1628–1629, Ligdan Khan of the Chakhars (1604–1637) commissioned a translation of the complete Kanjur, appointing Paṇḍita Gunga Odser (Kun dga' 'od zer), artisan lama Samdan Sengge (Bsam gtan seng ge), Günding Güüshi, and others to head a team of 35 translators who would assemble the existing translations and prepare new translations of the missing texts. The final, manuscript copy, comprising 113 volumes, was completed in 1629. Artistic scribes from the Shiregetü Monastery copied the manuscript in gold letters on beryl-colored paper. This copy is known as the Altan *ganjuur* (Golden *ganjuur*) and was worshipped by Ligdan Khan for the protection of the state. Although it was initially kept in Inner Mongolia, after the Manchu conquest, it was brought to their original capital of Mukden (present-day Shenyang) and kept in the famous imperial Mahākāla Temple during the Qing dynasty. It was partially destroyed by the Guomindang army in the early 20th century, along with the statue of Mahākāla commissioned by the Tibetan 'Phags pa Bla ma (1235–1280), who served as a religious preceptor on Kublai Khan's court. Only 20 of its volumes have been preserved and are now housed in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences in Hohhot (Bulaɣ, vol. II, 2003, 673). According to oral tradition, another five, unembellished copies of the same *ganjuur* were also produced. A catalogue of the manuscript edition was prepared by the Russian Mongolist Z.K. Kasyanenko and published in 1993.

Nearly a century later, in 1717, the Qing emperor Kangxi (r. 1662–1722) issued an order decreeing that Ligdan Khan's copy of the *ganjuur* was to be edited by a team of the Inner Mongolian lamas in Beijing. It was completed and then printed in 1720. According to an 18th-century Mongolian history, the *Altan Erike* (Golden Rosary), this *ganjuur* was prepared by leading translators from the Dolon-nuur Monastery, including Shiregetü Noyan Choiji, Da Lama Ganjurwa Chültim (Tib. Tshul khrims), and others, who edited and organized the *ganjuur* in conformity with the Tibetan Kanjur (Dalantain, 1997, 23). The Hungarian Mongolist L. Ligeti prepared a catalogue of the xylographic edition in 1942. Nevertheless, the manuscript and xylographic edition differ in the order in which sections are arranged. A sequence of the ten sections of the manuscript copy is as follows: *tantra*, Prajñāpāramitā, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (The 25-Thousand-Line *Prajñāpāramitā*), *Aṣṭadaśasahāprajñāpāramitā* (The 18-Thousand-Line *Prajñāpāramitā*), *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (The One-Hundred-Thousand-Line *Prajñāpāramitā*), versified Prajñāpāramitās, *Avataṃsaka*, *Ratnakūṭa*, Vinaya, and *sūtra*. In the xylographic edition of the *ganjuur*, the 108 volumes containing 1,161 works are divided into six sections: *tantra* (vols. I–XXV), Prajñāpāramitā (vols. XXVI–XLVII), *Ratnakūṭa* (vols. XLVIII–LIII), *Avataṃsaka* (vols. LIV–LIX), *sūtra* (vols. LX–XCII), and Vinaya (vols. XCIII–CVIII). Other differences between the two are found in the arrangement of some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and in some colophons that are found in the manuscript but absent from the block-printed edition.

Compilation and translation of the entire Mongolian *danjuur* began in 1741 under the patronage of the Qing emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1796) and were completed in 1749. The work of translation was carried out by a team of learned Mongolian high lamas and Tibetan scholars specializing in different disciplines of Buddhist knowledge and recruited from Mongolia, Tibet, and China. They were headed by the Second Jangjiya Khutugtu Rolbi Dorji (Lcang skya ho thog thu Rol pa'i rdo rje; also known as Ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me; 1717–1786), the second in the line of incarnate lamas who oversaw Mongolian Buddhism during the Qing dynasty, and by Galdan Shiregetü Lubsang Dambi Nima (Dga' ldan shi re thu Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma; 1689–1762), who together with their team first produced a terminological dictionary, *Merged γarqu-yin oron ner*
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authored by the First Jangjiya Kh
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ldan; 1642–1715), who was a nomi
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sion of the translation, but the pre
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(Wisdom's Kindness), mentions th
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Eighth Jebdzundamba Khutugtu (
Blo bzang Chos rje Nyi ma Bstan 'd
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emperor of Mongolia, known also
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Since a standardized Buddhist t
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Merged γarqu-yin oron neretü to
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In turn, the *danjuur* was translate
Inner Mongolian translators and

ion was prepared by the Russian
anenko and published in 1993.
later, in 1717, the Qing emperor
) issued an order decreeing that
of the *ganjuur* was to be edited
ner Mongolian lamas in Beijing.
nd then printed in 1720. Accord-
ry Mongolian history, the *Altan*
ry), this *ganjuur* was prepared
rs from the Dolon-nuur Mon-
iregetü Noyan Choiji, Da Lama
(Tib. Tshul khrims), and oth-
organized the *ganjuur* in con-
betan Kanjur (Dalantain, 1997,
Mongolist L. Ligeti prepared a
lographic edition in 1942. Nev-
script and xylographic edition
which sections are arranged. A
sections of the manuscript copy
Prajñāpāramitā, *Pañcaviṃśati-*
amitā (The 25-Thousand-Line
adaśasahāprajñāpāramitā (The
rajñāpāramitā), *Śatasāhasrikā-*
One-Hundred-Thousand-Line
rsified Prajñāpāramitās, *Ava-*
Vinaya, and *sūtra*. In the xylo-
the *ganjuur*, the 108 volumes
s are divided into six sections:
, Prajñāpāramitā (vols. XXVI–
ols. XLVIII–LIII), *Avataṃsaka*
a (vols. LX–XCII), and Vinaya
Other differences between
in the arrangement of some
d in some colophons that are
ript but absent from the block-

translation of the entire Mon-
in 1741 under the patronage of
anlong (r. 1736–1796) and were
he work of translation was car-
learned Mongolian high lamas
specializing in different disci-
nowledge and recruited from
China. They were headed by the
ugtu Rolbi Dorji (Lcang skya ho
je; also known as Ye shes bstan
786), the second in the line of
oversaw Mongolian Buddhism
asty, and by Galdan Shiregetü
a (Dga' ldan shi re thu Blo
ma; 1689–1762), who together
roduced a terminological dictionary, *Merged yarqu-yin oron neretü toγtaγaγsan dayyig* (The Source of the Wise), in 1741–1742, for the sake of standardizing their translations of Buddhist terms. According to the order of the Qianlong emperor's predecessor, Yongzheng (who issued a printed edition of the Tibetan Tanjur in 1724), the works of Indian Buddhist masters were supplemented by the writings of Mongolian and Tibetan authors. The emperor Yongzheng's decree to the Tibetan Tanjur was therefore translated into Mongolian and included in the introduction to the last volume of the cinnabar copy of the Mongolian *danjuur*, which was printed in Beijing in 1749 and became popularly known as the Beijing Red-Ink Mongolian Edition of the *danjuur*. It states that by the order of the emperor Yongzheng, seven volumes authored by the First Jangjiya Khutugtu Agwang Lubsang Choindan (Ngag dbang Blo bzang Chos ldan; 1642–1715), who was a nominal, ruling head lama (Mong. Jasag da blama) of all Mongolian monasteries during the Qing dynasty and a state preceptor of the Kangxi emperor, and the collected works of Tsong kha pa should be included into the wood blocks of the Mongolian *danjuur*. Nevertheless, a later printing of this *danjuur* no longer contained the information regarding the emperor's commission of the translation, but the preface of To Vang's (1797–1887) syllabary, the *Oyun bilig-ün soyurqal* (Wisdom's Kindness), mentions the emperor's commission of the *danjuur* and his request that 20 volumes of Tsong kha pa's collected works and seven volumes of the First Jangjiya Khutugtu be translated and included in the *danjuur*. Regardless, the *danjuur* was initially printed in Beijing in 1749 in red ink. It comprises 226 volumes, consisting of 1,800,000 pages, including a volume with the table of contents, and it contains 3,458 texts. Under the auspices of the Eighth Jebdzundamba Khutugtu (Tib. Ngag dbang Blo bzang Chos rje Nyi ma Bstan 'dzin Dbang phyug Rje btsun dam pa; 1870–1924), the last theocratic emperor of Mongolia, known also as Bogdo Khan, the *danjuur* was reprinted in 1908–1910. It is now housed in the State Central Library in Ulaanbaatar.

Since a standardized Buddhist terminology in the Mongolian language was nonexistent prior to the compilation of the Mongolian *danjuur*, the Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhist terminological dictionary *Merged yarqu-yin oron neretü toγtaγaγsan dayyig* (Tib. *Dag yig mkhas pa' 'byung gnas*) was drafted in 1741–1742 by Rolbi Dorji and edited by Abaga Dai Güng Agwang Dampil (Ngag dbang Bstan' phel). In turn, the *danjuur* was translated by a team of 40 Inner Mongolian translators and Tibetan Buddhist scholars, who on the basis of this dictionary – and the theory of translation given in its preface – revised a number of older translations in the process of the compilation of the *danjuur*. Moreover, the texts in the *danjuur* were classified into ten main categories in accordance with the traditional Indian Buddhist classification of the five major and five minor fields of Buddhist knowledge (Skt. *pañcavidyāsthāna*) – the former being namely linguistics (*śabdavidyā*), logic (*hetuvidyā*), inner science (*adhyātmavidyā*) or Buddhism proper, medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*), and creative arts (*śilpavidyā*). These texts had a profound influence on Mongolian Buddhist scholasticism and on the proliferation of Mongolian Buddhist literature, facilitating innovations in the Mongolian literary language and its norms and enhancing the Mongols' literary creativity.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mongolian literary language remained strong, and some Mongolian authors insisted on writing in Mongolian. Nevertheless, Tibetan became the dominant language among Mongolian Buddhists (Elverskog, 2006). Its prevalence continued into the early 20th century, as evidenced in the works of the prominent Mongolian authors of that period – Shadub Dandar (Bshad sgrub bstan dar; 1835–1919), Chagdurjab (Phyag rdor skyabs; 1869–1933), Lubsang Damdin (Blo bzang rta mgrin; also known as Zava Damdin; 1867–1937), and many others. Despite the fact that numerous Mongolian works were composed in Tibetan, the history of Buddhist literature in Mongolia reveals a process of developing and redefining Mongolian Buddhist cultural identity.

Commentarial Literature and Works on Buddhist Philosophy

The Mongolian scholars' familiarity with the Indian sources contained in the *ganjuur* and *danjuur* and their knowledge of the Tibetan Buddhist literature, which they encountered through their close ties with Tibetan monastic institutions, resulted in an extensive body of commentarial literature, which can be classified into the following categories:

1. commentaries on the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *tantras*;
2. commentaries on Indian *śāstras* dealing with a wide range of topics; and
3. commentaries on Tibetan scholastic and popular sources.

Among the Indian texts that received the most attention from commentators are the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, the cycles of Hayagriva and Yamāntaka *tantras*, and

Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Sakya Paṇḍita's *Legs par bshad pa'i rin po che'i gter*, Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, and others have also drawn the attention of many commentators.

One of the most prominent authors on Buddhist philosophy was Chakhar Gebshi Lubsang Chültim (Cha har dge bshes Blo bzang tshul khrims; 1740–1810), who authored ten volumes of collected works, comprising 215 texts of different genres and dealing with various topics on Buddhist philosophy and other subjects. Other important authors of this genre are Bichigechi Choiji Agwang Tsering (Pi chi ye chi chos rje Ngag dbang tse ring; 18th–19th cents.); Dagri Damchig Dorji (Brag ri Dam tsig rdo rje; 1781–1855), among whose influential works are the *Dpal ldan dbu ma thal 'gyur ba'i grub mtha'i rnam bzhag thar lam kun gsal* (Complete Illumination of the Path of Liberation: A Presentation of the Tenets of the Glorious Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka) and the *Snod bcud kyi rnam bzhags rin chen sgron me'i zur 'debs legs lam kun gsal* (Complete Illumination of the Good Path); Damchig Dorji (1781–1848), who was a prolific author and teacher of the Fifth Jebdzundamba (Lubsang Chültim Jigmid Blo bzang tshul khrim' 'jigs-med; 1815–1845), the lineage of incarnate lamas deriving from the Tibetan Jonang hierach, rJe btsun Taranatha (1575–1634); Choiji Agwang Baldan (Chos rje Ngag dbang dpal ldan; 1797–1864), who also composed the famous, versified praises to the awakening mind (*bodhicitta*) and to the Madhyamaka view; Zaya Bandida Lubsang Perlei (Blo bzang 'phrin las; 1642–1716); Alashan Lharamba Agwang Dandar (Lha rams pa Ngag dbang bstan dar; 1759–1840); and many others. Twenty-one Mongolian authors wrote on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, authoring more than 60 commentaries on it. Among those who wrote commentaries on Dignāga's *Hetucakra*, the best known are Dandar Lharamba (Bstan dar Lha rams pa; 1757–1840) and Lobon Lama Sodnam Jamtsu (Slob dpon Bla ma Bsod nams rgya mtsho), who also wrote expositions on the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

Historical Writings

A development of Buddhist historical literature in Mongolia took place with the reemergence of the early Mongolian historical traditions due to the growing influence of the Indian and Tibetan historical and hagiographical literature among the literary Mongols. The influence of Tibetan historiography is evidenced in the development of different genres of Buddhist historical works such as the history of Buddhism (Tib. *chos 'byung*), historical annals (Tib. *lo 'byung*), oral historical traditions (Tib. *gtam rgyud*), biographies (Tib. *rnam thar*), and chronologies (Tib. *bstan rtsis*).

One of the earliest surviving histories dates from the late 16th century and is written in literary Mongolian, the *Arban buyantu nom-un chayan teüke* (White History of the Dharma with the Ten Virtues), commonly known as the *White History* and attributed to Kublai Khan (1260–1294; Sagaster, 1976). It was discovered in southeastern Mongolia, revised, edited, and circulated by the Khutugtu Sechen Khung Taiji (1540–1586), who initiated the second conversion to Buddhism in the southwestern part of Inner Mongolia and was responsible for the second conversion of the Ordos Mongols to Buddhism. It gives the account of the system of two laws, the law of dharma and the law of state, as an ideal model of Buddhist governance that was observed in Buddhist countries and reinforced by Kublai Khan. It also lays out the ways in which this ideal way of governance can be achieved by assigning the titles and duties of monks and government officials and by prescribing the rewards for their achievements and punishments for their failures. The idea of the three Buddhist monarchies – India, Tibet, and Mongolia – seen in many Mongolian histories of Buddhism was first formulated in this work. In C.P. Atwood's view, the *Arban buyantu nom-un čayan teüke* is "likely a sixteenth century utopia, retrojected to Qubilai's time, envisioning Buddhist reunification of Mongolia around the Eight White Yurts" (Atwood, 2004, 82).

Another early historical work, composed in Mongolian verse, is the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* (Jewel Translucent *Sūtra*), written in 1607 by an anonymous author but traditionally considered a writing of Altan Khan's adopted son Dayun Kiya. At the center of this history, in which the author's literary talent and Buddhist affiliation are well expressed, stands Altan Khan. It tells of his military adventures and conquests of Chinese lords in about 40 battles, which were followed by his conversion to Buddhism and a meeting with the Tibetan lama Bsod nams Rgya mtsho (1543–1588), on whom Altan Khan conferred the title of Dalai Lama and from whom in return he received the title of *Qotala Esrua Yeke Küčün-tü Cakravarti Nom-un Qayan* (All-Brahmā, Great and Powerful, *Cakravartin* of the Dharma). It also tells of Altan Khan's annihilation of the "mad and stupid shamans" and "humiliation of shamanesses" (Elverskog, 2003, 159). It invents Altan Khan's genealogical connection to Genghis Khan (Chinggis Khan) and presents him as a bodhisattva khan, destined to spread the dharma among the Mongols.

Among the historical writings
Mongolian and utilizing a genealogic
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sentient beings. It gives an account of
the Mongols up to the Qing conquests
achievements of the Khutugtu Seche
who catalyzed the conversion of Ord
Buddhism.

The *Altan tobči* (Golden Summar
in Mongolian by the Third Mergen G
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instead of Tibetan, is a history of Budd
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teüke bolai (Precious Rosary), compo
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In addition to the above histori
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Among the historical writings composed in Mongolian and utilizing a genealogical methodology, the most popular was the chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Precious Summary), written in 1662 by Sagang Sechen, which begins with the origin and formation of the world and the appearance of the first sentient beings. It gives an account of the history of the Mongols up to the Qing conquests and lauds the achievements of the Khutugtu Sechen Khung Taiji, who catalyzed the conversion of Ordos Mongols to Buddhism.

The *Altan tobči* (Golden Summary), composed in Mongolian by the Third Mergen Gegen, Lubsang Dambijaltsan (Blo-bzang btsan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan; 1717–1766), who belonged to the line of incarnate lamas of Inner Mongolia who promoted the usage of Mongolian language in Buddhist practices instead of Tibetan, is a history of Buddhism in India, Tibet, and Mongolia. It chronicles a lineage of local nobles, particularly a genealogy of the Khasarid lineage, linking it to Neichi Toin's tradition of Mongolian Buddhism. Rashipungsug's *Bolor erike* (Crystal Rosary), written between 1774 and 1775, discusses the origin of the Mongols and traces the genealogy of Mongol khans to the legendary Indian and Tibetan Buddhist figures. Referencing certain Chinese historical sources, it criticizes Confucians' denigration of Buddhism and Chinese bias toward the Mongols. Jambadorj's *Bolor toli* (Crystal Mirror), written between 1834 and 1837, which also references a variety of sources, deals with the spread of Buddhist teachings in India, China, Tibet, and Mongolia. Other Mongolian-language-based chronicles that touch on the history of Buddhism in Mongolia to various degrees are the *Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kegesütü* (Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes), written by Dharma Güüshi, *Erdeni-yin erike kemekü teüke bolai* (Precious Rosary), composed by Galdan in the 19th century, which pays special attention to the state of Buddhism in Outer (Khalkha) Mongolia during the Qing period, and a short work titled *Erdeni-yin Erike* (Jewel Rosary), which describes the spread of Buddhism to Mongolia from China and Tibet through the development of monasteries and the like and was written by Ishibaldan (Ye shes dpal ldan) in 1835.

In addition to the above histories, Mongolian Buddhist scholars wrote on the history of Buddhism in Mongolia in Tibetan. Among the most prominent histories of Buddhism is the *Gsal ba'i me long* (Clear Mirror), written in four volumes between 1698 and 1702 by the famous Khalkha scholar Zaya Bandida Lubsang Perlei, who left an impressive literary corpus dealing with a wide range of Buddhist topics. To the same category belong the *Dpag bsam ljon bZang* (or *'Phags yul rgya ngag chen po bod dang sog yul du dam pa'i chos 'byung tshul dpag bsam ljon bzang*; The History of the Sacred Teaching in India, Great China, Tibet, and Mongolia), composed by the great polymath, the Upper Mongol Sumpa Gampo Ishibaljur (Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes Dpal 'byor; see Das, 1908), the *Chen po hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa pad ma dkar po'i phren ba* (Clear Account of How the Noble Teaching Was Disseminated in the Great Land of Mongolia, Called the Rosary of White Lotuses), composed in 1889 by the Inner Mongolian scholar Darmatāla, also known as Dam chos rgya mtsho (Klafkowski, 1987), the *Chen po hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar byung ba'i tshul bshad pa rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che gsal bar byed pa'i sgron me* (A Lamp That Illuminates the Precious Teachings of the Jina: A History of the Sublime Dharma in the Great Region of Hor), authored in 1819 by the Inner Mongolian erudite Tsembel Güüshi (also known as sGeg pa'i Blo gros 'jigs med Rig pa'i rdo rje), Zava Damdin's (Blo bzang rta mgrin) *Ser gi deb ther* (Golden Book), the *Rgya nag chos 'byung* (History of Buddhism in China), composed by the famous 18th-century scholar Gombojab (Mgon po skyabs; *fl.* 1725–1750) in 1736, and so on.

Mongolian authors also left a large body of biographical and autobiographical literature in the Tibetan language. In addition to biographies and hagiographies of the great Mongolian Buddhist figures, we find biographies of Indian and Tibetan figures. There is more than one biography of Tsong kha pa, who has been revered by Mongolian followers of the Dge lugs pa school as the second buddha. One such biography is the *Rje thams cad mkhyen pa tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar go slo bar brjod pa bde legs kun 'bying gnas* (The Easily Understandable Exposition of the Life of the Omniscient, Great Holiness, Tsong kha pa, Called the Source of All Blessings), written by the prolific writer and translator Chakhar Gebshi Lubsang Chültim (Cha har dge bshes Blo bzang tshul khrims) in 1802, after he completed the Mongolian-language-based biography of Tsong kha pa in 1786–1790, titled *Boyda Tsongkhapa-yin gegen-ü yeke namtar sayin amuyalang bükün-ü a yarqu-yin oron* (The Field from Which Good Tranquility Emerges: An Extensive Biography of the Brightness of the Holy Tsong kha pa). Worth mentioning is also the biography of the renowned Neichi Toin, the *Čindamani-yin erike* (Jewel Rosary), composed in 1739 by Bilig-ün dalai (also known as Prajñāsāgara).

Liturgies and Devotional Poetry

While in many Mongolian monasteries liturgical services were carried out in Tibetan, some religious personages insisted on the use of Mongolian when performing rituals. One such figure was the previously mentioned Third Mergen Gegen (1717–1766), an incarnate lama from eastern Inner Mongolia of the Urad banner, or clan, who initiated liturgical services in Mongolian (Humphrey & Ujeed, 2013). He systematized liturgical texts, including his new translations of the Tibetan liturgies that he compiled, his adaptations of those liturgies to the rhythm of Mongolian chants, and the liturgical texts that he composed. In order to make Buddhism genuinely Mongolian and more accessible to society at large, he insisted on the Mongolian-language-based liturgies in all monastic services and in other religious practices as well. Equalizing the number of syllables in all the lines of a verse, he created the unique "Mergen Gegen style" of Mongolian poetry, which shows patterns of "strict isosyllabic prosody" with even rhymes (Atwood, 2004, 147). In addition to the liturgies inherited from Tibet, Mergen Gegen also wrote liturgies for the lay practices of worshiping fire, Mongolian deities, and local mountains. Some eight liturgical texts comprise the first set of his collected works, titled *Öljei badaraɣsan süm-e-dür včir dhara Mergen Diyanči Blama-yin gegen-ber ɣol-un aman-u ungshilɣ-a bolɣan toɣtaɣaɣsan nom-un yabudal mashi todorqai gegen oyutan-u qoɣulai-yin čimeg čindamani-yin erike* (A Rosary of the Wish-fulfilling Gems, The Ornament of Throat of the Bright-Minded People, A Very Clear Liturgical Manual Designed for the Services of the Öljei Badaragsan Süm-e by Vajradhara Mergen Diyanchi Lama-yin Gegegen), which was printed in Beijing in 1774. Mergen Gegen also composed the *Nayan nigen ekhitü shilüg daguu khemekhü orushibai* (Eighty-One Songs) of devotional poems, didactic poetry that inspired other Mongolian poetic writings, textbooks with popular Buddhist teachings for laity, prayer books, eulogies, ritual texts for incense offering, confessional readings, readings for offerings and ablutions, prayers for averting inimical forces, ritual texts of beckoning prosperity, and other miscellaneous readings and prayers. These are found in the four volumes of the second section of his collected works, called the *Včir dhara Mergen Diyanči Blama-yin gegen-ü 'bum jarliɣ* (Collected Works of the Reincarnation of Vajradhara Mergen Diyanchi Lama), which altogether contain 138 texts and were first published in Beijing in 1783 (Ujeed, 2009, 116–121). The popularity of Mergen Gegen's collected works extended beyond the regions of Inner Mongolia to Khalkha Mongolia, and Mergen Gegen's poetry had a significant influence on Mongolian folk literature and songs.

Another religious figure, whose more than five hundred devotional and didactic poems, lyrical *sādhanas*, songs, and plays had a profound influence on popular Buddhist culture, was Danzanravjaa (Bstan 'dzin rab rgyas; 1803–1856), the Gobi-yin Noyon Khutugtu ("Fifth Lordly Incarnation of the Gobi"), a prominent writer and music composer born in the line of the Mongolian incarnate lamas associated with the Bka' brgyud-rNying ma school of Buddhism that was practiced in the Gobi region. Danzanravjaa's didactic poetry can be divided into two main categories: the poems that encapsulate the essence of Buddhist teachings and ethics and those that express his social and political criticism and scorn of institutionalized religion. In his short poem called the *Qormusta Tngri* (God Indra), which he composed in his childhood, Danzanravjaa emphasizes the meaninglessness of all conventional and social classifications in light of the inevitable impermanence and death that everyone faces. His two conversational poems, *Ɣaluu Kümün qoyor* (The Goose and the Man) and *Ebügen sibaɣu* (The Old Man and the Birds), express the view of impermanence, karma, rebirth, and call to buddhahood. In his poem *Ičegekü ičegekü* (Shame, Shame), the poet disparages a moral duplicity to which all the members of society may succumb. Among his devotional lyrics, those that abound in the erotic imagery and sentiments, filial love, and the affection for natural environment have been widely disseminated as popular songs. One such song is his most celebrated poem, the *Ülemji-yin činar* (Extraordinary Qualities), which simultaneously expresses the author's sensual rapture of his lover and his offering of the five senses to a deity.

Being inspired by Tibetan-style Buddhist opera, in 1830 Danzanravjaa wrote his first play, *Saran Kököge-yin namtar* (The Tale of the Moon Cuckoo), for which he also composed music and built a three-story theater near his Khamaar Monastery in the Gobi. The melodrama was also staged in Tulgat, in the three monasteries of Galbin Gobi district (modern Omnovgovi), and in other places. The play is an adaptation of the poetical and didactic novel authored by the Tibetan writer Blo bzan bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan in 1737 and translated into Mongolian by Agwang Dampil (Ngag dbang bstan 'phel) in 1770. It was written in Mongolian with some parts sung in Tibetan; in Danzanravjaa's adaptation, religious

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themes are permeated by social cri
consists of two main parts: one deali
regulations and the other being a
nine acts. It was performed in the
and then reintroduced on stage in
the collapse of Communism. Da
authored tantric ritual texts, religi
liturgies in Mongolian and Tibetan
are still performed today.

The Popular Genre

The popular genre of Buddhist
became widespread among the Mo
consisted of works belonging to two
those translated into Mongolian du
18th centuries and the original writi
Mongolian and Tibetan.

Among the popular, translated te
is the *Üliger-ün dalai* (Ocean of Sto
as the *Damamūkanidānasūtra* (Tib
blun; *Sūtra* of the Wise and Fooli
translated from Tibetan in 1586 by S
Choiji from a version consisting o
was preserved under the title *Siluɣ*
(*Sūtra* of the Simple and the Experi
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tury under the title *Sayin maɣu ü*
uqaɣulqui neretü sudur (*Sūtra* Call
nation of the Results of Good and
Darkhan Manjusiri Chültim Lod
khrims blo gros) at the request of
noble, Sechen Chögükür Taiji.

Another work of the popular g
originals in Mongolian adaptation
Zombies, a popular collection of *vet*
India, the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, which
lated by the famous Mongolian tra
Tsorj (16th–17th cents.) and was po
golia under the title *Ülgerün Dalai*

ond the regions of Inner Mongo-
olia, and Mergen Gegen's poetry
uence on Mongolian folk litera-

s figure, whose more than five
l and didactic poems, lyrical
d plays had a profound influ-
ddhist culture, was Danzanrav-
rgyas; 1803–1856), the Gobi-yin
Fifth Lordly Incarnation of the
t writer and music composer
he Mongolian incarnate lamas
Bka' brgyud-rNying ma school
as practiced in the Gobi region.
ctic poetry can be divided into
s: the poems that encapsulate
dhist teachings and ethics and
his social and political criti-
nstitutionalized religion. In his
e *Qormusta Tngri* (God Indra),
in his childhood, Danzanravjaa
ninglessness of all conventional
tions in light of the inevitable
l death that everyone faces.
nal poems, *Ɣaluu Kümün qoγor*
Man) and *Ebügen sibaγu* (The
rds), express the view of imper-
birth, and call to buddhahood.
i ičegekü (Shame, Shame), the
oral duplicity to which all the
may succumb. Among his devo-
at abound in the erotic imagery
l love, and the affection for nat-
ve been widely disseminated as
uch song is his most celebrated
in činar (Extraordinary Quali-
neously expresses the author's
is lover and his offering of the
.

Tibetan-style Buddhist opera,
aa wrote his first play, *Saran*
The Tale of the Moon Cuckoo),
nposed music and built a three-
is Khamaar Monastery in the
a was also staged in Tulgat, in
es of Galbin Gobi district (mod-
d in other places. The play is
e poetical and didactic novel
etan writer Blo bzan bstan pa'i
and translated into Mongolian
Ngag dbang bstan 'phel) in 1770.
ngolian with some parts sung
nravjaa's adaptation, religious

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themes are permeated by social criticism. The play consists of two main parts: one dealing with the stage regulations and the other being a narrative told in nine acts. It was performed in the Gobi until 1920 and then reintroduced on stage in Ulaanbaatar after the collapse of Communism. Danzanravjaa also authored tantric ritual texts, religious prayers, and liturgies in Mongolian and Tibetan, some of which are still performed today.

The Popular Genre

The popular genre of Buddhist literature that became widespread among the Mongolian peoples consisted of works belonging to two main categories: those translated into Mongolian during the 17th and 18th centuries and the original writings composed in Mongolian and Tibetan.

Among the popular, translated texts of this genre is the *Üliger-ün dalai* (Ocean of Stories; also known as the *Damamūkanidānasūtra* (Tib. *Mdo mdzangs blun*; *Sūtra* of the Wise and Foolish). It was first translated from Tibetan in 1586 by Shiregetü Güüshi Choiji from a version consisting of 52 *Jātakas*. It was preserved under the title *Siluγun onol-tu sudur* (*Sūtra* of the Simple and the Experienced) and was consecutively reprinted in woodblocks in 1714 and 1728. As the most popular version, it made its way into the Mongolian *ganjuur* under the changed title *Üliger-ün dalai* (The Ocean of Stories; Frye, 1981). Around the same time, the Inner Mongolian scholar Toin Güüshi prepared another translation of the same text. In 1655, Zaya Pandita Namkhai Jamtsu (Nam mkha'i rgya mtsho), who translated some 70 works by himself and another 200 in collaboration with his disciples, also translated a Tibetan version with 51 *jātaka* stories, recording it in the Oirat Clear Script under the title *Medeetei medee-ügei-gi ilγaγči kemekü sudur* (*Sūtra* That Distinguishes the Wise and Foolish). The third independent translation was prepared in the first part of the 17th century under the title *Sayin maγu üile-yin ači üreyi uqaγulqui neretü sudur* (*Sūtra* Called "An Explanation of the Results of Good and Bad Deeds") by Darkhan Manjusiri Chültim Lodoi (Tib. Tshul khrims blo gros) at the request of the Kharachin noble, Sechen Chögükür Taiji.

Another work of the popular genre of Indian originals in Mongolian adaptation was the Tale of Zombies, a popular collection of *vetāla* stories from India, the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, which was first translated by the famous Mongolian translator Güüsh Tsorj (16th–17th cents.) and was popular in Mongolia under the title *Ülgeriin Dalai* (The Ocean of Stories). Among the popular genre of works of Tibetan origin worth noting are the *Myalin Duulal* (Songs of Milarepa [Mi la ras pa]), translated for the first time in 1618 by the aforementioned Güüsh Tsorj, and the Mongolian adaptation of the Gesar epic, which was published in woodblock prints in Beijing in 1716 and which stands as a principle prose version of the Mongolian *Geser* among various versions of the Gesar epic produced in Mongolian language. It consists of nine chapters written in prose containing sporadic versified passages, whereas manuscript versions that contain up to six other sections are similar but not identical to any Tibetan version. In contrast, the *Ling Geser* version corresponds directly to the Tibetan Gesar of Ling narrative. Different prose and poetic versions of the *Geser* tale, reworked by the epic poets of the Oirat and Buryat origin, became the basis for the bards' singing. In some versions of the Mongolian *Geser* epic, Geser is an emanation of the god Indra, bound to annihilate the enemy of dharma; in other versions, he is Vaiśravaṇa, the lord of wealth; in the *Nomči Qatun Geser* story, he teaches the Dalai Lama in a visionary experience on the manner of accruing merit; in other versions, his life story resembles that of the Buddha Śākyamuni, while in Buryat versions, titled *Abai Geser* (Worthy Geser), he is entirely removed from the Buddhist context (Damdinsüren, 1957).

The didactic narrative of filial devotion illustrated by Maudgalyāyana, who traveled to different hells in search of his mother and rescued her from the tortures of hell, which was popular in China and Tibet, has been commonly known among Mongolian peoples as the *Molon Toyin-i Sudur* (*Sūtra* of the Monk Molon). It circulated in different versified and prose versions under different titles. It was publicly recited for illiterate people until the founding of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Republic in 1924. Since the early 19th century, the story has been also widely circulated in illustrated picture books. The colophons and internal textual evidence suggest that this story already circulated among the Mongols prior to the appearance of its Mongolian translation from Tibetan. In the 17th-century translation by Altangerel Ubashi, the angels of death mention the queen Molon's killing of pigs and ducks for food, the kinds of meat that traditionally have not been a part of the Tibetan and Mongolian diet, pointing to Chinese influence on the story. Likewise, it has been suggested that the name Molon has its origin in the Chinese name Mulien (Heissig, 1972, vol. I). In Shiregetü Güüshi Chorji's translation, consisting of five chapters and printed in Beijing in 1708, after

Molon Toyin reports to the lord of death his intent of repaying the kindness to his mother by rescuing her from hell, he is instructed that only the compassionate Avalokiteśvara, mentioned under the name Āryabala, who dwells on the mountain Potala in the southern direction of Jambudvīpa is able to rescue her. Written translations from Chinese and Tibetan and the illustrated Mongolian adaptations of the text became widespread, and they formed the basis for the popular, oral versions of the story. The oral versions describe the events and sinful acts in the life of his mother, the queen Molon in more detail and exhibit Mongolian cultural elements (Dalantain, 1997, 254–267).

Other texts belonging to the category of popular genre that circulated among the populace were tales imbued by folk elements that spoke of the adventures and great deeds of Buddhist deities such as Vajrapāṇi and Sitātapatrā. Among many popular legends, various versions of the *Mungqaɣ-yi qarangɣui-yi geigülügči bilig-ün zula* (The Lamp of Wisdom That Illuminates the Darkness of Ignorance), popularly known as the *Čoyijod Dagini-yin Tügüji* (Tale of Choijid Dakini), a didactic story about hell, virtue, sin, and future life told through a 37-year-old woman's encounter with Lord Yama in hell, were also widely disseminated, and the *Gochin khoyer modon khünii ülger* (The Thirty-two Wooden Men), a hagiography of the Indian king Vikramāditya, which was brought to Mongolia from India by a certain Paṇḍita Bhagarāja. Its first translation into Mongolian was produced in 1686.

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VESNA A. WALLACE

Local Liter

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Local Literatures: Mainland Southeast Asia

The literatures of what are today the Theravāda countries of mainland Southeast Asia – Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand – are intimately connected to the development of Buddhism in the region. The earliest examples of written texts in the vernacular languages of Southeast Asia are generally associated in some way with Buddhism, for they often mention Buddhist concepts, were inscribed at Buddhist temples, or were written by Buddhist monks. Like Buddhism itself, the art of writing came from the Indic world, most probably from a Southern Brahmi script of the first half of the 1st millennium that was adapted in various places in order to write languages such as Mon, Khmer, Burmese, Pyu, and, much later, Thai (Griffiths, 2014). Much of the early literature was no doubt transmitted orally, and thus it should be assumed that there were a number of great works that have been lost in the course of time because they were not preserved in writing. The earliest examples of writing in mainland Southeast Asia stem from the mid-1st millennium in such locations as the Mon polity of Dvāravatī in central Thailand (dated paleographically to the 6th cent.; see Brown, 1996, 54–55), the Pyu center of Śrī Kṣetra (near present-day Pyay) in Burma (5th cent.; see Stargardt, 1990, 290), and the Khmer region of Funan (for Vo Canh Sanskrit inscriptions from the 3rd cent. found near present-day Nha Trang in Vietnam, see Coedès 1968, 17; for Khmer Inscription from Angkor Borei dated to 611 CE, see Herbert & Milner, 1989, 52). Indian literary styles and motifs were absorbed to a great extent by the people of Southeast Asia, and they were adopted and adapted to fit the local idiom, working their way into existing indigenous cultural formations.

Sanskrit, Pali, and local vernaculars (Pyu, Cam, Mon, and Khmer) were used to write Buddhist inscriptions from the 1st millennium onward in mainland Southeast Asia. In the first centuries of the 2nd millennium, a process of vernacularization began, as the literati of the region started to use the spoken local languages more often for literary purposes. For example in Sukhothai in the 14th century, Thai was employed to write on stone about a wide variety of topics from promulgating laws, through making alliances, to expounding the greatness of the king (Griswold & Prasert, 1992). It is from this period that the development of a truly vernacular literature in Southeast Asia begins, a literature that is replete with Buddhist stories, imagery, and references to merit and the cycle of *kamma*. Even writings on topics that are found across Asia outside of Buddhist literature, such as the worship of spirits of the ancestors, medical issues, war, childbirth, fortune telling, astrology, and legends of heroes who protect the people and save heroines from some evil fate, often bear many similarities to stories of this nature that are found in the narrative portions of the Pali canonical literature.

The earliest vernacular corpus in the two languages that were to host the largest amount and variety of Buddhist literature – Burmese and Thai – developed in the first few centuries of the 2nd millennium in Pagan in central Burma (c. 1050–1297) and Sukhothai in central Thailand (1238–1438), although the extant hard evidence consists solely of inscriptions. *The Epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I of Sukhodaya* (Griswold & Prasert, 1992, 425–570) serves as an excellent example of the kind of writings that were produced in this period and the large degree to which Buddhist elements were found. A good deal of the epigraphy produced during the reign of the early Thai king Mahādharmarājā I (c. 1347–1374) deals with the production and installation of Buddha images, the support of monks, and praise for the Buddha, alongside accounts of the glorious exploits of the king himself. Likewise, there is a multilingual inscription from Pagan written in Pyu, Pali, Burmese, and Mon known as the Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi (or sometimes Myazedi) inscription from 1113 CE (Duroiselle, 1919). This prose text, sponsored by Prince Rājakumār (b. 1078), deals to a large extent with Buddhist themes such as dedicating Buddha images, enlisting slaves to assist in the maintenance of Buddhist sites, and honoring venerable Buddhist monks. A few generations later, in the middle of the millennium, a vernacular Buddhist literature in Cambodia and Laos also began to leave its mark. Although in all cases Pali literature continued to be produced, a vibrant vernacular corpus also emerged, providing a distinctive local identity that persists to the current day on various levels.

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As they developed, the vernaculars themselves were ever more deeply infused with an Indic lexicon (for Sanskrit loanwords in Khmer, see Jacob, 1993, 128–139; for Thai, see Gedney, 1947; for Pali loanwords in Burmese, see Hla Pe, 1961) and partook of the prestige accorded to the trans-local, sacred languages of Pali and Sanskrit (Pollock, 2006).

The laity of mainland Southeast Asia, and indeed many of the monks themselves, did not necessarily understand the scriptural language of Pali in which the Theravādin canonical and commentarial texts were composed. It is not surprising therefore that many of the earliest extant works from Southeast Asia are bilingual commentarial texts explaining key canonical passages, terms, or ideas usually in vernacular language. These texts, early examples of which are extant in 16th-century palm-leaf manuscripts, are generally called *nissaya* in Burma (Pruitt, 1994); *nissaya, nāmasadda*, or *vohāra* in Thailand and Laos (McDaniel, 2008); and *saṃrāy* in Cambodia (for an overview, see Jacob, 1996, 49–52; examples in Ou-Chev, 1951), with the main difference between them being the amount of continuous source text cited before a vernacular exegesis begins. Not only are these texts intended to help the user understand the Pali source text, but they also commonly show a deep and creative engagement with the canonical texts around which they are structured. In Burma, they were often used in a scholarly context to help clarify the meaning of the source text, and in other parts of Southeast Asia, they are rather best thought of as notes or guides for making sermons by monks. As such, they are extremely valuable records of how Buddhism was taught to the people, and they tell us what society deemed important. Ethical principles were highlighted using references to topics well known to the laity, or the semantic meaning of certain words was explained, along with obscure grammatical points. A variety of social issues were also addressed in these texts. While a great deal of the canon and commentaries is glossed in various *nissayas*, complete, monolingual translations of the tripartite Pali canonical corpus known as the Tipiṭaka (Three Baskets) into the local languages of Southeast Asia emerged only in the second part of the 20th century: a Burmese edition was commenced in 1962 (*Tipitaka*, 1962ff.), a Khmer edition in 1969 (*Traipiṭak*, 1969) and a Thai edition in 1971 (*Phra Traipitok Phasa Thai Chabap Luang*, 1971ff.). There has not yet been a complete published translation of the Tipiṭaka in Lao, although a few *nikāya* volumes were produced in the early 1970s before the fall of the royalist government to the Marxists (McDaniel, 2008, 51).

The Pali texts of Southeast Asia before the 20th century were most commonly written on palm leaves that had been specially prepared for this purpose, usually inscribed with a stylus after which the grooves would be inked (Berkwitz *et al.*, 2009). Many of these manuscripts bear vernacular colophons written by the scribe that often provide information about the circumstances surrounding the production of the manuscript and the aspirations to gain merit or reach *nibbāna* on the part of the scribes and donors (Hundius, 1990). Vernacular texts were also commonly written on palm leaves, which would thereby link these texts with the prestige of the canon because of the strong association between the palm-leaf medium and the sacred canonical Pali texts. Vernacular texts were also written on folding books made from mulberry bark that were likewise revered (Ginsburg, 1989). A fuller picture of the variety and creativity found in the vast Buddhist vernacular literature of the region can be gained through an examination of the individual literary developments in the countries under study.

Burma

A number of languages influenced by Buddhist culture and ideas have been spoken in the area that is now called Myanmar, including Pyu, Burmese, Mon, and various Tai languages such as Shan and Khün. All of the early examples of vernacular writing in Burma come from inscriptions, known as *kyauk-cā* (lithic writing) in Burmese. There is a wealth of epigraphy that remains from the Pagan period that has been subjected to detailed study and that deals with Buddhist themes (Duroiselle, 1919). Although most of the literature of this period has come down in prose form, some poems, known as *laṅkā* (from Pali *alaṅkāra*, meaning an ornamented literary work) are traditionally held to have been composed during this time, such as a particularly famous one associated with Ānanda Suriya, who was condemned to death by King Narapatisithu (1174–1211; Allott *et al.*, 1963, 561). This poem is a meditation on the impermanence of life, the workings of *kamma*, and the yearning for release from the ongoing wheel of *saṃsāra*. In truth, however, it is impossible to know when this poem was composed, for, other than a few examples of verse that have found their way into the epigraphical record (Hla Pe, 1971, 60), all the

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In general, as in all the areas of Southeast Asia, we know little about the literature in Burma beyond what remains in the inscriptional record until well into the 15th century. During the Ava period (1364–1555), one of the forms that became quite popular is the *ratu*, a lyrical ode, many of which dealt not only with love and war but also with the deeper philosophical questions at the core of Buddhism, often in concise and straightforward language. A well-known devotional *laṅkā* from the period is the *Tawla* (Forest Journey) composed by the monk Shin Uttama Kyaw around 1483. It describes a journey of the Buddha to Kapilavatthu using florid imagery drawn from the author's experience on a pilgrimage that he made to a pagoda in Myanmar. Here, nature is described in resplendent language as an homage to the Buddha (Ba Han, 1917).

The very popular *pyui.* (often written *pyo*) style of poetry developed during the Ava period (Hla Pe, 1971, 61–62) and remained popular through the Kon Baung period (1752–1885; for an example and study, see Okell, 1967). *Pyui.* tend to be fairly straightforward verse forms based on the hundreds of Pali *jātaka* tales that narrate stories of the past lives of the Buddha (Fausbøll, 1877–1897). The *pyui.* usually follow the Pali versions quite closely, embellished with some added narrative elements to create drama and interest (Hla Pe, 1971, 73). Two of the most prominent early composers of *pyui.* and other devotional works are Raṭṭhasāra and Sīlavaṃsa, who both flourished in the late 15th century. It should be mentioned that because of the system of monastic education, many of the most educated literati were monks or former monks, and therefore it is only natural that religious themes have featured highly in the literature. However, court poets did start to eclipse the monastic authors toward the late 16th century (Hla Pe, 1971, 64). It is clear that the heavy role of monks in writing poetry, while perhaps reflecting a more lax interpretation of the monastic Vinaya rules, contributed to the promotion of Buddhism to the faithful, who surely had far more acquaintance with the vernacular literature than with the obtuse Pali texts themselves. Interestingly, two poetesses, Mi Hpyu and Mi Nyo, at the Ava court were well respected in the literary scene of the time, both writing *ratu* on Buddhist themes (Khin Maung Nyunt, 1999, 39–42).

During the first Taungoo period (1510–1599), which was marked by almost constant warfare and jostling for power, the literature moved to focus more heavily on military rather than religious themes, leading to a low point of Buddhist literature in Burma. What Buddhist literature there was often came in the form of *ratus* written to extol the virtues of the Buddha (Hla Pe, 1971, 63; Khin Maung Nyunt, 1999, 46–47). However, in the 17th century, during the second Taungoo period (1599–1752), there were a number of important works of Buddhist literature composed, again, largely by monks. An important example is the *Maṇikuṇḍalavatthu* (Jeweled Ring of Stories) by Varābhisaṅghanātha, the abbot of Ava, which was an elaborate retelling of the *Mahāsutasomajātaka* (Peters, 2000, 255). A number of treatises on Buddhist canonical works and philosophy and monastic rules were composed during this period as well. Finally, the *thā-khyaṅḥ* (songs) should be mentioned, many of which were composed by the court poet Min Jeyya Rantamit on the basis of *jātaka* tales (Khin Maung Nyunt, 1999, 49).

The Konbaung period (1752–1885) was marked by brutal warfare with neighboring Siam as well as the steady encroachment of British interests on Burmese territory. Despite this, and of course in some ways promoted by the advent of print, there was often a flourishing literary scene, with old forms being revived and changed to suit expanding tastes and new forms being developed. As in other parts of the world, secular themes began to be ever more prominent in the writings of the period. The long narrative poem called *Ra kan* emerged in the early 19th century, and many of these were based on *jātaka* tales, interwoven with satirical elements tied to current events and personages of the day, doubtlessly to help combat the growing popularity of other, Western forms of literature (Herbert & Milner, 1989, 12). Contact with European literary forms such as the novel in the late 18th and 19th centuries also affected Burmese writing, leading to more of an emphasis on prose compositions. Here again, the *jātakas* were primary subjects for translation into the current Burmese prose idiom, such as the Burmese version of the *Vessantarajātaka* that was produced by U Obhāsa probably in the 1780s (White, 1906). The *Vessantarajātaka* (for background and English translation, see Cone & Gombrich, 1977) recounts the penultimate life of the most recent Buddha during which he was born as a generous prince who gave away all his most valuable possessions, including his wife and children. The final life of the Buddha, in which he was born as Prince Siddhattha Gotama, was also a common theme, and vernacular stories of the founder of the religion captured the attention of early Western scholars and missionaries as well (Bennett, 1853; Bigandet, 1866).

Another literary form that dates back to at least the 16th century and also flourished during the Konbaung period is the *mettā-cā* (epistle), written to advise a ruler about moral conduct and good rulership (Hla Pe, 1971, 68; Maung Htin Aung, 1968). It, too, was crowded with references to the Buddhist scriptures. Light can be thrown on the daily life and challenges during the last years of the reign of King Mindon (1853–1878) through the tales told by the learned monk Thingazar Sayadaw (1815–1886; Maung Htin Aung, 1966). Thingazar Sayadaw, a favorite of King Mindon, saw that life was changing all around him as Burma became more affected by contact with, and control by, the Western world. He was adept at using the traditional Burmese style of folktales to instruct both clergy and laity on how to lead good Buddhist lives and in particular to walk the middle path between what he saw as the moral laxity of the modern world and the reactionary puritanism that was being promulgated at the time by some other monastic leaders.

Burma has a strong tradition of legal literature based on local, Indian, and Buddhist principles, known as *dhammasattha* (treatise on the law). It has served to encode and legislate ideals of statecraft, kingship, and personal behavior and was produced up to the early modern period. There has been extensive production of such texts in all the countries under study as well, in languages such as Mon (Nai Pan Hla, 1992), Burmese and Pali (Lammerts, 2010), Tai (Huxley, 1996a), and Khmer (Leclère, 1898), some of which were ostensibly based on Pali originals, while others were composed originally in the local idiom. An accessible example is the *Manudhammasattham* that was purportedly translated from Pali into Mon by King Wageru during the late 13th century and was subsequently glossed in Burmese before the 18th century (Forchhammer, 1892). While the mythical ancestor Manu is often referred to in *dhammasattha* texts as a lawgiver, these texts are not local versions of the well-known Brahmanical *Manusmṛti* but rather encode quite distinct Southeast Asian traditions, laws, manners, and customs. The *Manu Kyay* composed in Burma during the reign of King Alaung Hpaya around 1756 collects a number of previous *dhammasatthas* and selects the most important sections and ideas from them; it was the first to be published in English (Richardson, 1847). In this work, Manu appears as a wise counselor of the legendary first ruler King Mahāsammata who, despite humble beginnings, attained advanced stages of meditation and then retrieved the law code written on a wall at the edge of the universe (Huxley, 1996b). There is no doubt that ancient local traditions were incorporated into this literature, but legal texts often turn to Buddhist scriptures for support, which also served to provide a higher authority against which powerful people would not wish to transgress. There are also legal works in the *dhammasattha* tradition that continue to be produced, such as the *vinicchaya* (judgment) literature in Burma that records rulings given by learned people (Carbine, 2004, 102).

A number of chronicles were written in literary Burmese, known as *rājavaṅ* (Pal. *rājavaṃsa*). These relate the history of kings and battles and emphasize the continuity of the royal lineage in order to legitimize the dynasty and preserve its triumphs for posterity. There is in general a great deal of attention paid in these works to the royal acts of merit and support for the Buddhist community in the realm and an endorsement of the Buddhist cosmology. Many such *rājavaṅ* exist, such as the famous *Mhan-nanḥ mahārājavaṅ tau krīḥ* (Glass-Palace Chronicle; Luce & Pe Maung Tin, 1960) compiled by a committee of scholars between 1829 and 1832. It relates the whole history of Burma, starting with mythic elements of how Buddhism arrived in the land. An important early modern work along these lines that should be mentioned is the *Sāsanālaṅkāra cā tamḥ* (Treatise on the Adornment of the Religion; Mahādhamma Saṅkraṃ, 1897) from 1831, which deals comprehensively with the history of Buddhism in Myanmar. The Pali *Sāsanavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Religion; Bode, 1897) which has been used by Western scholars as a major source for the history of Buddhism in both Burma and Sri Lanka is in fact based on this Burmese text (Lieberman, 1976, 139). *Samuiṅḥ* were accounts of the establishment of monasteries, temples, and stūpas that were written to extol these meritorious activities and are similar to the *tamnān* (story, legend) of Thailand (see below).

In the 20th century, there was a strong revival of Burmese literature, and a number of new forms arose. Vernacular *ṭīkā*s (subcommentaries) were written as a form of religious commentary often on current affairs of the time. The Buddhist response to the changing conditions of modernity associated with such figures as the insight meditation master Ledi Sayadaw (1846–1923) also produced much Buddhist literature aimed at explaining meditation practices to the laypeople (Braun, 2013). Ledi Sayadaw was a prolific writer on a number of subjects including Buddhist philosophy, scripture, meditation, and grammar. He also wrote devotional literature about such topics as the life of the Buddha, which are still recited tod

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Thailand

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Buddha, which are still recited today as festival hymns. Another luminary, the well-respected monk Manlei Sayadaw (1841–1920), wrote a great deal about religious themes, and his long verse *Mahāsūtakārī Maghadeva* (Manlei Sayadaw, 2005) is an encyclopedic collection of knowledge about religion and other matters as well.

Much of modern Burmese literature continues with the themes of the classical literature, which is in turn heavily influenced by Indian poetic ideas as well as Buddhist stories and philosophical notions found in the Pali canonical literature. Plays (*pya-zat*, "shown story") in a modern style but based on *jātaka* tales were written for performance overnight as was traditional (Hla Pe, 1952). A good deal of commentarial literature has been produced in the modern period, and like the popular *Kuiy Kyaṅ Abhidhamma* (Abhidhamma in Daily Life) written by the anti-sectarian monk Janakābhivaṃsa (1900–1977) in 1933 (U Ko Lay, 1999), it is often heavily tinged with notions from the Abhidhamma, which has always had an important place in the Burmese imagination. Modern handbooks intended for the laity explaining how to follow the religion and properly perform and interpret key rituals are also commonly found in Burma today, such as *Putīḥ cip naññḥ* (Method of Counting Beads; U Taṅ Cui, 1999).

Thailand

The earliest known text in the Thai language is the celebrated Rāmkhāmhaeng inscription from Sukhothai proclaiming that the king developed letters with which to write the Thai language. While it is generally dated to 1292, this dating has been the subject of great controversy, with some scholars even claiming, based on orthographical and lexical evidence, that the text is a 19th-century forgery (Chamberlain, 1991, esp. ch. 1). The inscription is written in an elegant literary style and tells of the respect accorded to a learned monk who had studied the Buddhist scriptures and used this learning to spread the religion in Thailand. The great deeds of King Rāmkhāmhaeng are enumerated, and his exemplary leadership is praised, but there is a clear focus on his merits as a Buddhist monarch, setting the stage for a tradition of deep literary engagement between the rulers and Buddhism that continues to this day.

During the Sukhothai period, collections of didactic verses known as *suphasit* (Skt. *subhāṣita*, that which is well spoken) began to emerge. These are often said to have personally been written by early kings and have come down to us in various recensions, all heavily influenced by Pali gnomic works such as the *Lokanīti* (Bechert & Braun, 1981) and *Dhammapada* (Carter & Palihawadana, 1987), and often written in the simple *rai* meter. The earliest example is said to be the *Suphasit Phra Ruang* (Gerini, 1904), which does appear to be quite old, for it uses an archaic lexicon and terse forms consistent with inscriptions of the period (Gerini, 1904, 15). However, the oldest extant versions do not date back earlier than the 18th century. These *suphasit* have served as wide-ranging moral guides for both rulers and subjects and have the benefit of being easily memorized, thus helping to disseminate some basic Buddhist principles of good behavior throughout the region.

Other texts in which the narrative takes a back seat and that also aim primarily to direct behavior are the *anisong* (Pal. *ānisaṃsa*, blessing) texts, which extol the benefits of various acts of religious devotion (Swearer, 2004, 60–63; Veidlinger, 2006, 189–190). While their origins are unknown, some of the earliest manuscript examples of such texts date from the early 18th century (Veidlinger, 2006, 189). They generally focus on how one can achieve merit by making or honoring sacred items such as relics, stūpas, and manuscripts, or by supporting monks or listening to Buddhist texts.

The most popular cosmological text to have been composed in Southeast Asia, whose influence has spread far beyond the borders of Thailand, is the *Trai Phum Phra Ruang* (Skt. *Traibhūmikathā*; Reynolds & Reynolds, 1982). This is a lengthy vernacular work traditionally attributed to the Sukhothai period telling of the three worlds according to Buddhism, those worlds being the realm of material reality, the realm of pure form, and the highest, formless realms. Its authorship and date are unclear; it was written according to the colophon in what is probably 1345 by Phya Lithai, who was a prince at the time and later held the throne, but similar to the *Suphasit Phra Ruang*, the earliest manuscript evidence for this text dates from the late 17th century (Vickery, 1974). This work lays out in great detail the various conditions in which persons might find themselves based on their *kamma*. The possible realms of rebirth are laid out, with detailed descriptions of the tortures of hell and the rewards of heaven, and the final chapter outlines the greatest bliss of nirvāṇa. Highly creative and fantastical visions of the different realms have ignited the Thai imagination for centuries. Cosmological motifs derived from this work have been ubiquitous in Thai literature as well as architecture and painting, which served to strengthen the court, which was itself associated with the heavenly world.

Another very popular tale in Thailand with cosmological themes is the *Phra Malai* (Brereton, 1995), which is probably based on a postcanonical story about a monk known in Pali as Māleyya (pronounced Malai in Thai; Collins, 1993). Not only has this story been retold in countless versions in the various Tai dialects, but it is also a common theme for temple art and manuscript illumination. In this story, Phra Malai is an enlightened monk who visits the heavens and hells and delivers sermons about the *dhamma*, thereby helping many beings to reach enlightenment. In the course of his adventures, he learns about the different forms of suffering in hell and rewards in heaven and comes to understand that they are the karmic fruit of various sins and meritorious deeds committed in past lives. He is also told by the future Buddha Metteyya how beings might be able to gain enough merit to be reborn during a time when he has come to earth to help beings reach nirvāṇa, which usually involves listening to the *Vessantarajātaka*. As such it is a perfect story to explain the key ideas of Buddhism and has served as the didactic text par excellence throughout Thailand.

The *Vessantarajātaka* has always been one of the most popular stories in Southeast Asia, but the hundreds of *jātaka* tales about the previous lives of the Buddha before he was born as the current Buddha Siddhattha have also been a fecund source of narrative texts composed throughout the history of Buddhism in Thailand. The *Paññāsajātaka*, an extracanonical Pali collection of 50 Buddhist birth stories (Horner & Jaini, 1985–1986) produced probably in Chiang Mai in the 16th century, has proven to be a particularly important source for Thai poetry. Some of the greatest court poets wrote works inspired by this collection, such as Phra Mahārātchakhru, who composed the *Sua Kho*, a story about a tiger and a bull that are transformed into princes because of their good *kamma* (Mahārātchakhru, 1922). There are also a number of retellings of the life of the Buddha, from his birth as Prince Siddhattha through to his experience of the four sights (an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and an ascetic), his renunciation, and eventual enlightenment, with the early 19th-century Thai version of the *Pathomsomphotikatha* (Pal. *Paṭhamasambodhikathā*) written by the royal monk Paramanuchit Chinorot in the mid-19th century being the most highly revered (for a study of the text, see Laulertvorakul, 2003; for a translation of a Thai version, see Alabaster, 1871, 77–162).

Thailand is blessed with an abundance of historical narratives, typically written by monks to record and glorify the progress of the Buddhist religion (for examples, see Rawin, 1995; Wyatt, 1994). Those that focus more on religious matters are usually known as *tamnān* (story, legend), and those that deal more with secular matters are known as *phongsāvadān* (Skt. *vaṃśāvatāra*, tales of dynastic descent). These chronicles characteristically begin with a world history and relate the birth of Gotama Buddha, including sometimes buddhas of previous epochs as well. They then move to narrate the growth of Buddhism and tell of how the religion (and often the Buddha himself in some form) came to Thailand before focusing in on the matter at hand, namely the history of the monastery or region in which the chronicle was produced. Besides merely recording history for posterity, they serve to sacralize the region as well as to inspire the laity through accounts of the great heroes and monks of yore. Their overall form is based largely on Pali chronicles such as the Sri Lankan *Mahāvaṃsa* (The Great Chronicle; Geiger, 1912) and the northern Thai *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṃ* (The Sheaf of Garlands of Epochs of the Conqueror; Jayawickrama, 1968, and much of their content is derived from these sources as well. While their value as sources for academic history is debated, there is no doubt that they fulfill an important role in the development of regional identities. A project to collect and publish a large number of chronicles from all over Thailand began in 1996 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Bhumibol Adulyadej (b. 1927), the king of Thailand, whose regnal name is Rama IX.

Buddhist themes were given pride of place in much of the court poetry of the Ayutthaya period (1350–1767), during which this literature reached a high point. Indian poetry was greatly influential during this period, and Thai poetics tried to emulate Indian ideals in various ways, adapted of course to the very different tonal and uninflected Thai languages. The *Chandāmaṇī* (Jewel of Prosody), written in the 17th century, is the earliest known Thai treatise on Indian prosody; it is based on the 12th-century Pali work *Vuttodaya* from Sri Lanka. The important Indic metrical convention of classifying syllables as light (*lahu*) and heavy (*garu*) is here applied to Thai words. The two Thai poetic forms explicitly based on Indian prosody are the *chan* (Pal. *chanda*, chant) and *kap* (Skt. *kāvya*, poetry) forms, both of which may have come to Thailand through interaction with the Khmer court, which

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Their fruit remains at last. This our
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was at this point strongly influenced by Indian literary forms, or through participation in the greater Pali literary world (Terwiel, 1996). The earliest example of *chan* verse in Thai poetry occurs in sections of a version of *Vessantara* known as *Mahāchāt Kham Luang*, which can be traced to the mid-15th century during the reign of King Trailokanāt (Hudak, 1990, 16). Native Thai verse forms were also perfected during this era, such as *rai* and especially *khlong*, a poetically translated example of which serves to illustrate the way in which rhyme and meter were used to express Buddhist concepts such as impermanence and *kamma*:

> All on earth alike Pass away; Yet our deeds, they stay; Shadow-fast Pursuing day by day, Good or ill, Their fruit remains at last. This our comfort! This our hope! (*Lilit Phra Law*; trans. Cooke, 1980, 430).

The *lilit* verse, which combines the *rai* and *khlong* forms (Bickner, 1991), is a classical Thai literary form that was often used for epic tales, which tended to be more influenced by Hindu rather than Buddhist sources, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, although again modified for Thai tastes. A number of the most highly regarded poetic works are based on various *jātakas*, which commonly served as subject matter during the Ayutthaya and subsequent periods as well. Of particular note is the *Samuthakhot Kham Chan* (discussed in Phromsuthirak, 1979, 48–49), which is based on stories from the *Paññāsajātaka* and is replete with Indian mythological references and Buddhist morality. It was completed by many hands over several centuries starting during the reign of King Narai (1656–1688).

Much Thai art and literature may have been destroyed by the Burmese during the sack of Ayutthaya in 1767, and it is impossible to know exactly what treasures were lost to posterity. However, strong efforts were made during the Ratanakosin period that commenced in 1782 from the new capital of Bangkok to restore Thai culture to its previous state. Like the Burmese, the Thai also possessed a formal tradition of legal literature known as *dhammasattha*; it was translated from Mon, which in turn was translated from Pali. After the cultural destruction of 1767, a major task was to reconstitute this legal tradition and a collection was compiled under the direction of King Rama I (1782–1809).

Perhaps the single most popular work of Thai literature since the Ayutthaya period has been the *Rāmakien* (Olsson, 1968), which is the Thai telling of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of which there are many different versions, each with slightly different emphases. The most important version was produced during the reign of King Rama I, with his personal assistance. The characters and styles of dress, weapons, and architecture are adapted to Thailand, and Indian gods such as Viṣṇu, here called Narai (Skt. Nārāyaṇa), and Indra feature prominently. Often described as the greatest literary figure of the age, the court poet Sunthorn Phu (1786–1856; Wenk, 1985) wrote a number of works with Buddhist themes, such as the *Nirat Phra Bat* in *khlon* verse about his participation in a pilgrimage to worship the Buddha's footprint in Saraburi in 1807.

Overall, a good sense of the landscape of traditional Thai Buddhist literature can be garnered through a perusal of the *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University* (Buddharaksa & Premchit, 1986). This catalogue of almost a thousand texts includes dozens of examples of vernacular works written in the Northern Thai dialect on such topics as Buddhist history, *jātakas*, the Suttas, Abhidhamma doctrine, disciplinary rules (Vinaya), religious teachings, blessings, cosmology, and poetry in all the well-known meters.

A relatively recent development that is based on older traditions is the printing of cremation volumes (*nangsü anuson ngānsop*) that are commonly produced to honor the dead. The tradition of handing out gifts at important occasions such as cremations in order to build merit has a long history in Thailand and other Buddhist countries, but the practice of preparing short-run printed volumes for distribution at cremation ceremonies in Thailand probably goes back to the 19th century. These volumes are important sources of cultural and historical information and are invariably deeply connected to Buddhism. They often contain some remarks about the life and death of the deceased as well as some Pali verses that might be used at the ceremony. After that, they often discuss the various ways in which one can lead a good Buddhist life, with the aim of helping the recipient gain merit. Warnings against accumulating bad *kamma* are also common, and the principle of karmic retribution is emphasized. Buddhist ethics and aphorisms also feature prominently in these works (Olson, 1992). Also ubiquitous at funerals is chanting of selections from the Abhidhamma that examine in detail the makeup of the human physical and mental aggregates and the relations that obtain among them. These selections are presented and interspersed with Thai vernacular commentary in the *Abhidhamma Chet Khamphi* (Seven Books of the Abhidhamma) manuscripts, which date back to at least the 18th century (McDaniel, 2008, 233–236).

These texts transform the syllables of the titles of the Pali Abhidhamma texts into cosmic elements with creative power, similar to tantric mantras (Swearer, 1995, 336–342). Other texts are also chanted at many ritual occasions besides funerals, and these can be found in Pali with their Thai translations in the *Suat Mon Chabap Luang* (The Royal Thai Chanting Book), which has been published since 1878 (McDaniel, 2008, 234). It includes the most popular *paritta* (protective) texts as well as selections from the canon that are used in ritual contexts, such as the salute to the Buddha known as *iti pi so* and the three refuges confession of faith (for an accessible English version that is substantially the same as the *Suat Mon Chabap Luang*, see *A Chanting Guide*, 1994).

Modern Thai literature starting in the 19th century was heavily influenced by Western literary forms, and novels have become popular in Thailand as elsewhere in Southeast Asia and the world. Many Thai novels include themes that emerge out of the Buddhist worldview, such as karmic retribution or the social role of monks. A fine example of this is former Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj's (1911–1995) *Lai Chivit* (Many Lives; Pramoj, 1996), which tells of the sinful and meritorious lives of people killed on a boat. One of these is a monk who exemplifies Thai Buddhist values and is one of the more eloquent presentations of the Buddhist ideal in modern fiction. Other modern writers who must be mentioned are Buddhadāsa (1906–1993; Jackson, 1988), who wrote a great deal of canonical commentaries of a reformist bent that are still popular today, and Sulak Sivaraksa (b. 1933), who has written many widely read books on socially engaged Buddhism (Sivaraksa, 1981).

Laos

The Lao language – like Khün, Shan from the northwest, Yuan from the northern Kingdom of Lanna, and Lü – is part of the Tai family of languages, and the broad contours of Lao Buddhist literature are similar to those of Thailand but have seen far less scholarly study. Buddhism has played an important role in bringing the people together to form a Lao identity, but Laos also has a relatively large contingent of non-Tai highland peoples who do not share the Buddhist culture of the majority Lao speakers. Some particularly high periods of literature in the Lan Xang ("One Million Elephants") Kingdom (1354–1707) can be found during the reigns of Visunarāt (1500–1520) and Phothisārarāt (1520–1547) and his son Xetthāthirāt (1548–1571). All of these kings promoted Buddhism and brought learned monks from northern Thailand to strengthen the religion in the Lao region.

Jātaka tales and stories of the life of the Buddha were particularly popular during this early period, including the apocryphal birth stories from northern Thailand. The Lao have a distinctive version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, known as *Phra Lak Phra Lam*, in which Rāvaṇa conducts himself in a noble manner and is greatly admired (Sahai, 1973). Like other versions, it tends not to have a great deal of Buddhist imagery. There are other versions of this text in Laos, however, such as the one in Tai-Lü known as *Phommachak* (Skt. Brahmacakra [The Wheel of Brahma]; Lafont, 2003), that have the contours of a *jātaka*. Here, Rāma is associated with the Buddha-to-be (Bodhisatta), Rāvaṇa takes the position of Māra within the Buddhist pantheon, and the main characters' adherence to Buddhist principles is mentioned throughout. Religious stories of Ānanda, the Buddha's main disciple, and tales of other Buddhist saints such as Upagupta are known (Strong, 1992, 220). Stories and legends about the Buddha traveling to the region and leaving his footprint and about the way in which various relics were obtained and enshrined in stūpas abound. As at other sites in the region, in Laos there is a great love of folktales known as *nithān* (Skt./Pal. *nidāna*), which tend to focus on stories of love and adventure. The most important of these is the *Nithān Khun Borom* (Phothisane, 1996), which tells of the introduction of Buddhism during the legendary reign of King Borom. Other chronicles relate tales of the historical founder of Lan Chang, King Fā Ngum (1353–1374), and developments in the religion, including the reforms of King Xetthāthirāt, who tried to remove some of the more superstitious elements connected to spirit worship. Various versions exist of this important text, which covers a great swath of Lao history (Phothisane, 2002). Perhaps the most beloved stories are the tales of Xieng Mieng, a former novice monk with a quick wit and impish personality, who is eternally tricking his superiors in one way or another (Epstein, 1995). Xieng Mieng would be happy to find himself mentioned in the august company of the other works herein, for, in truth, there is not much Buddhism in his stories.

Lao Buddhism has been affected greatly by northern Thailand and Burma, as monks from Chiang Mai and other places came to centers such as Vientiane and Luang Prabang bringing texts and images, especially during the formative years of the 16th century. Perhaps even more than in other countries, there is a strong admixture of spells, potions, astrology, and

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Cambodia

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apotropaic magic in the Buddhist texts and practices of Laos. *Anisong* are well known in Laos, and they are often used in a magical context, as are the similar *xalong*, which help guide the performance of religious ceremonies and are commonly found throughout the country. There are also Lao *tamnāns* whose function is similar to that of Thailand *tamnāns*, namely, to record the history of specific monasteries, relics, and Buddha images. Although very little of this literature has been published in accessible forms, examples of all these texts can be found online in the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (www.laomanuscripts.net).

One text – in several Lao versions – that has been subjected to the most in-depth study by Western scholars is the *Saddavimala* (Purification by Words; Bizot & Lagirarde, 1996). This text, which is also found in Yuan, Lao, Khün, and Lü collections, discusses the importance of employing the correct pronunciation of Pali in order to create a ritual body of the Buddha that substitutes for the impure body of the aspirant to assist in achieving liberation. It is part of a genre known as *yogāvacara* (the application of yoga; Crosby, 2000), which was common throughout the region before the modern era and incorporates many tantric elements into the local practice of Buddhism. The use of the vernacular languages to spread the teachings of the Buddha helped to imbue Pali with the esoteric function seen in the *yogāvacara* texts. As Pali became less commonly used and more removed from daily experience, it also became ever more mysterious and powerful.

Cambodia

Khmer is the most commonly used language of Cambodia, and it is related to Mon in the Austroasiatic family. The literature written in this language is rich in Buddhist-themed cosmology, history, narratives, and ethics. Some of the earliest vernacular inscriptions in Southeast Asia are in Khmer and date from the 7th century (Herbert & Milner, 1989, 52), and Indian metrical influence can be seen as early as the 10th century (Coedès, 1968, inscription 173; see also Terwiel, 1996, 313). The early Khmer Empire was largely Hindu, with Buddhism only eclipsing it in the 13th century (Chandler, 1996, ch. 3), but Buddhism was certainly practiced in the area in the 1st millennium, especially in the southeast region that was known to the Chinese as Funan (Chandler, 1996, 12–21).

The most important literary work in Khmer to this day is the *Reamker* (Skt. *Rāmakīrti* [The Glory of Rama]; Jacob, 1986; Bizot, 1989), which is a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. While the text follows the general contours of the Indian version, one key difference is that here, as in some of the Lao versions, Rāma is reconfigured as the Bodhisatta (Buddha-to-be), thus injecting Buddhist themes into the story, which ends up looking something like a *jātaka*. The *jātaka*s themselves are also commonly read in Khmer and have been an influential source for Khmer literature, as they have throughout Southeast Asia (for a selection of Khmer versions of *jātaka*s, see Huffman & Proum, 1977, 251–304). As in other Southeast Asian countries, the *Vessantarajātaka* has been the most popular of the *jātaka*s, and numerous versions of it exist (Leclère, 1902). *Jātaka*s have commonly been turned into *sātrā lpaeṅ*, which is narrative epic poetry dating from the 16th century that typically has exciting scenes of love and battles (Leclère, 1895, 291–293; 1906, 121–340). *Jātaka*s were also common themes for the longer *rioeṅ* verse-fiction tales, which had their heyday in the 18th and 19th centuries (for summaries of many of these poems, see Jacob, 1996, 148–182). Another very popular literary poem throughout Cambodia is the *Tum Teav*, which is ostensibly based on events from the 16th or 17th century and rendered probably in the 19th century in a form that straddles traditional and modern Khmer writing (Chigas, 2005, 16). There are many versions of this tragic tale of forbidden love between a monk and a beautiful young woman. *Kamma* plays an important role in the fate of the protagonists, and the story depicts the severe consequences of uncontrolled desires.

Cpāp provide codes of conduct to guide people on a proper Buddhist life, instructing them in moral behavior and religious values, and have been produced since at least the 17th century (Chigas, 2005, 202n75). One might find passages telling of how the light of the *dhamma* is the greatest, for it lasts forever while that of fire can be extinguished and that of the sun is lost each night (Jacob, 1996, 30). They are similar to the already mentioned *subhāṣita* that are known in other countries as well as Cambodia. They have often been memorized and taught to the next generation in order to ensure that the right ways to behave are passed on (for a selection of representative *cpāp* in Khmer, see Huffman & Proum, 1977, 149–181; for selections in Khmer along with French translations, see Pou, 1988).

There was much sharing of stories and literary styles across Southeast Asia, and works such as the *Traibhūmikathā* and *Paṭhamasambodhi* (Leclère, 1906, 7–114) were translated from Thai into Khmer in the 19th century and became very popular. As in the other countries of the region, chronicles were also composed by monks and royal scribes that record the history of various dynasties and also of sacred relics or the Buddhist religion in general. These chronicles are generally known in Cambodia as *baṅsāvatār* (Skt. *vaṃśāvatāra*; Mak, 1981; 1984; Khin, 1988) and are similar in form to the texts of the same name in Thailand.

Many oral tales with a Buddhist flavor were collected in the early 20th century and published by writers such as Ukñā Suttantaprījā Ind (1859–1925), who wrote the narrative ethical treatise *Gatiloke* (Ways of the World), advocating the development of *satisampajañña* (moral discernment/mindfulness) through tales collected from Cambodian folklore (Carrison & Kong Chhean, 1987). Many of these stories involve monks and novices who behave in ways that the faithful should emulate and also poke fun at the Brahmanical hierarchy. The former monk and Pali scholar who compiled this collection was part of a group of modernist reformers who emphasized the importance of moral conduct and following the *dhamma* properly in pursuit of self-purification, rather than adhering to the older forms of Buddhism that deviated from the canonical texts and were too laden with mythology at the expense of rationality. A popular literary form at the time was the *saṅkhep*, which aimed to deliver abbreviated versions of seminal texts especially to the laity, in order to instruct them as directly as possible in the key ideas of the religion, as seen by modernist monks. These works helped to build an understanding of Buddhism in Cambodia in which Khmer Buddhist values could be reflected through proper behavior in the modern colonial context (Hansen, 2007). An important journal that helped to shape the public reception of Buddhism in modern times was *Kambujasuriyā*, which was launched in 1926 by L'Institut Bouddhique and became a venue for articles about a variety of religious affairs (for a comprehensive list of texts published in *Kambujasuriyā*, including *jātakas*, *cpāp*, and narrative verse of all kinds, see Jacob, 1996, 214–228).

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Languages

Languages: Indic

The linguistic history of Buddhism begins with a lost language, that of the Buddha. The most ancient languages extant are Pali, Gandhari, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. These, however, are derived from a still earlier language (Buddhist Middle Indic), which can be reconstructed, if only to a very limited extent. From the very beginning, a large variety of Middle Indic languages, later also Sanskrit, was used by Buddhists, out of which, in the course of time, certain individual languages were selected and adopted by Buddhist schools as one of the marks of their identity. Only two of these languages, Pali and Sanskrit, are described by indigenous Buddhist grammarians. A large number of different scripts were used to write down Buddhist texts in manuscripts.

From the very beginning, Buddhism was, it seems, multilingual in stark contrast to the Vedic religion absorbed by and continued in contemporary Hinduism, which allows only Vedic Sanskrit as the language of the holy texts (Vedas). In the same way, the Jainas limit their languages to a Prakrit, that is, Ardhamāgadhī, and Sanskrit.

In a famous but poorly understood episode preserved in the original Indian language only in the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Theravāda school in Pali (for Chinese parallels, see Brough, 1980), the Buddha is supposed to have been approached by two monks who were brothers, and were – in spite of their outlandish name, Yameḷutekula (Yameḷakekuṭa in the Burmese tradition; Meṭṭhakokuṭṭha in the Siamese tradition) – introduced as Brahmans well versed in many ways of speech. They complained that there were (at the time of the Buddha) many monks with different linguistic backgrounds who spoiled the word of the Buddha by using their own ways of speech (*nirutti*). Therefore, the two brothers suggest that they commit (*āropeti*?) the word of the Buddha to a uniform way of speech, which they call *chandaso*. According to the tradition, their request is rejected. In this context, the exact meaning of the Pali words *nirutti* and *chandaso* (Vedic language?, verse?; see also Ruegg, 2000; von Hinüber, 1995, 191) is unclear. This intervention of the two Brahman brothers is interpreted by later Theravāda tradition in the *Samantapāsādikā*, about a millennium after this text was conceived, as the intention to propagate the use of Vedic language (Sp 1214). However, the objective of this episode seems to be that the words and the message of the Buddha should be conveyed without any restriction in the use of languages.

This generally very liberal approach to linguistic usage becomes visible also in the legal procedure applied if a monk wishes to leave the saṅgha: the necessary declaration can be made in any language as long as the person, in whose presence the relevant words are spoken, understands the intended meaning (on use of different languages, see Schopen, 2009). In contrast, when entering the saṅgha, the formulas to be spoken at that occasion are strictly fixed and prescribed in a very detailed way, including even the correct pronunciation of each individual word (von Hinüber, 1987).

Moreover, the Theravāda tradition understands, following again the interpretation of the *Samantapāsādikā*, the term *nirutti* (speech) as referring to the language used by the Buddha himself. This language, according to the traditional understanding of the Theravādins and others, was of course the language of Magadha (Pal. *māgadhiko vohāro*, speech current in Magadha), where the Buddha lived and taught. Magadhi was and is supposed by the Theravāda Buddhists to be identical with Pali, which was, at the same time, considered the original language of mankind (*Ursprache*) spoken naturally by any human growing up alone in the wilderness and being unable to listen to his or her mother or father (von Hinüber, 1977, 80ff., 239). This concurs with corresponding ideas in Hinduism, in which Sanskrit holds the same position particularly in the Vedic tradition, and Ardhamagadhi in Jainism.

However, very soon after Western linguistic research on Buddhism began in the early 19th century with the Pali grammar by E. Burnouf and C. Lassen (1826; additions in Burnouf, 1827), it became clear that Pali can have been neither the language of the Buddha nor the language used in Magadha, which roughly corresponds to contemporary Bihar. This was demonstrated first of all by the French Buddhologist S. Lévi in his fundamental article "Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme" (1912). Here, S. Lévi sums up earlier research of the 19th

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century and presents the new and seminal idea that the phonetic shape of some words found in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit can be explained only by recurring to phonetic developments, which do not operate in either language. This observation was explained by S. Lévi as pointing to a third, lost language as the common ancestor of both Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit – the *langue précanonique*.

Arguing this way was possible only after the decipherment of the script of Aśoka's inscriptions by J. Prinsep in 1837, because these texts provide a solid basis for tracing the linguistic development and the linguistic geography of India during the 3rd century BCE. Aśoka Maurya (Skt.; Middle Indic: Asoka Moriya; r. c. 269–232 BCE) decided to convey his message to his subjects in three linguistically different versions in his 14 major rock edicts. The large majority of these texts is composed in an eastern variety of Middle Indic (described in Oberlies, 2003b), supposed to correspond to the language used by the Maurya administration in their capital in Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna). The same Middle Indic is also found in the minor rock edicts and in two separate edicts in Kalinga (i.e. modern Orissa). A linguistically different version of the major edicts was engraved on a rock in west India, at Girnar in Gujarat, where a variety of Middle Indic close to Pali was preferred. The third Middle Indic language (Gandhari; see below) was employed in the northwestern inscriptions at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi in Pakistan.

This distribution allows demonstrating without much effort that Pali as the oldest surviving Middle Indic language (besides the northwestern Gandhari) is as close to the version of Aśoka's edicts at Girnar as it is different from the eastern official language of the Maurya Empire. An easy example of how to discern the eastern from the western variety of early Buddhist Middle Indic is the different development of *r* and *l*. While the western language preserves the sound *ra* and has *rājā* like Sanskrit, in the east *ra* changes into *la*, and consequently *rājā* is converted into *lājā* (king). However, the traces of the pre-canonical language, dealt with by S. Lévi and later systematically explored by H. Lüders (1952), show some affinity to Aśoka's eastern inscriptions. Therefore, H. Lüders named the administrative language of the Maurya court "Old Ardhamagadhi (half Magadhi)" (to distinguish it from the later Ardhamagadhi used by the Jains), the language used by the Jainas, which is more developed and younger (see Alsdorf, 1980).

Considering that the Buddha lived and taught in eastern India, the conclusion to be drawn from these linguistic observations is obvious: the oldest Buddhist texts, which were superseded and consequently lost probably rather soon, were originally transmitted in an eastern variety of Middle Indic, the precanonical language most likely similar to an old variety of Ardhamagadhi. However, when Buddhism began to expand over a wider area in North India, far beyond the borders of its homeland Magadha, texts were recast into a western form of Middle Indic (Pali) in order to adapt them to a language that would reach a larger audience.

Consequently, the language used during the beginnings of Buddhism and by the Buddha himself was superseded, given up, and completely lost because of these developments. Being a native of Kapilavastu, the Buddha most likely would have spoken and used in his instructions the eastern Middle Indic current in his native town or a close variant. It is, however, impossible to get a more precise picture of the very earliest language of Buddhism, which certainly was a vernacular, and not Sanskrit. In abandoning the Vedic language, the Buddha followed the general trend of his time (Deshpande, 1994). This can be seen by comparing the Middle Indic language used by the Jainas (Ardhamagadhi) and probably also by the "six heretics," contemporary sectarian leaders such as Makkhali Gosāla at the head of the Ājīvikas. The exact nature of the language of the "heretics" remains, however, as elusive as that of the Buddha himself (von Hinüber, ^{2}2001, § 351, 407, 409).

Together with the language spoken by the Buddha, the original wording of the oldest texts is irretrievably lost, while the content of the teaching is transmitted in Pali, Gandhari, and other languages. This also raises the question if and how these lost texts might have been arranged. H. Lüders assumed an original canon (*Urkanon*) in Old Ardhamagadhi (Lüders, 1952). Subsequent research, however, demonstrated that there is no clear indication of the existence of an *Urkanon* but only of individual texts preceding the extant T(r)ipiṭakas (Bechert, 1980; von Hinüber, 1983b).

As literary languages, both Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit are, in contrast to Gandhari, not the spoken idiom of any well-defined area. This is obvious at once from the language name "Pali" and even more so from the "nameless" Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, because names of Indian languages with very rare exceptions such as Sanskrit and Paishaci (von Hinüber, ^{2}2001, § 51, 98ff.) refer to the area where they were or are spoken. Pali, however, originally means "Canonical Text" in opposition to *aṭṭhakathā* (commentary on the canon [Tipiṭaka]), and it was used as a name of the (canonical) language only at a

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very late date, perhaps since about the 12th century (von Hinüber, ²2001, § 3; Crosby, 2004).

Pali is clearly an ancient literary language used over a large area, originally perhaps conceived as a "common language of the Gangetic plains" as pointed out by the Swedish linguist H. Smith (*κοινή gangétique*; von Hinüber, ²2001, § 29). At the same time, Pali is the Middle Indic nearest to the Vedic language. Pali precedes the texts preserved in classical Sanskrit as described and fixed by the grammarian Pāṇini (c. 350 BCE[?]) and thus in a way bridges the gap between Vedic and classical Sanskrit. Therefore, Pali is of importance also for the linguistic history of India beyond Buddhism.

When the original texts in the eastern language were recast into Pali, eastern words and forms were usually replaced by their western equivalents. This, however, was not done systematically. Retaining eastern forms occasionally resulted in a unique mixture of both eastern and western features found side by side in Pali, such as the optative forms of the verb "to be." The western form *assa* is employed besides the synonymous eastern *siyā*, both meaning "could be." This and other traces of the eastern language can be explained as remnants from the superseded and lost earlier texts.

Besides the choice to keep certain old eastern forms, the change of language was not always executed in a perfect way, and errors occurred in many details. These errors were used by S. Lévi and particularly by H. Lüders as the methodological clue to detect and to describe the linguistic developments starting from the original Buddhist language and ending in the formation of Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Technical terms or place names in particular were liable to be misunderstood. Many place names were unknown beyond Magadha and consequently could not be adapted properly. Thus the eastern name of the mountain Isigili (near present-day Rajgir) was preserved in Pali and explained as the "(mountain, by which) ascetics (Pal. *isi*; Skt. *ṛṣi*) were devoured (Pal. *gilati*)" instead of being converted correctly into western Isigiri ("Mountain of the Ascetic[s]") with the abovementioned development of *r* to *l* in the word *giri* (mountain) reverted.

Moreover, giving up the original eastern language and trying a new linguistic approach opened the opportunity for changes far beyond recasting an eastern into a western idiom. Sometimes even Sanskrit forms were introduced into Pali perhaps already at this early date. This can be demonstrated by the help of verses in the *Suttanipāta*, where the word *brāhmaṇa* is explained by a popular etymology that makes sense only if the original eastern Middle Indic word **bāhaṇa* is inserted (Norman, 1980). Interestingly, the redactors composing the western version of the Aśokan inscriptions found at Girnar acted in a similar way by using *brā̆hmaṇa* instead of the genuine ancient Ardhamagadhi form of the Mauryan administrative language: *bābhana* or *bambhana* as preserved in other versions (von Hinüber, 2012a). The early intrusion and use of the very typical Brahmanic word *brāhmaṇa* into Middle Indic is confirmed by a coin from Sonkh near Mathura (1st cent. BCE; Härtel, 1993, 312) reading *bramamitasa* (of [the King] Brahmamitra), where *brama* (Skt. *brahma*) is a Sanskritic form, while *mita* (Skt. *mitra*) is clearly Middle Indic.

The Buddhists, however, went far beyond the hesitant attempts of the ancient Indian "linguists" at work in Girnar and began at an uncertain, but probably early, date to introduce also certain artificial forms only loosely based ultimately on Sanskrit. The best example is one of the endings of the absolutive, which ends in *-tvā* in Sanskrit and develops into *-ttā* in Middle Indic. In Pali the ending *-tvā* is reintroduced with traces of the original and genuine Middle Indic form remaining: *kattā* the rare variant of Pali *katvā* (having done), both derived from Sanskrit *kṛtvā*, was still known to the author of the *Samantapāsādikā* and to the even later commentator Dhammapāla (von Hinüber, 1982, 136). This conscious shaping of Pali continues in various forms over a very long period and is still visible in the early northern Thai manuscript tradition beginning during the late 15th and early 16th centuries (von Hinüber, 1988; 2013, no. 108). Sometimes, truly artificial forms such as the instrumentals *petyā* (by the father) and *mātyā* (by the mother) are generated, which have no basis in Sanskrit (*pitrā*/*mātrā*) at all but are formed by analogy within Middle Indic.

This process of developing Buddhist languages artificially is not confined to Pali alone. In two respects, the Pali word *disvā* (having seen) is particularly instructive, because it is an early artificial formation derived from epic Sanskrit *dṛśya* (Oberlies, 2003a, 284, § 9.7.2), which should have developed into **dissā̆* in Pali. However, when the regular Middle Indic absolutives, such as *kattā* (< Skt. *kṛtvā*), were converted to "semi"-Sanskrit forms, such as Pali *katvā*, **dissā̆* was also drawn into this process by mistake and changed into *disvā* instead of (correctly) keeping **dissā̆* as the common form of this absolutive besides the rare but regular *diṭṭhā* developing from Vedic Sanskrit *dṛṣṭvā*. The unusual phonetic shape of Pali *diṭṭhā*, however, protected this absolutive from being changed. Moreover, Pali *disvā* corresponds to Gandhari *diṣpa* (there are also absolutives in *-tva* in Gandhari), which not only underlines the high age of the shaping of Buddhist languages but also shows that languages of schools other than Theravāda are also based on the same old texts and share similar developments.

The high importance of Gandhari was for a long time more suspected than recognized from immediate evidence in Western linguistic research on Buddhist languages. The only Buddhist text known to be written in Gandhari was the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (renamed *Khotan Dharmapada* recently, since more versions of the same text in Gandhari surfaced). It was, however, recognized first, if vaguely, by the French sinologist P. Pelliot already in 1914 that some transcriptions of proper names in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts were based on northwestern Middle Indic forms, that is Gandhari, and not on Sanskrit (Pelliot, 1914, 407n4). This was further elaborated by E. Waldschmidt (1932, 231) without, however, referring to P. Pelliot. The importance of this discovery was confirmed during the last two decades, when, beginning in 1994, more and more fragmentary texts in Gandhari were recovered and edited (Salomon, 1999).

For a long time, Gandhari was attested mostly by epigraphic evidence, beginning with the northwestern inscriptions of Aśoka (see above). In the same way, as the number of manuscripts increased considerably, many new inscriptions gradually came to light in the recent past (1,079 inscriptions in Gandhari are listed in February 2015; gandhari.org/a_inscriptions).

A major obstacle to understanding Gandhari texts is the Kharoshthi script (see below), which has been used in the northwest since the time of Aśoka and is only badly adapted to the needs of Indic languages (e.g. long and short vowels are not distinguished, nor are geminates written). Therefore, the graphic representation of the language is generally inadequate.

Within Middle Indic languages, Gandhari, which is by no means uniform in itself (Fussman, 1989), holds an exceptional position because of a number of phonetic peculiarities, such as the spirantization of *-tha-* resulting in *tasagata* (Pal.; Skt. *tathāgata*), or a metathesis of liquids, such as Gandhari *dhrarma* corresponding to Sanskrit *dharma*, are unique in Middle Indic. These features are continued in the modern Dardic languages (von Hinüber, ^{2}2001, § 19), such as Gandhari *krama* derived from Sanskrit *karman* surviving as Dardic (Shina) *krom* (travail; Fussman, vol. II, 1972, 357). Gandhari is indeed the only Middle Indic language with an unbroken history traceable from the time of Aśoka until the present. The texts composed in Gandhari seem mostly, but not exclusively, to belong to the school of the Dharmaguptakas.

The use of Gandhari as a Buddhist language was discontinued by the year 500 CE. It remained unknown to the indigenous Indian grammarians, and consequently no ancient name was preserved. Therefore the British linguist H.W. Bailey coined the now generally accepted name "Gāndhārī" referring to the area where this language was once used (Bailey, 1946). The history of Gandhari and a survey of documents at present known to exist in this language are provided by R. Salomon (2007).

Although Gandhari does not fully share the artificial developments observed in Pali (see, however, Salomon, 2001), a large number of Gandhari texts represent the northwestern adaptation of very early Buddhist material as amply shown by texts running parallel in both these and other varieties of Buddhist languages. The same is true for Buddhist Sanskrit. Here, however, early Buddhist "linguists" faced quite a different problem, because they did not have to recast ancient eastern texts into a different, but linguistically similar, variety of Middle Indic thus moving, as it were, horizontally on the same level, but they were faced with a real change of language when converting Middle Indic into Sanskrit. However, instead of deciding to translate Middle Indic into a Sanskrit following the norms as laid down by Pāṇini, quite a different approach was chosen during the earliest phase, when the texts were only brought near to Sanskrit with many Middle Indic features preserved (Deshpande, 1994, 100f.). The method followed in this process was very similar to the way in which certain areas of Pali grammar and vocabulary were remade and developed from Middle Indic toward Sanskrit, but in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the redactors went much farther than in Pali. This can be observed in the comparatively few texts preserved in the original language, because in translations into Chinese or Tibetan, almost all linguistic peculiarities are lost. Only phonetic transcriptions in Chinese offer some limited help to trace the underlying Indic language.

As far as we can see today, only the members of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda school tried to keep their language as close as possible to Middle Indic when approaching Sanskrit. Consequently, a Middle Indic form corresponding to Pali *ahosi* (was), which is a genuine Middle Indic formation

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without any immediate ancestor in Sanskrit but developed from the Sanskrit root-aorist *abhūt*, was transformed in texts such as the *Mahāvastu* into *abhūṣi*, a form alien to Sanskrit, instead of being simply translated into correct Sanskrit *abhūt* or any other form of the past, such as the Sanskrit imperfect *abhavat* or the perfect *babhūva*, all meaning "was." The Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins thus created a truly artificial form in producing *abhūṣi*, as such corresponding to the equally artificial forms *disvā* or *petyā* in Pali discussed above. This process of Sanskritization could not yet be properly understood when F. Edgerton wrote his still fundamental *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (1953). Therefore, F. Edgerton erroneously considered *abhūṣi* a trace of an underlying living Middle Indic language, from which he supposed Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit to have developed (Edgerton, vol. I, 1953, § 1.92).

While *abhūṣi* is the result of creative grammatical thinking, other forms were converted wrongly out of ignorance, where words of the Vedic language were concerned that had fallen out of use and consequently were no longer understood. Thus the Sanskritization could result in phonetically correct, but semantically almost nonsensical, backformations. A good example is the Middle Indic (Pali) word *pabbhāra* (slope) based on the Vedic adjective *hvara* (bent, crooked), which does not survive in later Sanskrit as observed by T. Zachariae (1851–1934) as early as 1883 (von Hinüber, 2002, 158). Therefore, the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda redactors were obviously unfamiliar with Vedic **prahvāra* (bent forward, slope) and consequently unable to retrace this correct Sanskrit correspondence. Instead, the word *pabbhāra* was replaced by the phonetically correct, but semantically fanciful, *prāgbhāra*, formed from *prāg* (turned forward) + *bhāra* (burden, mass, etc.), which, in spite of (or because of?) its somewhat "exotic" character, was accepted into the Mahāsāṃghika-Lottaravāda language. Similarly, the correct derivation and original meaning of the legal technical term *pārājika* based on the Vedic verb *parā + aj-*, "to drive away," probably originally belonging to the vocabulary of cattle keepers and therefore unknown to the Buddhist tradition, which sought a connection to *parā + ji-*, "to defeat" (*pārājika* > *pārājayika*), were found out by one of the pioneers of Western Buddhist studies, E. Burnouf, as early as 1844 and confirmed again by H. Smith in 1966 (von Hinüber, 1988, 3).

A third type of the problems faced when converting Middle Indic to Sanskrit is presented by those words that are ambiguous due to the phonetic development from Vedic Sanskrit to Middle Indic. Therefore, choices had to be made, which were not always easy, nor was the result always correct. In Middle Indic, the future Buddha is called *bodhisatta*, which allows two possible Sanskritizations as *bodhisatva* (on the orthography of this word, see Bhattacharya, 2010) or **bodhisakta*. Although the latter form is probably the correct one, and although the ancient Buddhists were well aware of this possibility, *bodhisatva* was preferred because of exegetical considerations in spite of considerable difficulties opposing any explanation of this compound according to the rules of grammar (von Hinüber, 2007, 387).

The language of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin school created by this process is called "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" by F. Edgerton (von Hinüber, 1989b). Although this terminology is often criticized, other suggestions such as *ārṣa* (language of the *ṛṣi* [i.e. Buddha]), used by the ancient Buddhists themselves occasionally (see below), did not find universal acceptance, mainly because *ārṣa* is also used by the Jainas for their language and by Pāṇini for the language of the Veda (von Hinüber, 2012b, 243n1).

When comparing the process of Sanskritization in both schools, Theravāda (Pali) and Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda (Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit), it is obvious that the principles applied are the same in both languages, although the degree of application is different and consequently also the results: Theravāda kept a Middle Indic form of their school language Pali, while Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit moved much closer to Sanskrit.

Therefore, the linguistic basis from which both languages were created and shaped should have been the same. Words like Pali *isipatana migadāya*, the name of the famous deer park in Sarnath, where the Buddha delivered his first discourse, corresponding to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *ṛṣivadana mṛgadāva* (and other forms) clearly form part of a very early Buddhist tradition and, consequently, originally belonged to the eastern language as an old eastern place name. Although the first part of this place name is explained traditionally as derived from *isi* (ascetic; Skt. *ṛṣi*) and the second either from *patana* (flying) or from *vadana* (face, speech), it has been demonstrated by C. Caillat (1968) that the ultimate basis of both Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is a linguistic form of the place name corresponding to a reconstructed Sanskrit **ṛṣya-vṛjana* (deer park), which, however, developed into **issavayana* in the early eastern Buddhist language. This reconstructed form of the place name shows that phonetic laws operated here, which are alien to both Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, such as the loss of intervocalic palatals (*vṛjana* > *viyana*) as pointed out already by S. Lévi (1912). This early "Buddhist Middle Indic" was used in the ancient texts, which were composed during the period of oral tradition in between the time of the Buddha and our oldest texts. Consequently, the early eastern language was different from all later Buddhist languages. How this inferred Buddhist Middle Indic relates to the language of the Buddha himself is impossible to determine.

While some phonetic features of the reconstructed Buddhist Middle Indic point to a rather advanced development, clearly further advanced than in contemporary western languages such as Pali, the eastern morphology, however, was more conservative. A considerable number of the aorist forms expressing past action is still preserved in Pali, which is thus again connected to the Vedic language, while other aorists are transformed by creating new forms such as *ahosi* discussed above. In younger Middle Indic languages, the aorist system is gradually given up, while a number of aorists is still preserved in Gandhari and less so in Ardhamagadhi. Only in Pali, even rare forms such as the reduplicated aorist can be traced buried under the cover of changes introduced by redactors, who no longer were familiar with this particular grammatical category. The same is true for the perfect. Both grammatical categories survive only in the very early language of verses, which often preserve ancient forms (von Hinüber, ^{2}2001, § 480 [perfect], 482 [aorist]).

Stylistic features typical of Buddhist Middle Indic are the combination of synonyms, such as Pali *isipatana migadāya*, where both words mean "deer park," as pointed out by H. Smith (1948, 33; see s.vv. "syn.," "tautol. cpd."; 1949, 1136, § 6.1.2.1f.), and the use of formulas particularly during the period of an oral text tradition. These formulas are mostly combinations of three or more words arranged in such a way that there is a string of near synonyms with an increasing number of syllables or that two words of the same number of syllables are followed by a longer one – for instance Pali *dubbaṇṇa duddasika okoṭimaka* (3+4+5; ugly, unsightly, bent down) or, for the second type, Pāli *jiṇṇa, vuḍḍha, mahallaka* (2+2+4; worn out, old, aged; Smith, 1948, 35; see s.vv. "wax. comp."; 1949, 1127, § 5.3.1). Sometimes, synonym compounds and formulas meet in combinations such as Pali *ākāse antalikkhe* (2+4; sky) or in *hantvā jhatvā vadhitvā* (2+2+3; having slain, killed, murdered). The high age of these formulas belonging at least partly to the linguistic level of ancient Buddhist Middle Indic is underlined by the vocabulary used. Some words occur almost exclusively in formulas such as *okoṭimaka* (bent down, of short statue?), and, consequently, their exact meaning remains doubtful, because their use is restricted to one particular context.

In later language, these formulas, which were used as a help to memorize texts during the period of oral tradition, were partly destroyed when they were transferred into Sanskrit with a reversal of phonetic developments such as Pali *paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī* (3+3+3; shrewd, clever, wise), which must be transformed in Sanskrit into *paṇḍito vyakto medhāvī* (3+2+3). An easy emendation could have saved the faulty rhythm by simply changing the position of the first two words **vyaktaḥ paṇḍito medhāvī* (2+3+3). This was not done, and it seems that there was a certain dislike of these formulas perhaps felt as being an outdated stylistic feature that should be avoided, as the formula found in the *Mahāparinibbānsuttanta* Pali (*paṭhavī*) *kampati saṃkampati sampavedhati* (3+4+5; D 2.108.11; [the earth] trembled, shook, moved), transformed into Sanskrit *mahāpṛthivīcālaś ca bhavati* ("and there was a big earthquake"; von Hinüber, 1994, 38). However, formulas were not systematically replaced, and further research is needed on their development in Buddhist Sanskrit. These examples may, at the same time, demonstrate how much insight into the development of Buddhist literature can be gained from linguistic and philological research (Norman, ^{2}2006) and from a close observation of the varying stylistic features used in different schools (von Simson, 1965; 1985; Allon, 1997).

Besides Pali, Gandhari, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, there were other Middle Indic languages used by different Buddhist schools. These are, however, for the better part very poorly attested. When a version of the *Dhammapada* found in a single manuscript retrieved as a photograph from Tibet and preserved in Patna was edited for the first time by N.S. Shukla in 1979 under the name *Patna Dharmapada* (edition: Cone, 1989), a new Buddhist language appeared, which is neither Pali nor Buddhist Sanskrit, but similar to both and somewhere in between. In contrast to Pali, the consonant groups in the *Patna Dharmapada* such as Sanskrit *putra* (son) are kept against Pali *putta*, and likewise is *pratiṣṭhitā* (PDhp 67b; "established") besides Middle Indic *pati-*° (also found in the *Patna Dharmapada*) against Pali *patiṭṭhita* (never *pra-* nor *-ṣṭh-* in Pali). However, the *Patna Dharmapada* keeps the Middle Indic form of the absolutive *dṛṣṭā* (the Pali parallel has *disvā*, Gandhari

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dispa) corresponding to Sanskrit *dṛṣṭvā* in contrast to Pali *disvā*, which again is alien to *Patna Dharmapada*. It is very likely, as argued by P. Skilling (1997), that the language of *Patna Dharmapada* is the variety used in the Sāṃmitīya school.

Another similar variety different from but near to both *Patna Dharmapada* and Pali is attested in an inscription from Devnimori in Gujarat, in which *padicasamupādo* (Pal. *paṭiccasamuppāda*; dependent origination) and *avijjāpraccayā* (on the basis of ignorance) occur side by side (note *paḍī-* for Skt. *prati-* besides *-praccayā* from Skt. *pratyayād*). This brief text and a similar one found in Ratnagiri in Orissa, however, cannot be attributed to any particular Buddhist school (von Hinüber, 1985; Chowdhary, 2010).

These inscriptions underline that there were many more Buddhist schools that cultivated their own language as part of their identity. Candrakīrti quotes in his *Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛtti* (7th cent. CE) a Middle Indic verse and attributes it to the Pūrvaśaila school (Harrison, 1982). This school is known from Prakrit (Middle Indic) inscriptions preserved in South India in Andhra Pradesh.

In the course of time, the preference for Middle Indic languages gradually diminished. The growing influence of Hinduism and consequently of Sanskrit as the leading literary language of Indian culture during the early 1st millennium induced Buddhists to follow this general development, and they began to create canonical texts in Sanskrit. In the field of literature, early Buddhist authors such as Aśvaghoṣa used excellent classical Sanskrit, while few traces of the original Middle Indic remain in the canonical language of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda schools. The final change to Sanskrit is difficult to date. As the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school mentions the Kuṣāṇa ruler Kaniṣka, this text was closed at the earliest by the mid-2nd century or later. A Sanskrit version of the verses of the householder Upāli from the *Madhyamāgama* found in Central Asia shows traces of an underlying Gandhari, which might have been recast into Sanskrit by around 500 CE (von Hinüber, 1983a). This date, if correct, would concur with similar observations made in the Buddhist inscriptions from Ratnagiri (von Hinüber, 1985, 198). A surviving fragment from a Sarvāstivāda legal text in some sort of Buddhist Sanskrit (von Simson, 1985) allows tracing a development from Gandhari via Buddhist Sanskrit to (almost) classical Sanskrit in this school, which is perhaps shared by the Mūlasarvāstivāda school as well (Brough, 1962, 45; Schopen, 2009, 175b on *yava: yabha*).

In spite of the fact that a huge philosophical and exegetical literature was composed in classical Sanskrit, seen from the outside, the use of Middle Indic seems to have been felt as typically Buddhist for a long time. This is indicated by the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* (The Little Clay Cart) written during the 3rd century (?) CE by the non-Buddhist author Śūdraka, who introduces a Buddhist monk speaking linguistically slightly comical verses in Magadhi. These verses, perhaps composed by Śūdraka himself, are at any rate the only Buddhist verses preserved in Magadhi (*Mṛcch.* 149 [VIII 1f.]).

This view on languages used in Buddhist literature can be supplemented by the ideas that the Buddhists themselves developed at a later date. The relevant Tibetan sources discussed by D.S. Ruegg (1985, 116; see also von Hinüber, 1989b, 354) attribute languages to Buddhist schools in the following way: Mūlasarvāstivāda, Sanskrit; Mahāsāṃghika, Prakrit (i.e. an unspecified Middle Indic); Sāṃmitīya, Apabhramsha (a late form of Middle Indic preceding the transition into the new Indo-Aryan languages); and Sthavira (i.e. Theravāda), Paishaci. The description fits the surviving texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mahāsāṃghikas, if "Prakrit" is understood as the Middle Indic Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda texts. The language of the *Patna Dharmapada* attributed to the Sāṃmitīyas is rather remote from the very late Apabhramsha, which, however, is used in late Buddhist Tantric texts, such as the *Caryāgīti* composed in Old Bengali or Old Maithili (Kværne, 1986). The attribution of Paishaci to the Sthaviras is perhaps less problematic than it might seem at first sight. Very little is known of the Middle Indic literary language mysteriously called Paishaci ("[Language] of the Ghosts/Spirits") and used by the non-Buddhist author Guṇāḍhya (1st[?] cent. BCE) in his once enormously influential but lost collection of stories, the *Bṛhatkathā* (Great [Collection] of Stories). Paishaci is probably an old eastern Middle Indic perhaps even based on Buddhist Middle Indic and therefore not totally unlike Pali (von Hinüber, ²2001, § 101). Interestingly, the knowledge of the once very important Gandhari as the language of the early Buddhist mission to Central Asia and to China was completely lost even to this Buddhist tradition on languages.

It is remarkable that including Paishaci into the list might point at least to a vague knowledge of Pali in this most likely northern tradition. For, although Pali flourished in Ceylon and even spread to large areas of Southeast Asia, the presence of this language in North India is difficult to trace. There is a puzzling 8th-century fragmentary manuscript of the Theravāda *Vinayapiṭaka* in Pali surviving in Nepal and written in a northern script. Other Theravāda Pali texts, such as the *Vimuttimagga* (Path to Liberation), were known in North India and translated into Tibetan (Skilling, 1993). Moreover, there seems to have been an at times at least rather strong Theravāda connection to South India, where also other schools using different sorts of Middle Indic such the Pūrvaśailas flourished. South Indian Dravidian languages were also not alien to Buddhists, although it is impossible to tell which schools might have used Tamil (see article "Local Literatures: Tamil"). Moreover, it is impossible to decide if some epigraphic languages in South India are at least partly a continental variant of Pali (von Hinüber, 1985, 197).

While the use of Pali, and particularly Gandhari, can be attached to a more or less well-defined area – for Gandhari northwestern India and western Central Asia – this is impossible for Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit or even more so for Sanskrit, which eventually was present everywhere in the Buddhist world.

In spite of the turn to Sanskrit, other languages continued to be used. The late commentary on the *Laghukālacakratantra*, Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā*, provides a survey of languages used for different types of Buddhist scriptures beginning, of course, with (imaginary) Magadhi for the Tripiṭaka, continuing with Sanskrit, for example, for Prajñāpāramitā texts and *tantras* besides Middle Indic (Prakrit and Apabhramsha), before mentioning languages even beyond India such as the *bhoṭabhāṣā* (Tibetan language), *cīnabhāṣā* (Chinese), *pārasikabhāṣā* (Persian [or Iranian languages]?), and *suvarṇaviṣayabhāṣā* (the language of the Golden Land – most likely Southeast Asian language[s]) before stating summarily that there are no fewer than 96 languages used in Buddhist texts, which, however, are not enumerated (Vimalaprabhā, 1986, 41). Thus this text again demonstrates at a late date the deeply rooted multilingualism prevailing throughout the history of Buddhism right into modern vernaculars such as Nepali or Sinhala.

Different Buddhist languages were described by indigenous grammarians. There is a particularly rich grammatical tradition in Theravāda (Scharfe, 1977, 194f.; Pind, 2012) with the Burmese grammarian Aggavāmsa being the most influential. His *Saddanīti* (Guide [to the Correct Formation] of Words) completed in 1154 CE exercised a strong influence on the linguistic form of the manuscript tradition in Pali (Smith, 1928, VI). Moreover, there are also grammarians of Buddhist Sanskrit (Scharfe, 1977, 162–167), the oldest being the fragmentary Sanskrit grammar by Kumāralāta (manuscript fragments dating from the early 4th cent. CE; Lüders, 1930, 711f.), who also describes specific features of the language of the Buddhist canon, which he calls *ārṣa* (language of the *ṛṣis*), including also features of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

The only dictionary explaining Pali words is the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (Illuminator of Words) ascribed to Moggallāna and supposed to be compiled in the late 12th century (Vogel, 1979, 313; see also Nandawansa, 2001). It is based on the Sanskrit dictionary by Amarasiṃha, who, very likely himself a Buddhist, wrote his highly influential *Amarakośa* (Dictionary of Amara) or *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (Instruction on Nouns and Their Gender) perhaps during the 6th century CE (Vogel, 1979, 310). Lexicographic material (verses), which is even older than the *Amarakośa* is preserved in the commentaries to the Theravāda canon (von Hinüber 1998/2009). The *Mahāvyutpatti* (Great Analysis) is an encyclopedic Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary of Buddhist technical terms and phrases conceived during the 9th century CE as an aid to standardize the Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts (Vogel, 1979, 381; Verhagen, 1994, 15f.).

Finally it should be noted that, when after a prolonged period of oral transmission Buddhist texts were committed to writing, the different languages were, and still are, written in a large variety of scripts. With the only exception of Gandhari written in Kharoshthi, a script running from right to left because it is derived from the Semitic Aramaic alphabet (Falk, 1993, 84ff.), all other scripts of ancient India, including also Tibetan and Southeast Asian scripts, are ultimately derived from Brahmi, introduced by Aśoka (on the written sources on the beginning of script, see von Hinüber, 1989a). While the meaning of "Kharoṣṭhī" is not clear, "Brāhmī" (i.e. the script [*lipi*]) means "script invented by the god Brahmā." Both names are taken from chapter 10 of an early biography of the Buddha, the *Lalitavistara*: when the Bodhisattva enters school, he already knows all 64 scripts, which are enumerated. The names "Brāhmī" and "Kharoṣṭhī" are found at the very beginning of this list. The exact meaning and reference of most of the names of scripts remain, however, obscure. Many, if not most, of them, such as "script of the *kiṃnaras*" or "script of the *asuras*," clearly belong to the world of fantasy.

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Tibetan is a member of the Tr
guage family. Also known as T
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Newar, Lepcha, Meithei, and se
guages without literary traditio
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Tibetan enters history as th
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research on Tibetan dialects.

The Earliest Tibetan Lite

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(van Schaik, 2011; but also co
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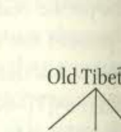

Figure 1: Tree

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Languages: Tibetan

Tibetan is a member of the Trans-Himalayan language family. Also known as Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan, this family includes Chinese, Burmese, Newar, Lepcha, Meithei, and several hundred languages without literary traditions; agreement prevails that Tibetan is on the family's Bodish branch (see fig. 1).

Tibetan enters history as the language of the Yarlung Valley, the cradle of the Tibetan Empire (Takeuchi, 2012b, 4). Together with the troops of this empire, the language colonized the entire Tibetan plateau, extinguishing the languages formerly used across that territory (Takeuchi, 2012b, 6). The use of Tibetan across and beyond the plateau at the height of the empire set the stage for its breakup into the spoken languages of today. Researchers often classify Tibetan languages into groups based on the provinces of Tibet in which they are spoken (Denwood, 1999, 23–36; Tournadre & Dorje, 2003, 28–32), but the identity of such geographic groupings with genetic groupings remains to be demonstrated (see Sun, 2003, 794–797). The monograph series Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung provides a good point of departure into the vast research on Tibetan dialects.

The Earliest Tibetan Literature

Paleographic analysis indicates that the Tibetan script derives from a late Gupta script as used in Nepal and northern India in the early 7th century (van Schaik, 2011; but also comp. Schuh, 2013). Although an often repeated legend avers that a writing system was developed with the express purpose of recording the Buddhist scriptures being imported from India, there is little doubt that during the empire's initial expansion, writing was introduced circa 650 CE to facilitate administration (Hill, 2010a, 111n4). A gap of about a century separates the invention of the alphabet and the earliest securely datable extant Tibetan documents. A stele inscription in front of the Potala Palace, known as the Zhol or Ngan lam Sri inscription (post-763 CE), is generally recognized as bearing the oldest sample of Tibetan writing (Hazod, 2010). However, a bell discovered circa 2010 in Dpa' ris in eastern Tibet may date to the earlier reign of Khri Lde gtsug brtsan (704–755 CE; Lha mchog skyabs, 2011). The capacity to inscribe writing on a cast bell implies significant prior familiarity with a writing system. Although the *Old Tibetan Annals*, representing the official version of imperial history, recorded as it happened, dates in part back to the invention of writing (Dotson, 2009, 10–11), the extant manuscript is probably postimperial (Iwao, 2012).

Two types of material date from the Tibetan Empire: inscriptions (Li Fang-Kuei & Coblin, 1987; Iwao *et al.*, 2009) and documents excavated at the Central Asian forts of Miran and Mazar Tagh (van Schaik, 2013, 119; Takeuchi, 1997–1998). Old Tibetan continued to function as a *lingua franca* of commerce and administration in the oasis cities of the Silk Road for some decades after the Tibetan Empire lost control of these territories in the 9th century (Uray, 1981; 1988; Takeuchi, 1990, 187–189; 2012a; 2012b, 7–9). Paper manuscripts preserved in the library cave of Dunhuang, sealed during the first half of the 11th century (Imaeda, 2008), generally date from this postimperial period. The documents from Dunhuang include historical texts, official documents, foreign literature in translation, divination

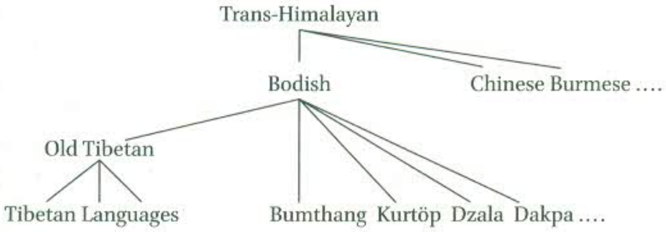

Figure 1: Tree diagram of the Bodish languages

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texts, and both canonical and noncanonical Buddhist texts. The most important collections of these documents are found now in London and Paris, with smaller collections elsewhere. The collections of both the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Lalou, 1939–1961) and the British Library (La Vallée Poussin, 1962; Iwao *et al.*, 2012) are partially catalogued; images and metadata for many are available on the website of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/), and transliterations of many are available at Old Tibetan Documents Online (otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp). J. Dalton and S. van Schaik (2006) more recently recatalogued the tantric manuscripts of the British Library. Y. Imaeda *et al.* (2007) provide 65 well-known and well-studied Tibetan Dunhuang documents in transliteration with complete bibliographic references.

The Translation of Buddhist Texts

Begun already in the 8th century, the translation of Buddhist literature into the Tibetan tongue continues to this day. For example, Dge 'dun chos 'phel published his translation from Pali of the *Dhammapada* in 1946 (Chompel, 1946), and in 2010 'Bri gung skyabs mgon che tshang translated the second section of the Chan-related *Leng qie shīzī ji* (楞伽師資記; Records of the *Laṅkāvatāra* Masters) to augment the missing sections of an existing old Dunhuang version. The flow of texts also goes in the other direction; there is currently an ongoing project to translate Tibetan *sūtras* found in the Kanjur into Chinese (http://khyentsefoundation.org/2014/03/ddbc/), and the 84000 project (http://84000.co/) aims to translate the entire Kanjur into English. Nonetheless, the preponderance of translation work took place long ago. The bulk of non-tantric material was translated already during the latter part of the Tibetan Empire (c. 760–850 CE), and tantric materials were translated mostly before the decline of Buddhism in India in the 13th century.

Standardization and Language Reform in Translations of the Imperial Period

Important for an understanding of the language of Buddhist texts is the existence of a particular style of "Translationese," which characterizes most translations into Tibetan, not only from Indic language sources but also from Chinese and other languages. This style of language attempts at times to mechanically reproduce the syntax of its source, at the same time that it creates a vocabulary from Tibetan wordstock with which to render new ideas, terms, and concepts. There was, moreover, a self-consciousness to this process among the Tibetan scholars responsible for translation and editing of Buddhist literature. One example of this self-consciousness is the effort at standardization that was undertaken both to revise existing translations and to set parameters for new translation works. The colophons of revised early Tibetan translations refer to the language reform that resulted in a "new terminology." For example, the *Lalitavistara* was translated and corrected "in conformity with the decision relative to the new terminology" (*bskad gsar bcad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab pa*; see Simonsson, 1957, 223n2; Scherrer-Schaub, 2002, 310n133). What this reform meant in terms of the daily practice of translators and editors remains unclear. The confused tale of reform is a story of three triples: three edicts, three treatises, and three catalogues.

The timing and import of the three edicts are subject to disagreement. For example, Bsod nams rgyal mtshan in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (1368) explains that at the time of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan (r. 815–841), translation practices were standardized according to a "new terminology" (*skad gsar bcad*) following the prescriptions of three edicts (*bka' bcas rnam pa gsum du mdzad do*; Uray, 1989, 7; Sørensen, 1994), but Rin chen bkra shis in his *Li shi gur khang* (1536) separates each of the "edicts" from one another in time: the first is from the invention of the alphabet (c. 650 CE) until the reign of Khri Srong lde brtsan (742–800[?]), the second during the reign of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan (r. 815–841), and the third from the time of Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) until the time of Dharmapālabhadra (1441–1526; see Taube, 1978, 173–174). Relying on the oldest available primary sources, C. Scherrer-Schaub (2002) concludes that the dating of the first edict is uncertain, the second edict was issued probably in 783 CE (but possibly in 795), and the third edict appeared in 815 CE. It seems that the third edict was essentially a renewal of the second, and the first edict could be a retrospective invention, part of the public-relations efforts of Khri Srong lde btsan to present the national conversion to Buddhism as a renewal of the efforts of his ancestor Khri Srong brtsan (605[?]–649).

Three lexicographical works assisted the authorized work of translating Buddhist texts and revising earlier translation: the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen*

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The translation of such a larg
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terms received new interpretatio
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Chinese and other languages.
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po (*Mahāvyutpatti*), the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed' bring po*, and the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed chung ngu*. The second work is better known under the title *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. The third work is no longer extant. The two extant works were in circulation at least by 814 CE (Uray, 1989; Panglung, 1994; Scherrer-Schaub, 2002; Hermann-Pfandt, 2008).

As the work of translation progressed, it became necessary to keep track of the completed translations. Three catalogues aided in this purpose, *Lhan kar ma*, *'Phang thang ma*, and *Mchims phu ma*, reflecting respectively the collections held at the imperial residences of Lhan kar, 'Phang thang, and Mchims phu. The *Mchims phu ma* is no longer extant. The exact dating of the catalogues is controversial – G. Halkias (2004) and B. Dotson (2007) date the *Lhan kar ma* to 824 CE, and the *'Phang thang ma* to 842 CE, whereas A. Hermann-Pfandt (2008) dates them respectively to 812 and 806 CE.

N. Simonsson (1957) remains the seminal study comparing Sanskrit originals with early and later translations of the same text as a window into the ateliers of translators and revisers. However, his detailed study has not yet been followed up by enough subsequent research to yield a coherent overall picture. Because no available Tibetan Buddhist text is securely datable to before 783 CE, even an exhaustive diachronic study of Tibetan translations may fail to shed light on the effects of the reforms associated with the "new terminology." While later Tibetan writers, such as the aforementioned Rin chen bkra shis, place all of those linguistic features now associated with "Old Tibetan" into the period before the first edict (Taube, 1978, 173–174), this view is not correct. These features are pervasive in Dunhuang texts and other materials that postdate the Tibetan Empire (see Tropper, 2010, 17), and the occasional old feature, such as *la stsogs pa* instead of *la sogs pa* (generally "et cetera"), is found even in the 18th-century Derge Kanjur (comp. D 341, mdo sde, a, 138a5).

The translation of such a large volume of Buddhist works, mostly from Sanskrit, required the redeployment of inherited vocabulary to Buddhist ends and the coining of new terminology. Many existing terms received new interpretations or new associations. For example, the word *mdo* originally (and frequently still) refers to a place where roads or rivers meet. This word was then apparently used as a metaphor for a text in which various points were brought together – used in this sense, for example, in the term *mjal dum gyi mdo chen po* (great treaty accord) in the east face of the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821/822 CE, which stands in front of the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa. From that metaphorical use, it was only a small step to use *mdo* as a calque of Sanskrit *sūtra*, the discourse of the Buddha. However, the word *mdo* is not a literal translation of *sūtra*, which means "thread," "string," and so forth. In other cases terms were carefully calqued on the Sanskrit original, thus Sanskrit *tathāgata* ("thus-gone") became Tibetan *de bzhin gshegs pa* ("thus gone"). For example, the Sanskrit word arhat, which derives from the root *arh-*, "to be worthy," is translated in Tibetan as *dgra bcom pa* ("one who conquers the enemy"), utilizing a traditional Indian idea that arhat is formed from the noun *ari* (enemy) and the root *han-* (to slay). Although such neologisms may be based on historically incorrect etymological analyses, in the vast majority of cases, it is demonstrable that the etymologies on which the translation equivalents were created are found deployed in Indian Buddhist literature, and thus represent traditional Buddhist interpretations of important terms (Simonsson, 1957, 269–270; Verhagen, 2001, 67–69, 75).

Reading "According to Context"

One often encounters the claim that the elaborate inflectional categories of Sanskrit allow for a greater reliability and precision in the interpretation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, whereas in Chinese and Tibetan, one must "rely on context" to know who is doing what to whom. It is, however, merely a greater familiarity with Sanskrit grammar as opposed to Tibetan grammar and a comparative lack of research into Tibetan that leads to such an impression.

Despite the fact that Tibetan translations from Sanskrit, which make up the vast majority of translated Buddhist literature, often allow a rather close reconstruction of both the word-stock and syntax of the underlying Sanskrit source text, the Tibetan system of case marking is quite different and rather incompatible with that of Sanskrit. Tibetan distinguishes ten cases:

1. absolutive: Ø;
2. agentive: *-kyis* (~ *-gyis, -gis, -yis, -s*);
3. genitive: *-kyi* (~ *-gyi, -gi, -'i, -yi*);
4. allative: *-la*;
5. locative: *-na*;
6. terminative: *-tu* (~ *-du, -ru, -su, -r*);
7. ablative: *-las*;

8. elative: *-nas*;
9. associative: *-dang*; and
10. comparative: *-bas* (~ *-pas*; Hill, 2012).

Tibetan does not mark case on each individual word as does Sanskrit but instead only once at the end of each noun phrase (*Gruppenflexion*). The incompatibility of the grammatical structures of the two languages has led to confusion both within the Tibetan grammatical tradition and in the study of Tibetan in modern academia. As Tibetan distinguishes ten cases, two more than the eight cases of Sanskrit, one cannot claim that in this regard Tibetan is by nature less precise than Sanskrit.

Tibetan is a so-called ergative language. From the perspective of European grammar, this means that in intransitive clauses, the "subject" is in the absolutive case, but in transitive clauses, the "subject" is in the agentive case and the "object" is in the absolutive case. Thus, the case alignment of Tibetan transitive clauses is superficially similar to passives in European languages (Schmidt, 1839, 61; Schiefner, 1855, 418; von der Gabelentz, 1861, 472; Giraudeau, 1916, iv; Tournadre, 1996; Vollmann, 2008). Restating these case uses from the Tibetan perspective, the absolutive is used for the single nominal argument of an intransitive clause (*ngus pa'i mchi ma Ø char bzhin du bab nas* : "the tears of [their] weeping fell like rain"; D 341, mdo sde, a, 132a1–2) and the patient of a transitive clause (*ngas de dag kun Ø bsad nas*: "I killed them all"; D 341, mdo sde, a, 169b1), whereas the agentive is used for the agent of a transitive clause (*bcom ldan 'das* kyis *chos bstan pas*: "the Bhagavān taught the dharma"; D 341, mdo sde, a, 153b2). The agentive also marks instruments: *bcom ldan 'das kyis utpal sngon po dang 'dra ba shin tu rno ba'i ral* gris *sha bcad cing*: "The Bhagavān cut flesh with a very sharp sword like a blue *utpala* lotus"; Bailey, 1951, 42).

A Tibetan verb consists of four monosyllabic stems: present, past, future, and imperative (Hill, 2010b). Not all verbs separately distinguish the four stems (e.g. *gshegs*, " to go," has only one form); those that do distinguish all four do so in a complicated way involving ablaut, prefixes, and suffixes (e.g. *gsod, bsad, gsad*, and *sod*, "to kill"; *za, zos/bzas, bza'*, and *zos*, "to eat"); these morphological processes are complex and opaque (Hill, 2010b; 2014). Although broadly speaking the names of the four stems do say something about their use, their meaning and function is also poorly understood (Zeisler, 2004; for a study of the verb forms in Sanskrit and Tibetan as used in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, see Taube, 1953–1954).

Although Tibetan lacks person agreement, other means do much the same work in making explicit who is doing what. The modern Tibetan languages are well known for encoding the source of information by which a speaker has come to know of what he or she says (Tournadre, 1996; Hill, 2013c), and such evidential systems have been characteristic of the language from an early period (Takeuchi, 1990, 12; 2012b, 11–12; 2015, 410; Hill, 2013b). Similarly, clause-marking morphemes are not well understood; there are many options, *-na, -nas, -te, -cing, -pa-la, -pa-las, -pa-dang*, and *-pas*, all of which mean something like "then" or "and." These suffixes appear to distinguish whether or not the subject changes from one clause to the next (Zadoks, 2002; Haller, 2009). Increasing scrutiny of Tibetan grammar will no doubt lead to an appreciation for the refinement of the structure of the Tibetan language and yield new insights into and better understanding of Buddhist canonical literature.

The Tibetan language has a refined system of honorific terminology, in which certain vocabulary items replace others when used, for instance, of the Buddha or an honored teacher. This applies equally to nouns, adjectives, and verbs. An example of this is the variety of verbs that all can be translated as "to speak"/"to say": *smra ba/lab pa* conveys a neutral stance with regard to the person who speaks or is spoken to; *gsung ba* indicates that the speaker is someone who is highly regarded by the person who reports this act; *zhu ba* marks that the person addressed is considered to be of high standing, while giving lesser importance to the speaker himself. The latter category is often found in the first person. These three different levels of honorific verbs are less systematized in the earliest Tibetan literature but soon after became very common in written and spoken Tibetan alike (Kitamura Hajime, 1975; Takeuchi, 1987; DeLancey, 1998).

In overall sentence structure, there is a tendency for translations to maintain a syntax that attempts fidelity to the original; these in many cases might be called calques, both in their syntax and in the formation of their vocabulary. This can lead to shorter sentences than would be expected in native Tibetan, usually terminated by final particles (e.g. in the case of the copula, *yin no*). A clear instance of the artificiality of translations is the precise calquing of Sanskrit preverbs in Buddhist neologisms. For example, *rab tu 'byung ba* at face value in Tibetan means "to emerge thoroughly," but is used to mean "to take ordination" with Sanskrit *pravrajyā* as a model (comp. Inaba Shōju, 1954, 101–105; Dimitrov, 2007).

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In contrast, original Tibetan compositions tolerate extremely long sentences that make use of extensive subordination and generally eschew final particles. While the vocabulary of Buddhist texts composed in Tibetan generally follows established translation equivalents for technical terms (in contrast to the nonreligious literature of legal documents, contracts, etc., which tends to innovate or borrow terms from neighboring languages such as Chinese, Mongolian, or Manchu), a hallmark of this style is an extensive use of clipping (a common pattern abbreviates phrases with an AB-CD structure as AC, such that *thal rang* stands for *thal 'gyur ba* and *rang rgyud pa*, i.e.*Prāsaṅgika and *Svātantrika), as well as the coining of new terminology for concepts not present in the inherited Indic tradition.

Comparable with the syntactic divergence witnessed in translations versus indigenous compositions, there is a large difference between the syntax of prose versus that of verse or poetry. Due to strict restrictions on the syllable length of lines, extensive compounding in the latter often leads to the omission of relational morphology. An example is *khrag 'thung dam can rgya mtsho* ("blood-drinking-guardian-ocean"; de Jong, 1959, 119) where in prose one might have expected *khrag 'thung ba'i dam can gyi rgya mtsho* ("ocean of guardians who drink blood"). This phenomenon has received scant attention. Another understudied area of Tibetan poetry is metrics (Poucha, 1950, 1954; Vekerdi, 1952). Tibetan does not allow reproduction of the often complex meters of Sanskrit verse, and in place of Sanskrit heavy and light syllables, Tibetan verse utilizes stressed and unstressed syllables. Translators, therefore, although not in an always unified or systematic manner, attempted to reproduce variations in Sanskrit meters by varying the length of the lines of Tibetan verse. An aspect of Tibetan prosody that should not be overlooked is the increasing poeticization of Tibetan prose that begins in the second half of the 13th century, under the influence of the Tibetan translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (Mirror of Poetics; see Tucci, 1949, 104; van der Kuijp, 1996), a process in which increased awareness of Indian norms of poetics more or less directly shaped developing Tibetan styles of composition.

Language Change

Like all languages, Tibetan continuously changes. As an example, although modern pronunciation of Tibetan is related to orthography in complicated ways, reading out Tibetan in transliteration, with its plethora of consonants, giving value to each element, well approximates the language's sound during the early imperial period; dialects such as Balti, spoken in areas remote from the political center, provide evidence of such pronunciations by maintaining complex onsets (e.g. Balti *bzhi*, "four"; see Sprigg, 2002, 38). Nonetheless, in a few places, orthography misleads – that is, the entire initial cluster agrees in voicing, and finals are voiceless (Hill, 2010a). Thus, *bsgrub* was pronounced [bzgrup], and *bskal* was pronounced [pskal]. In contrast, a reasonable approximation to the pronunciation of these syllables in the speech of Lhasa today would be [trup L] and [kää H] (where L and H represent "low" and "high" tones). The system of personal pronouns offers a second example of language change (Hill, 2007; 2010d; 2013a). In Early Old Tibetan of the 8th and 9th centuries, the respectful use of the plural *khyed* for a singular (*pluralis majestatis*) is absent, but by the advent of Classical Tibetan one or two centuries later, this usage was in place (Hill, 2013a).

Grammars and Dictionaries

S. DeLancey (2003) provides a short overview of Classical Tibetan grammar. P. Schwieger (2009) offers the best reference grammar, but K. Gyurmé (1992) is also profitably consulted. Generations of Tibetologists began their study of Tibetan with M. Hahn's *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache* (1994), and C. Sommerschuh's *Einführung in die tibetische Schriftsprache* (2008) provides an excellent more recent alternative (comp. Hill, 2010c). Inaba Shōju (1954) offers a detailed comparison with Sanskrit grammar.

The single most impressive work of Tibetan lexicography is the ongoing *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* published by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Francke *et al.*, 2005ff.). Each entry gives copious citations of original sources precisely cited to page and line number. The use of previous dictionaries is carefully distinguished from the evidence of textual attestations. In addition, thorough reference to previous scholarship is given when relevant. Especially so long as this work remains incomplete, several other resources are also valuable. H.A. Jäschke (1881) wrote a lexicographical work of the highest standard that is still important today. Lokesh Chandra compiled a 12-volume Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary on the basis of canonical Buddhists texts available in both languages (1958–1961), continued with seven supplementary volumes (1992–1994) and a one-volume Sanskrit-Tibetan index (2007). J.S. Negi (1993–2004) compiled another 16-volume Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary. It includes extensive quotations in addition to citations and makes reference to a larger number of texts than does Lokesh Chandra's. In addition, there are bilingual indices available for a number of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, including the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Hirakawa, 1973–1978), *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Weller, 1952–1955), *Kāśyapaparivarta* (Weller, 1933), *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (Nagao, 1958–1961), *Meghadūta* (Chimpa *et al.*, 2011), *Nyāyabindu* (Obermiller, 1927–1928), *Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛtti* (Yamaguchi, 1974), *Yogācārabhūmi* (Yokoyama, 1996), *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Suzuki, 2000), *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* (Inagaki, 1984), and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Ejima *et al.*, 1985–1993). Ngag dbang tshul khrims (1997) provides a dictionary of difficult or archaic words, drawing heavily on Tibetan commentarial literature. This work provides attestations and cites the works in which they are found, but it does not specify page and line numbers and has an inadequate bibliography; consequently, these citations are not easily verified. The most widely used Tibetan dictionary is Zhang Yisun's (1985).

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NATHAN W. HILL

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NATHAN W. HILL

Languages: Central Asian Languages

The following survey covers several languages that reflect the spread of Buddhism from India to the north, that is, to Iranian-speaking territories of present-day Pakistan, Afghanistan, eastern Iran, and Transoxiana, and to Chinese Turkestan, in present-day Xinjiang, and finally to the interior of China and the steppes of Mongolia, roughly from the last centuries before the Common Era until the 15th century CE. These languages belong to different linguistic families: Middle Iranian and Tocharian languages are two separate branches of the Indo-European language family, while Old Turkic (alternatively Old Uighur) is the earliest representative of the Turkic language family. For the most part, those languages were totally unknown or only indirectly recorded before the discoveries of manuscripts, inscriptions, and artifacts of Buddhist culture made in eastern Turkestan and more widely in the whole Serindia from the 1890s onward, and especially during the early 20th century. Due to the amount of documentation and its partly fragmentary nature, a thorough description of these languages by way of grammars and dictionaries is still in progress, all the more so because of the constant advances through new findings in the same area.

Iranian Languages

Buddhist texts are attested in several Middle Iranian languages: Bactrian, Sogdian, and two varieties of Saka, Khotanese and Tumshuqese. All these languages belong to the northeastern dialectal branch of Iranian languages (Sims-Williams, 1989; Schmitt, 2000, 43–65). They use different writing systems.

Our knowledge of the Bactrian language has made much progress since the still useful surveys given by G.D. Davary (1982) and N. Sims-Williams (1989), due to discovery in the 1990s of documents on leather belonging to the royal archives of Rōb (modern Ruyi, province of Samangan, to the north of the Hindukush, in present-day Afghanistan) and dated from the 4th century onward. The edition of this material by N. Sims-Williams (2000–2007) contains an updated survey of the grammar, a glossary, and a reverse index. On the whole, the available Bactrian sources range in date from the period of the Kushan Empire (1st–3rd cents. CE) to early Islamic times (8th–9th cents. CE). For their coins and monumental inscriptions, the Kushan kings decided to use the Greek alphabet of Bactria's former Greek rulers with one additional sign (þ) to note the fricative š, the so-called Graeco-Bactrian script. The rectangular shape used during the Kushan era was succeeded later by a cursive script. The major inscriptions of this period, from Rabatak (Kaniška I), found in 1993 (Sims-Williams, 2008), and Surkh Kotal (Huviška), found in 1957 (Gershevitch, 1966), do not show any specific Buddhist features. There are very few extant Buddhist texts in Bactrian, and those that exist are of a relatively late date. However, the Kushan rulers, as much as their predecessors in the same region, supported and sponsored Buddhist communities, as shown by the testimonies of Buddhist art and architecture, as well as the activities of the Sarvāstivādin school in the northwest. Among the so-called Hephthalite Bactrian fragments of manuscripts from the Berlin collection, some contain nouns borrowed from Sanskrit and are probably of Buddhist content (Gershevitch, 1967, 37–56). In addition, two fragments of a leather manuscript of the Schøyen collection, in cursive Graeco-Bactrian script, dated presumably around 5th century CE, contain names of some buddhas pointing to the Pure Land school of Buddhism (Sims-Williams, 2007, 176–177). Moreover, there is evidence for the impact of Bactrian on several languages of Central Asia (Khotanese Saka, Prakrit of Kroraina, and Common Tocharian), through loanwords, the borrowing of which was simultaneous with the spread of Buddhism and Indian culture in the Tarim basin under the Kushan domination. In addition, the symbiosis of Bactrian and Indian culture is reflected by the large number of proper names of Indian, and especially Buddhist, origin (see Sims-Williams, 2010).

Documents written in Sogdian, which range in date from the 2nd until the 11th century CE, are of very different types: inscriptions, graffiti, legends on coins, secular documents, and religious texts – the last named belong to the three different religions that were adopted by the diverse Sogdian diasporas that developed in the Tarim basin, the

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Turfan region, and China, namely Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity. Except for a few fragments of texts translated from Sanskrit, either of Buddhist or of medical content, which use the Brahmi script of North Turkestan, most Sogdian inscriptions and manuscripts use a script that derives from the Aramaic script introduced in Sogdiana during the Achaemenid period (550–330 BCE). This Sogdian script, while being used for all kinds of texts, is the only one employed for secular documents and Buddhist texts, some of them featuring a more formal variety. Moreover, the Sogdian writers of Manichaean and Christian confessions used two different varieties of scripts, Manichaean and Syriac, which are also derived ultimately from the Aramaic script. There is as yet no comprehensive grammar of Sogdian including the three varieties, Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian. The best up-to-date orientations on the Sogdian language are given by N. Sims-Williams (1989) and Y. Yoshida (2009). Besides the glossaries added to the editions of several texts, a working tool is provided by the dictionary authored by B. Gharib (1995), to be complemented and corrected with the help of further studies. The Sogdian personal names are covered by N. Sims-Williams (1992) and P.B. Lurje (2010). The examples of Buddhist literature in Sogdian have not been found in Sogdiana proper, but farther east, in Dunhuang and in the Turfan region: during the most powerful period of the Tang dynasty, in the 7th–8th centuries CE, some Sogdian groups were converted to Buddhism under the influence of Chinese Buddhists, and they produced many Buddhist texts (surveys by Utz, 1978; Dresden, 1983; Walter, 2006). These texts are for the better part translated from Chinese originals, and, consequently, seem to attest a highly literary language, if compared with other varieties of Sogdian. They mirror in content the Buddhist literature in Chinese of that time, although some of them have no exact match in the extant Chinese Buddhist canon. A few texts may derive from non-Chinese originals, either in Sanskrit or Tocharian. Some pieces may reflect Sogdian retellings of Buddhist narratives, rather than translations (see e.g. Durkin-Meisterernst, 2009). The identification and edition of further fragments of Buddhist texts in Sogdian is still in progress (bibliography in Lurje, 2010). Despite the wide area of diffusion of the language, the evident differences that can be observed among the various texts are more often chronological or orthographic than dialectal.

An Iranian people, the Sakas formed the ruling class in Khotan (Chn.; previously Yutian [于闐], nowadays Hetian [和田]), the capital of the most powerful kingdom of southern Chinese Turkestan, on the southern branch of the Silk Road. The population of the city and the region included both Indian and Chinese colonies. Their conversion to Buddhism happened during the first centuries of the Common Era, as testified by Chinese sources. By the 4th century CE, Khotan was a center of considerable importance for the study of Mahāyāna. Numerous texts have been translated into Khotanese from Sanskrit, which was considered there the sacred language of Buddhism. There are also original compositions in Khotanese Saka, both of Buddhist and of tantric inspiration, in addition to a large number of profane documents (Emmerick, 1992; Skjærvø, 1999; 2002). The designation of the language is based on the term *hvatana* (i.e. Khotanese), which the authors of texts used themselves. There is not yet any comprehensive grammatical description of Khotanese. The best orientation is given by the surveys provided by R.E. Emmerick (1989; 2009) and by the monographic studies of the verbal system and the nominal inflection given by R.E. Emmerick (1968). The meritorious and pioneering dictionary by H.W. Bailey (1979) is based on transcriptions and interpretations of manuscripts that are partly obsolete. It does not cover borrowings from Sanskrit or Middle Indic that are quite numerous. The revision of the Khotanese lexicography is in progress, thanks to the studies by R.E. Emmerick and P.O. Skjærvø (1982–1997; Emmerick, 1989) and by other scholars (Emmerick & Maggi, 2005).

Another Saka language, closely related to Khotanese Saka but more archaic, is known from documents found in Tumshuq, in an oasis north of the Taklamakan Desert on the northern branch of the Silk Road. Altogether more than 50 Tumshuqese documents are known, of which about 15 have been identified and edited. Most of them are secular documents, of legal or economic content, except for one, which is probably from a Manichaean community. Moreover, there are several significant Buddhist documents: an extract from a *Karmavācanā* text (P 410), fragments of Buddhist legends (*Araṇemijātaka*, *Haṃsasvarajātaka*), and a piece from an unidentified literary text. The *Karmavācanā* text has been studied in depth (Emmerick, 1985; Skjærvø, 1987), and evidence suggests that it has been translated from Tocharian B (Schmidt, 1988). The name

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Tumshuqese has been proposed for the language by R.E. Emmerick (1985), in order to differentiate conveniently this form of Saka from the Khotanese Saka, often simply called Khotanese. Nevertheless, Tumshuq (based on a Turkic noun) was not the name of the area at the time of the documents. In the dating formula of one secular document, the name of a certain king is preceded by an adjectival form now read as *gūẓdiya*, which presupposes a toponym *Gūẓdik. This would correspond to the name Jushide (据史德), attested for the main city of this area in Chinese records of the Tang dynasty, also known as Gus tik in Tibetan documents (Maue, 2004; Rong Xinjiang, 2005). This may have provided the name of the language, but it is not yet definitely proven by colophons.

Khotanese and Tumshuqese are written in different varieties of (Indian) Brahmi script of the Gupta type as transferred and adapted in the Tarim basin, respectively South Turkestan Brahmi for Khotanese and North Turkestan Brahmi for Tumshuqese. In fact, the script used for Tumshuqese has been borrowed from the North Turkestan Brahmi used for Tocharian B (see below), with some additional signs.

In addition to the rich documentation available in the Central Asian languages known through Buddhist texts, one can assume that, starting in the 3rd century BCE, Buddhism extended toward other Iranian-speaking communities in northern regions, from which no written Buddhist text survives. This is the case with Parthian, which constitutes, together with the closely related Middle Persian, the western branch of Middle Iranian languages, while the languages covered so far belong to the northeastern branch (Sundermann, 1989; Skjærvø, 2009). The Parthian language is attested in inscriptions of the Arsacid (247 BCE–224 CE) and Sasanian (224–651 CE) periods and in Manichaean texts found in the Turfan region. As the official language of the Arsacid Empire, it came to be used also in the east of Iran, in Margiana and Aria, where the Parthian state bordered the Kushan Empire. Archaeological evidence and external testimonies make it likely that Parthian speakers there were reached by Buddhist missions around the turning of the Common Era. They soon became conveyors of the Buddhist faith. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, some Parthians whose names are recorded were active in China among the first translators of Buddhist texts. There was then ample opportunity for the borrowing of Indian, mostly Buddhist, vocabulary into the eastern form of Parthian as reflected by the Manichaean texts, which date back to the 3rd century CE. The majority of Indian words in Parthian are derived from Gandhari and only a few from Sanskrit. Some of them have been transmitted to other Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian or Sogdian, and from the latter to Old Turkic (Sundermann, 1982; Sims-Williams, 1983).

Tocharian Languages

Tocharian is the conventional name given to two different, albeit closely related, languages that belong to a separate dialectal branch of the Indo-European language family. These two languages are derived from a single original Common Tocharian (or Proto-Tocharian) but so deeply diverged that they were mutually unintelligible at the time of the attested manuscripts, as much as present-day English and Swedish, two languages derived from Proto-Germanic. Some fragments of manuscripts came to light in the 1890s, but the wide majority of written documents were found by the archaeological expeditions organized by different countries (British, German, French, Russian, and Japanese) in the first two decades of the 20th century; later findings are due to Chinese archeological teams, from the 1920s onward. The findspots are all located at the northern border of the Taklamakan Desert, in the Tarim basin, along the northern branch of the Silk Road, in present-day Xinjiang, China. Roughly three major zones are identifiable by names of oases that cover actually several separate sites of Buddhist remains: around Kucha in the west, through Yanqi (ancient Agni; Uig. Karashahr), to Turfan (ancient Khocho; Chn. Gaochang) in the east.

At the time of the decipherment (1908) of these manuscripts, written in a language completely unknown and brought by the first German (Prussian) expeditions, Emil Sieg (1866–1951) and Wilhelm Siegling (1880–1946) identified two different varieties of the language, which they named "Tocharian," with the noncommittal designations A and B. In fact, manuscripts in Tocharian A were found exclusively in the areas of Yanqi (precisely Shorchuk) and Turfan, whereas manuscripts in Tocharian B were found in all areas, and in large numbers around Kucha, to the west. There is also some evidence that Tocharian B was used farther west, around Maralbashi, and precisely in the Buddhist site of Tumshuq, at least because one Buddhist text in Tumshuqese Saka is actually a translation from Tocharian B (see above). This explains the inaccurate terms "East-Tocharian" (*Osttocharisch*) for Tocharian A and "West-Tocharian" (*Westtocharisch*), alternatively "Kuchean" (*koutchéen*), for Tocharian B, but such traditional designations are bound to a hypothesis about the eastward expansion of the latter, which, however, is not confirmed by any independent evidence. It is therefore preferable to use the neutral names Tocharian A and Tocharian B. In addition, some traces of an older language of the same family, which would differ both from Tocharian A and Tocharian B, are attested in the local substrate of the business and legal documents, dated to the 3rd century CE, of the Kroraina (Shan-shan) Kingdom, around Niya on the southern branch of the Silk Road, which use a variety of the Gandhari language, the so-called Niya or Kroraina Prakrit (see also Burrow, 1937). The coining of the name "Tocharian" (*Tocharisch, tokharien*) rests on the speculative interpretation of the name written in Uighur script *twqry*, read *toχrï* (now transliterated as *tohrı*), which refers in colophons to the language of the Buddhist drama *Maitreyasamitināṭaka*, originally written in Tocharian A, and translated (around 9th cent. CE) in Old Turkic (Uighur) under the title *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. This language name was connected by Emil Sieg and Wilhelm Siegling to the name of the people of Tokharistan (Bactria, upper Indus), known under various forms (Skt. *tukhāra*; Grk. *Τόχαροι*; Lat. *Tochari*; Chn. *duhuoluo* [覩貨羅] – one of several variants). This has proven false with the discovery of inscriptions that attest to the language of the Kushans, which is Middle Iranian, and now called Bactrian (see above). Besides *twγry* (according to Manichaean orthography) as the name of Tocharian A, several Uighur texts refer presumably to Tocharian B by the name *kwys'n* (often preceded by an obscure, non-Turkic word as *'wkw kwys'n*), which ought to be read *küsän*, instead of *küšän*, although the latter reading has been supposed to point to the name of the Kushans (Mid. Pers. *kwš'n*; Pkt. *kuṣaṇa, kuṣāṇa*, etc.; Bact. κοϸανο). It is more likely that Uighur *küsän* has been borrowed from the Tocharian A match of Tocharian B $\underset{u}{k}$*śiññe* ("Kuchean, from Kucha"), which is attested as part of the title of Kucha's kings. The reading of *'wkw* is quite uncertain, but among the possibilities, *oku* would allow a further connection with Tocharian A. It is likely that Tocharian B $\underset{u}{k}$*śiññe* referred also to the local language in manuscripts and inscriptions found near Kucha; it is an adjective derived from a variant of the ancient name of Kucha, that is *kuci* in Sanskrit texts, besides *kutsi* (with dental voiceless affricate) known through the oldest Chinese transcriptions. In addition, in texts in Tocharian A, the local language of Yanqi (ancient Agni) appears to be designated by *ārśi*, which refers also to the country. In conclusion, neither the external (Sanskrit, Old Turkic, and Chinese) evidence nor the few internal references to languages in Tocharian texts speak in favor of the name "Tocharian," which ought to be kept for the sake of tradition, however (Pinault, 2002; 2013, 343–351).

A comprehensive selection of texts, with translations and commentaries, is provided by G.-J. Pinault (2008). Most of the Tocharian literature is of Buddhist content and belongs to the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools, which does not exclude Mahāyāna influence in several texts (Pinault, 2008). There are a few fragments of Manichaean literature, found in the Turfan region, among them a complete hymn to Mani in Tocharian B with an Old Turkic translation, but this text shows a strong imitation of Buddhist phraseology. Leaving aside this rare exception of a text in Manichaean script, all Tocharian texts are written in the North Turkestan Brahmi script, which is known by numerous Sanskrit manuscripts found in the same sites of the northern Silk Road; it has been adapted to Tocharian phonology by adding special letters. This script features an array of styles that can be chronologically ordered. The formal or calligraphic type is used for the Buddhist texts, whereas an informal or cursive type is used for the profane texts. In the ruins of Buddhist settlements, a significant number of secular documents have been found, which are almost exclusively in Tocharian B – accounts of Buddhist monasteries, business letters, caravan passes, inscriptions, graffiti, and so on, reflecting the economic and social life in the oases of the Tarim basin. The rarity of nonreligious texts in Tocharian A is one of the arguments that led to the conclusion that Tocharian B was the spoken vernacular in the whole Tocharian area, whereas Tocharian A was a fossilized liturgical language (Lane, 1966). Other arguments are the uniformity and formulaic style of Tocharian A texts, the numerous lexical interferences between both languages, where Tocharian A has been the receiver language of borrowings from Tocharian B, and glosses as well as additions in Tocharian B found in Tocharian A texts. However, glosses in both languages are found in Sanskrit manuscripts, and the living status of Tocharian A – at least in some places and clans – is suggested by further facts: the existence of a manual of medicine

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and magic in a portable format, several manuscripts of a Buddhist drama (*Maitreyasamitināṭaka*) conceived to be performed in public and translated into Old Turkic, numerous loans from Tocharian A in Old Turkic, and finally some influence of Tocharian A in relatively late Tocharian B manuscripts of the Turfan region. This does not contradict the undeniable and pervasive impact of Tocharian B on Tocharian A speakers and scribes during the centuries of composition of texts (Peyrot, 2010). One should also note that the two languages have different terms for rendering the major Buddhist concepts, which may point to separate Buddhist missions at the time in which these languages were alive in different oases and kingdoms.

While Tocharian A was transmitted in a normalized and frozen form, Tocharian B kept changing. Its internal history can be divided into three periods, roughly from the 5th to the 9th century CE: archaic, classical (or standard), late and popular, the last variety being found in profane Tocharian B texts (Peyrot, 2008). These distinctions on the phonological, orthographic, and morphological levels correlate nicely with the results of paleographic analysis, building on the relative chronology established for the Sanskrit manuscripts written in the same regions (for the different varieties of the formal Brahmi, based on imported northwestern Gupta types, and their developments and relations in Sanskrit, Tocharian, Khotanese, Tumshuqese, etc., see Sander, 2005). The specific Tocharian variant of the Early Turkestan Brahmi (introduced into Khotan, on the southern route, in the 5th cent. CE) may have been developed in the early 5th or late 4th century CE and was devised in accordance with the archaic stage of Tocharian B (5th–6th cents. CE; see Malzahn, 2007). This script certainly attained its standard form by the early 7th century, which is confirmed by the historical dating between 620 and 650 CE of caravan passes and inscriptions in Tocharian B, in standard language and normal ductus. The dates that have been obtained so far by means of carbon dating are based on a relatively small sample of Tocharian documents (see also Adams, 2006; Tamai, 2011, 370–375). Although one should keep in mind that they offer the dating of materials (paper, wood, stucco, etc.), those numbers confirm on the whole the preceding picture. Moreover, they prove that Tocharian A manuscripts range at a much later date, from around the late 7th century onward, than Tocharian B manuscripts.

Even though the dating of a proto-language involves some amount of speculation, it is generally agreed that the degree of divergence in phonology and morphology between Tocharian A and Tocharian B reflects a time of separation of at least five hundred years. Therefore, one may surmise that the Common Tocharian period ended in the last century before the Common Era, from which time the two languages developed separately. The dialectal position of Tocharian among the other Indo-European languages remains a moot issue (Adams, 1984; Carling, 2005). The only point of consensus is the separate evolution of the Tocharian branch from the Indo-Iranian branch, with which it does not share any isogloss.

Old Turkic

The language of Buddhist texts belongs to the earliest known stage of the Turkic language family, called Old Turkic, and is found in the remains discovered in the Asian domains of the early Turks. It consists basically of three corpora (Erdal, 1998, 139; 2004, 6–10):

(1) Inscriptions in the Old Turkic runic characters, around two hundred, dated presumably from the 7th to 10th centuries CE. Most of them were discovered in present-day Mongolia, in the area covering the territory of the Second Türk Empire and the Uighur steppe empire following it, and the upper Yenisey basin in central South Siberia. The majority consists of long epitaphs, written on steles for kings or members of the aristocracy, but some are graffiti on prominent rocks.

(2) Manuscripts from the eastern part of present-day Xinjiang and Gansu, China, from the 9th century until the establishment of Mongol rule, in the mid-13th century CE. These documents are written in different scripts: runic form, Sogdian, Uighur (an adaptation of the preceding), Manichaean, Syriac, Brahmi, and Tibetan. This corpus is the most extensive among the three and reflects the multifarious culture of the Uighur societies, after the Uighur royal clans, pushed out from their steppe empire by the Kirghiz, had established their rule in the Tarim basin around 840 CE and eventually made Khocho (near Turfan) their capital. Therefore, the term Old Uighur is appropriate as an equivalent to Old Turkic, when referring to the language of the manuscripts of this corpus. Much of this corpus consists of Buddhist, Manichaean, or Christian religious texts; addition-

ally, there are secular documents such as contracts, personal or administrative letters, medical or astrological treatises, glossaries, folkloric sources, and narratives. The Buddhist material (Elverskog, 1997) amounts approximately to three-quarters of the whole. In colophons of Buddhist texts, the local designation of the language fluctuates between *türk tili*, *türk uygur tili*, and *uygur tili*.

(3) No Buddhist scriptures are preserved in Turkic texts from the Qarakhanid state, dated in the 11th century CE. There is, however, a work, albeit written by a Muslim, which is most valuable for the understanding of Buddhist texts in Old Uighur: the *Dīwān luγāti't-Türk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects), a Turkic-Arabic lexicon and encyclopedia, composed (between 1072 and 1083) by Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī. This author quotes forms from dialects other than the Qarakhanid, his own native speech, which was close enough to Uighur. He gives thus the earliest evidence for other early varieties of Turkic that are quite relevant for the understanding of Old Turkic as a whole. The latter should not be confused with Common Turkic, nor Proto-Turkic, the hypothetical language reconstructed through external comparison (Johanson, 1998). In addition, Old Turkic should not be understood as a common language, which would be relatively uniform and standardized. This language is documented during several centuries in distant places and in different cultural contexts that were open to various cultural influences. The language of the members of the upper class, who sponsored the writing of Manichaean and Buddhist texts, was certainly different from other varieties deemed popular or vulgar. However, one cannot deny that Buddhist texts were intended to be understood by a wide array of people from all social classes. In addition, texts of the second corpus are mostly translations or adaptations from texts in various languages, and these translations were carried out by bilingual (or even trilingual) committees. This may have triggered, at least in part, the influence of the source texts on syntax and word order. One may define Old Uighur of the second corpus as the "standard" or "classical" language, but it is by no means devoid of variations. Several scholars have collected orthographic, phonological, morphological (forms and uses of suffixes), syntactic, stylistic, and lexical features that point to different dialects or different stages of evolution (see e.g. von Gabain, 1974, 3–8; Erdal, 1979; 2004, 11–22, 33–36, 71–75, 91–96; Doerfer, 1993). In terms of relative chronology, it is commonly assumed that many Manichaean texts appear to be pre-classical and closer to the language of the inscriptions of the first corpus. But some of the Buddhist texts, belonging to the first phase of Uighur Buddhism, show also signs of having been composed at an early stage.

A related issue concerns the sources of the Buddhist vocabulary. According to the "Sogdian hypothesis" (adopted by Laut, 1986, 1–12, 59–88, see further discussion by Moriyasu, 1990), members of the nobility of the First Türk Empire made their first acquaintance with Buddhism in the 6th century CE through contacts with Sogdians, who acted as traders in oases along the commercial roads leading from Iranian countries to China; they were also influential in the transmission of writing and of bureaucratic practice in the court of the Türk rulers. This was reflected by the significant number of Buddhist terms going back to Sanskrit, which has been adapted into Old Turkic on the basis of their shape as Sogdian loans. These terms surface in Uighur Buddhist texts, which show otherwise pre-classical features, akin to Manichaean texts. At the further, classical stage, a much larger amount of Buddhist technical terms found in Old Uighur texts were borrowed through Tocharian A, which is known as the source language of several texts translated into Old Uighur (Laut, 1986, 120–148). Moreover, it is notable that in the early phase of Uighur Buddhism, the translators tried often to coin equivalents of Buddhist concepts in their own language, according to a pedagogical trend.

Although the languages surveyed in the present chapter are quite different, under both genetic and typological perspectives, they show some common tendencies in their respective Buddhist corpora. A major issue for the Buddhist communities of these regions was the creation of a Buddhist vocabulary. This was accomplished partly by loans from the languages of the Buddhist missionaries; the first of them spoke varieties of Middle Indic, and mostly Gandhari. The impact of Middle Indic is obvious in the most ancient layer of borrowings in Iranian and Tocharian languages. In further layers, the influence of Sanskrit became increasingly prevalent, because the local Buddhist scribes translated texts that had been previously put into Sanskrit. But not all the different communities were influenced by the Indian culture at the same level. In order to convey the Buddhist faith into various classes of society, it was also felt necessary to create genuine local expressions of Buddhist concepts, which often competed with loanwords. Another interesting dimension lies in the amount of mutual borrowings between the languages in question, which concern of course not only the whole lexicon but also the Buddhist vocabulary. An example is the
Middle Indic, which has been
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vocabulary. An example is the title *bodhisatta* of Middle Indic, which has been misinterpreted as Sanskrit *bodhisattva*; the latter form has been borrowed as such in Parthian *bwdysdf*, Sogdian *pwtystß*, Tocharian A *bodhisattu*, Tocharian B *bodhisatve*, and Old Uighur *pwdystv*, whereas Khotanese has both the loanword *bodhisatvu* and its translation *balysūñavūysaa* (striving for enlightenment), which is more faithful to the original *bodhisatta* as from *_bodhisakta_ (attached to the enlightenment; von Hinüber, 2007, 387–390). From Middle Iranian languages, there have been independent loans in Tocharian languages and Old Turkic, which itself has borrowed from Tocharian. With the introduction of Buddhist literature, the local writers were also led to follow the stylistic habits and to adopt (or to adapt) literary genres that were originally of the learned Indian tradition foreign to their native cultures.

In addition to translating canonical texts, local Buddhist scholars gradually became able to themselves compose narratives and poems that are original compositions based on Buddhist material and framework, such as the Tocharian A *Maitreyasamitināṭaka*, translated in Old Turkic with the title *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (Elverskog, 1997, 139–145; Geng Shimin *et al.*, 2004). The lexical, grammatical, and syntactical peculiarities of the various literary languages used in Buddhist texts are striking, when compared with the forms of secular texts that belong to the same periods.

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GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT

Languages: Mainlan

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GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT

Languages: Mainland Southeast Asia (Mon, Khmer, and Thai)

Several major vernacular languages in which Buddhist texts were transmitted in continental Southeast Asia are, in chronological order, Mon, Khmer, Burmese, and Thai; peripheral literary traditions confined to the northwest include Shan, Tai Khün, and Pwo Karen.

Affiliations and Structural Characteristics of the Languages

Mon and Khmer belong to two distinct and independent branches of the Austroasiatic language family, the former originating in the center of what is today northeastern Thailand. What structural similarities their early forms may have are due to mutual contact toward the last quarter of the 1st millennium CE.

Burmese and Karen are Tibeto-Burman languages; Karen, a cluster of languages found along the Salween River down to the Gulf of Martaban, is distantly related to Burmese, and Mon speakers have been in contact with it since early historical times. Thai, Shan, and Tai Khün are part of the Tai-Kadai family of languages; while belonging to its southwestern subgroup, Shan has been, over centuries, exposed to profound influence from Burmese.

Given that the advent of vernacular writing spans a period of a millennium and a half, philologists are in a position to document and date linguistic change. The fact that Mon represents the language of the earliest Buddhist traditions while at the same time extending over the largest geographic area on the continent, ranging from northeastern Thailand up to Laos (Vientiane and environs), to central and northern Thailand, lower Burma (Gulf of Martaban), the lower Irrawaddy Delta, and central Burma (Pagan, Kyaukse, and Pegu), gives it a unique position in the linguistic history of the peninsula.

Mainland Southeast Asian (MSEA) languages differ structurally at all levels of grammar from Indo-Aryan (IA) languages in fundamental ways. Writing systems originally devised for IA languages proved to be inappropriate for the phonological complexity of MSEA languages – for not only their consonant and vowel inventories but also their tone systems, including phonation types (whereby lexical meanings are distinguished by differences in voice quality such as modal, creaky, or breathy) and different syllable and word structures, requiring thus extensive adaptations.

Writing Systems and Writing Support

Some of the earliest writing on the mainland originated in central Thailand and southeastern and northwestern Cambodia in the 6th to 7th centuries CE. The script is Indic in origin, and the languages are Old Mon and Old Khmer. Mon exhibited by then already modifications to the script: thus /ɓ/ is written with a modified *akṣara* (syllabic character) *ba*. At first, vowel notations were underdifferentiated in both languages, specifically for /ɯ ~ ø/, or the diphthongs /iə uə/; later on digraphs were used, such as *ui* for /ɯ/, or new graphs were created, such as in Thai, and then adapted in Khmer. By the 9th century CE, local differentiation appeared, and one can speak of distinct Mon and Khmer scripts proper, from which two branches in the development of MSEA scripts developed – a southeastern one, yielding central and southern Thai derivatives, and a northwestern one, leading to adaptations of Burmese, northern Thai (Lanna), and Shan, among others.

Thai, the central and southern variety of which had adapted Khmer script by the 14th century, had to create symbols for its series of velar fricatives /x ɣ/ – modified *akṣaras* for *kha* and *ga* – as well as its labiodental fricatives /f v/, for which *ba* and *pha* were modified. *Pa* and *ta* had to be modified to accommodate the Thai distinction between voiceless stops /t p/ and voiced implosives /ɗ ɓ/, a distinction not present in pre-Angkorian Khmer – that is, prior to the 9th century. Voiceless nasals were written as nasals with *ha* in front; notation for tones consisted at first in a short vertical stroke and a cross placed above an *akṣara*. In this variety of Thai, subscripts are unknown. Finals are not marked by *virāma*, a mark used to suppress

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the inherent vowel of an *akṣara*, but in early forms of Thai by reduplicating the final consonant, as was the case in Late Old Mon and some early Khmer varieties. By contrast, the northern variety of Thai was written in Mon script.

By the early 12th century, Burmese was written in Mon script, and here, too, modifications had to be made due to differences in Mon and Burmese phonology: depending on scribal preference, tones in Burmese were marked by *visarga -ḥ* (/-h/ in Mon) and the vowel support, used to note a glottal stop /ʔ/ in Mon, being placed below an *akṣara* in final syllable position in Old Burmese script to denote "creaky voice." As Mon and Burmese lack distinctive vowel length, the respective vowel signs *a, ā, i, ī, u*, and *ū* are used to encode different phonological properties, such as "inherent" final glottal stop or a "stopped" tone in the case of graphically short vowels /-aʔ, -iʔ, -uʔ/ as opposed to /-a, -i, -u/. *Anusvāra*, which was originally in IA a diacritic mark to indicate nasality, may have been used since Middle Mon of the 14th century in velar-final contexts to modify the inherent vowel /a/ > /ɔ/ and in yet others to mark a glottal stop /-ʔ/ or final /-h/, besides being the standard notation for final /-m/.

Generally, *akṣara*s for retroflex consonants have either been dispensed with as they do not exist in vernaculars or assumed another phonological role (e.g. *ḍa* for vernacular /ɗ/ instead of IA /ɖ/); similarly, voiced aspirated stops are unknown in native vernaculars and are thus confined exclusively to loans.

As for writing support, MSEA vernaculars show a great variety of material and kinds of objects inscribed: stone (slabs, pillars, and *stambha*s [columns] for supporting *cakra*s [wheels of the law]), clay/terracotta (seals, tablets, plaques, and miniature stupas), metal (gold, silver, copper, bronze, and lead for bells, statues, and low-relief repoussées), and textile as well as captions attached to mural paintings (specifically Mon and Burmese at 12th-cent. Pagan temples), in addition to documents written on palm leaf and local paper.

The longest inscriptions in MSEA languages are from Burma, written in Mon: 18 faces from Kyanzittha's palace in Pagan (12th cent.) and 10 slabs from the Kalyāṇī Sīmā Pagoda in Pegu (1480), the latter a key text for the history of Buddhism in Burma. (For the Pali text of the latter, see Taw Sein Ko, 1892; for the Mon faces, see Blagden, 1928.)

Mon

The earliest forms of Mon, attested in 6th- to 8th-century inscriptions from central and northeastern Thailand, are close to a reconstructed proto-Austroasiatic (AA) ancestor (see Shorto, 2006). Up to the 12th century, several dialects and distinct scribal schools can be distinguished as well as a western regional cluster exhibiting affinities with contiguous Austronesian dialects (personal pronouns in some of the Pagan epigraphs and word structure in 11th-cent. texts from Thaton and Tavoy). Old Mon distinguishes in initial position a series of unaspirated voiceless stops /k-, c-, t-, p-/ from an aspirated series /kʰ-, cʰ-, tʰ-, pʰ-/ and contrasts the former with a series voiced stops /g-, ɟ-, d-, b-/. Unaspirated voiceless and voiced stops in turn contrast with prenasalized stops /ⁿk-, ᶮc-, ⁿt-, ᵐp-, ⁿg-, ᶮɟ-, ⁿd-, ᵐb-/. Initials include further implosives /ɗ- ɓ-/, glottal stop /ʔ-/, nasals in all four positions /ŋ-, ɲ-, n-, m-/, liquids /r- and l-/, semivowels /j- w-/, and spirants /s- h-/. Consonants that may occur in final position include voiceless stops, nasals, liquids, semivowels, spirants, and the glottal stop. A distinctive AA feature are palatals and liquids in final position. Initial cluster combinations are numerous, varied, and generally conformant with AA. Old Mon vowels include /i, e, a, ai, ə, u, ø, ɯ, o, ɔ, ai, uə, iə/. Native word structures are C(C(C))VC, CVC(C)VC, CCVC(C)VC, and, exceptionally, CVCVCVC (where C refers to a consonant and V to a vowel).

Characteristic for Mon as an archaic AA language is the fact that words must end in a final consonant; open syllables do not occur. This has implications for the treatment of IA loans as open syllables in IA loans must be closed in Old Mon, either by dropping the final vowel in IA, as in Sanskrit/Pali *vihāra* > *wihār*, or by an artificial spelling device, such as adding *-h* or *-w* as in Sanskrit *śrī* > *srīh* ~ *srih*, Sanskrit/Pali *devatā* > *dewatāw*, and *pūjā* > *pūjāw*. By the 13th century in northern Thailand, there is first evidence of shifts in final consonants /-s/ > /-h/, with subsequent changes in final palatals /-c -ɲ/ and liquids /-r -l/ by the mid-14th century in a text from Twante township, near Yangon, marking the beginning of Middle Mon.

Additional changes affect medioclusters, which in turn leads to restructuring and mergers of affixes in Mon morphology. By the late 16th century, the complete breakdown of voicing distinctions in the initial

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Fig. 1: Early Old Mon inscription at the ent
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stop series had led to two different phonation types, modal voice and breathy voice, sometimes known as "register distinctions" (Middle Mon /teʔ/ "that (dem.)" – /deʔ/ "younger sibling" > modern Mon /teʔ/ – /te̤ʔ/). These changes were followed around the 18th century by further simplifications of initial nasal clusters leading to a contrast between voiced and voiceless nasals /ŋ-, ɲ-, n-, m-/ and /ŋ̊-, ɲ̥-, n̥-, m̥-/, respectively, still attested in modern speech. Shifts of /cw-/, /sw-/, and /ɟw-/ clusters gave rise to a bilabial fricative /ɸ-/, while /sl-/ > /l̥-/. Contrastive vowel length is absent in Mon. Mon dialects in Burma today are highly diverse and can be phonetically complex, such as possessing prestopped nasals in final position or three different phonation types (modal, breathy, and pharyngealized vowels /V, V̤, Vˤ/).

Old Mon morphology is both inflectional and derivational, with most affixes being reconstructible at AA level. Inflections include the verbal prefix *s-* for the "irrealis," a homorganic nasal infix *-N-* for the "frequentative," and the infix *-m-* to form non-predicative, attributive verbs. Derivational affixes include *p-* for the "causative," *-n-* for nouns marking the "instrumental," and *-r-* and *-w-* (< AA *-p-) for forming nouns and a vocalic infix in complementary distribution. Inflections disappear with Middle Mon, while modern varieties show a completely restructured and leveled derivational system including syllabic prefixes such as /hə-, kə-, tə-, pə-/ and complex substitutions of base initials. Old Mon requires stringent morphophonemic rules, reminiscent of those attested in Aslian languages of the Malay Peninsula. Some derivational infixes, such as *-r-*, are actually put in front of the base initial, and the base initial is then copied in initial position of the derived word, as in *das* (to exist) > *dirdas* (existence); if the base initial belongs to a glottal class (/ʔ-, ɗ-, ɓ-/), then it is being replaced by an /r-/ initial in its derived form, as in *ḍuk* (to have completed) > *rinḍuk* (to complete, perfect), by way of the infix *-n-*.

Word order in Mon syntax conforms to a verb-medial pattern, with the subject initial position. Unusual for MSEA languages, Mon has no classifiers (descriptive nouns in quantified expressions), which, however, is to be expected given that plurality is marked in addition to definiteness. Equally

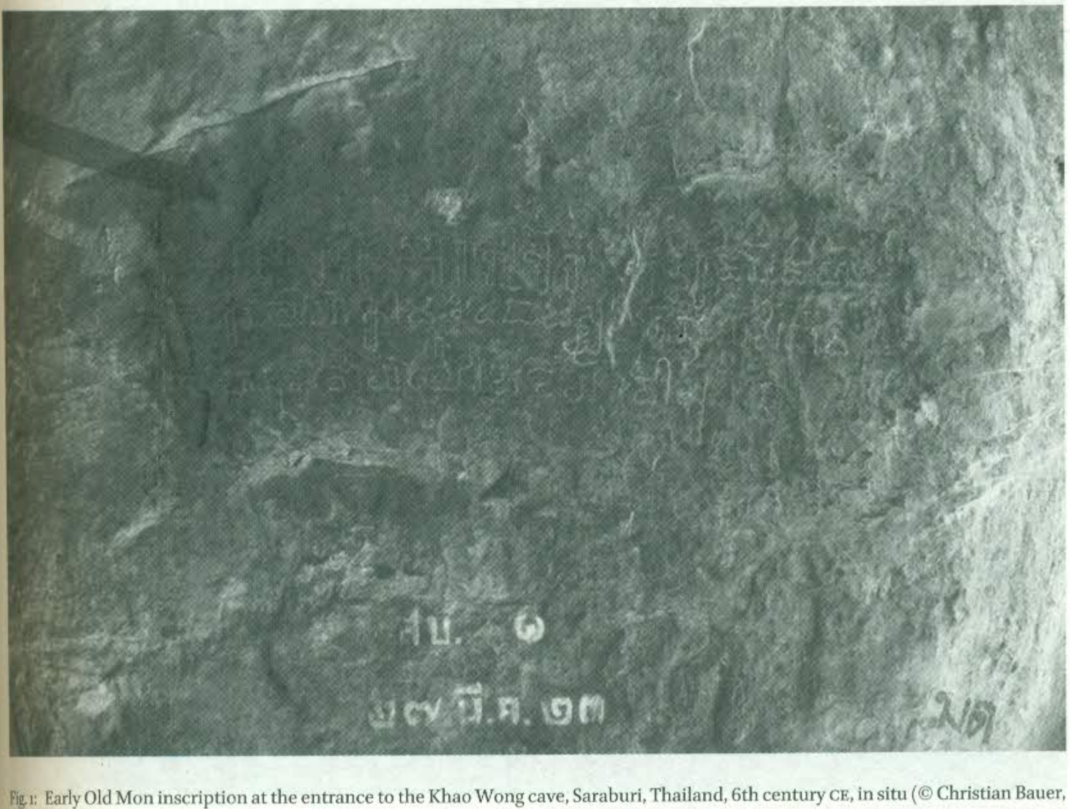

Fig. 1: Early Old Mon inscription at the entrance to the Khao Wong cave, Saraburi, Thailand, 6th century CE, in situ (© Christian Bauer, 1983).

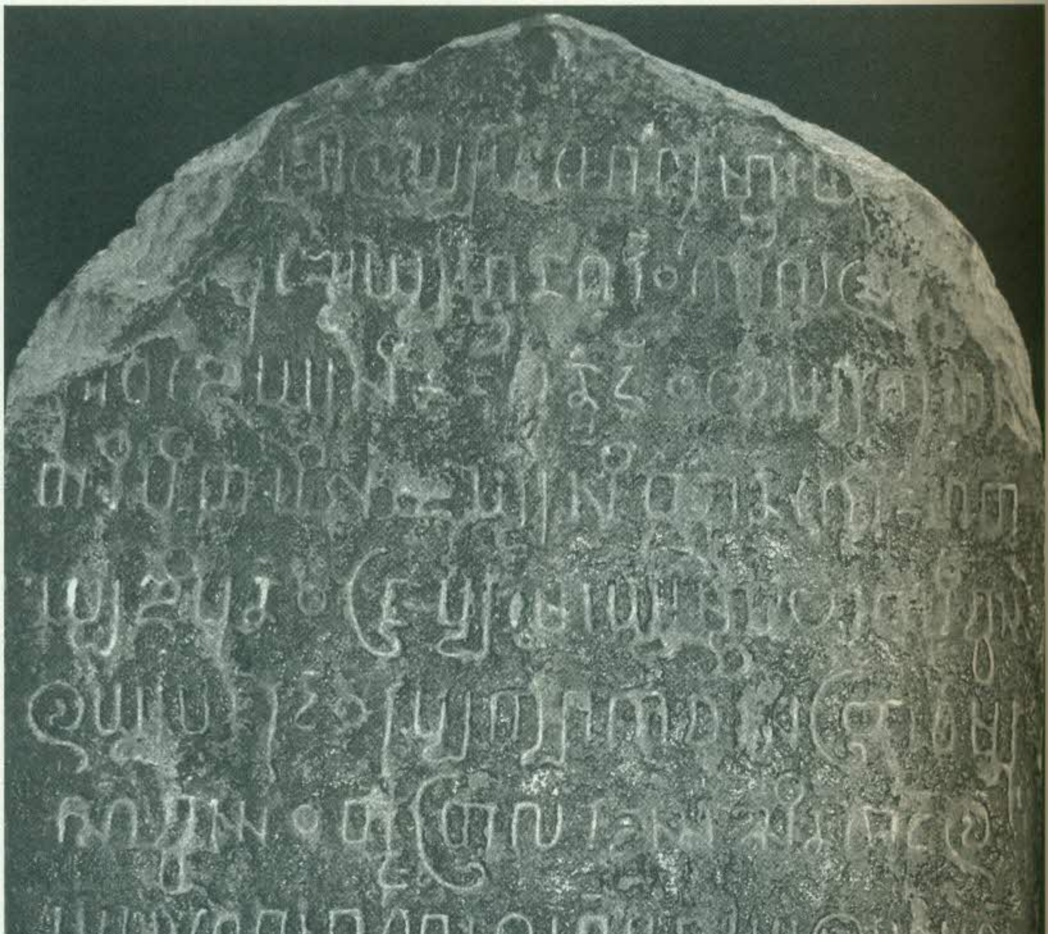

Fig. 2: Late Old Mon inscription from Sen Khao Ho Monastery, Lamphun, Thailand, early 13th century CE, now on display at Haribuñjaya National Museum Lamphun (© Christian Bauer, 1983).

unusual is a four-term demonstr
which may occur as sentence
are a set of noun-focus particles

A special feature in Mon
attested since the 12th century,
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particles used in Pali-Mon bilin
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It comprises native particles, i
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Khmer

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unusual is a four-term demonstrative system, two of which may occur as sentence initial predicates as are a set of noun-focus particles.

A special feature in Mon textual tradition attested since the 12th century, which was to be borrowed later on by Burmese, is a set of translation particles used in Pali-Mon bilingual texts, called in Mon *trāy*, spoken Mon /krai/, and now conventionally known by its Pali term "*nissaya*" (Skt. *niśraya*). It comprises native particles, in abbreviated form, denoting Pali case marking, which Mon lacks, such as "nominative" *yaṅ*, abbreviated in bilingual texts as *ṅ*, or "accusative" *hān* ~ *han* ~ *hin*, abbreviated as *h*. On palm-leaf manuscripts, the Pali text is written above the Mon, usually in a smaller style of writing, or, when written in a linear fashion, each Pali phrase immediately precedes the vernacular one. A fixed set of grammatical markers and verbs serves to indicate other case endings and mood (see Pruitt, 1994, for further references). The Mon lexicon does not distinguish social levels of speech, except for an honorific particle, in Middle Mon, preceding verbs of motion, *kña* V, or the preverbal element *cin* V, both applied to monks.

Khmer

Khmer of the pre-Angkorian period differs significantly from Mon, although speaker communities are assumed to have been neighbors in the Mul and Chi basin of northeastern Thailand by the 8th or 9th century.

In comparison with proto-AA, Khmer had by then innovated its phonological inventory, having lost its original AA implosives. Today's implosives derive from later Angkorian plain voiceless stops /t- p-/ > /ɗ- ɓ-/, a shift that explains the necessity for Thai to provide consonants symbols for those voiceless stops, on the one hand, and the reason why the Thai writing system cannot have been adapted prior to that Khmer shift, on the other. In other respects is the consonant inventory for finals identical with Old Mon, as is the one for initials, except that Khmer lacks the series of prenasalized stops. Khmer also tolerates, from its written inception, open syllables, unlike Old Mon. It is generally phonologically more stable throughout its history than Mon, possessing palatal and liquid finals to this very day. While vowel length in modern Khmer is distinctive, one still cannot say if that distinction goes back to Old Khmer.

Innovations in the writing system, such as notation of vowels, occur by the Middle Khmer period from the 14th century onward and are due to Thai influence, which grew increasingly strong, adding /ɯə/ – confined to Thai loans – to the vowel inventory.

Although modern standard Khmer does not distinguish phonation types, a register phase is to be reconstructed but cannot be dated. As phonation affects, among other parameters, vowel articulation, this permeated the Khmer vowel system to such an extent that it eventually duplicated its vowel inventory, making phonation as a phonological feature redundant.

Morphology is skewed by extensive analogical leveling and internal restructuring. Inflections, such as in Mon, had never been attested in its history. Infixes *-n-* for "instrumental," *-m-* for "agentive," and, when in complementary distribution in case of CC base initials, for "causative" are AA reflexes as is *-p-* and the "causative" prefix *p-*, which today is fused with the co-occurring *-N-* "frequentative." Distinctive in comparison with other AA languages – and thus likely to be yet another innovation – is a rhotacized series of prefixes of the form *Crə-* with a diverse set of functions.

The periodization of Khmer is much less clear-cut than of Mon. The beginnings of Middle Khmer have not yet been determined but can be assumed to go back to around the 14th century. Equally uncertain is the identification of early dialects.

The study of early syntax is hampered by the fact that most Old Khmer inscriptions are donation records, featuring a limited vocabulary and phraseology. Buddhist inscriptions of the 16th to 18th centuries show a greater range of grammatical constructions, sufficient to identify discontinuities in its historical development. While early Khmer numeral systems are vigesimal and native, from the 16th century onward, numerals higher than ten were borrowed from Thai.

A pronominal system inherited from AA was gradually being replaced, presumably under Thai influence, by a complex set of terms of address. The early modern period is characterized by an increasing syntactic and lexical convergence with Thai.

Thai

The linguistic history of Thai is to be divided into two distinct phases, marked by a fundamental shift

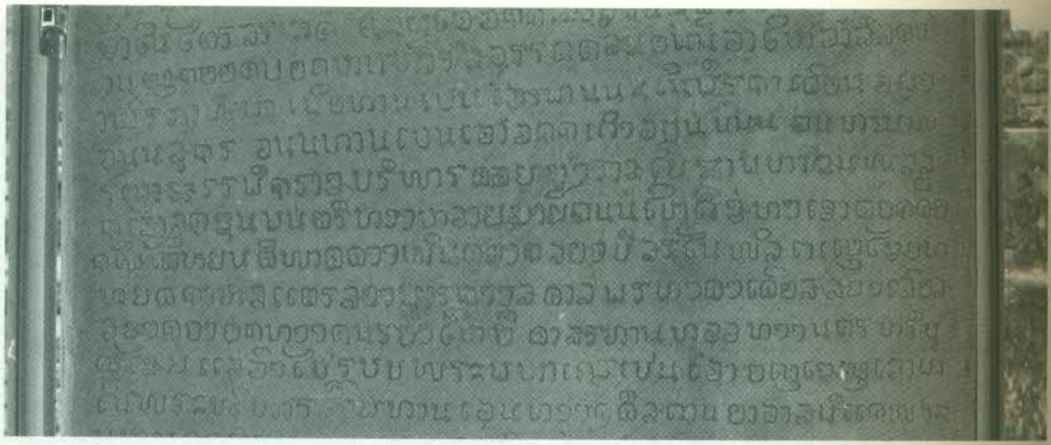


Fig. 3: Thai inscription at Phra Yuen Monastery, Lamphun, Thailand, 1370 CE, face A, in situ (© Christian Bauer, 2005).

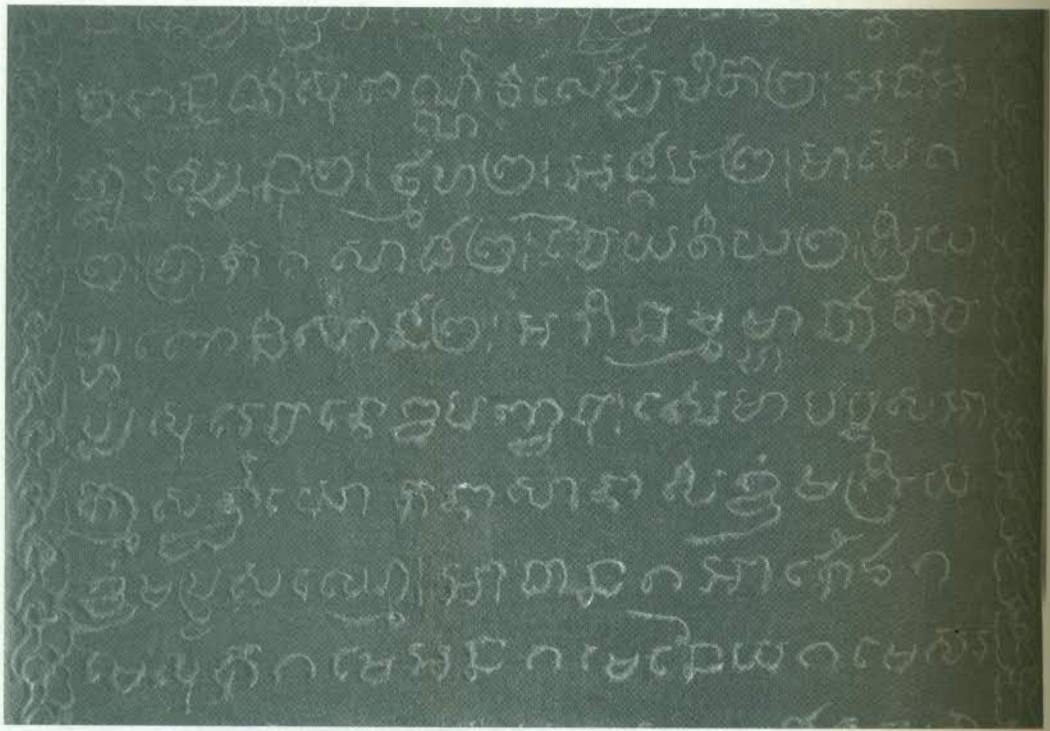


Fig. 4: Middle Khmer inscription no. 4, face A, lines 10–18, at Angkor Wat, upper terrace, 1566 CE, in situ (© Christian Bauer, 2001).

in its tonal system, which, in turn,
collapse of its voicing distinctions.

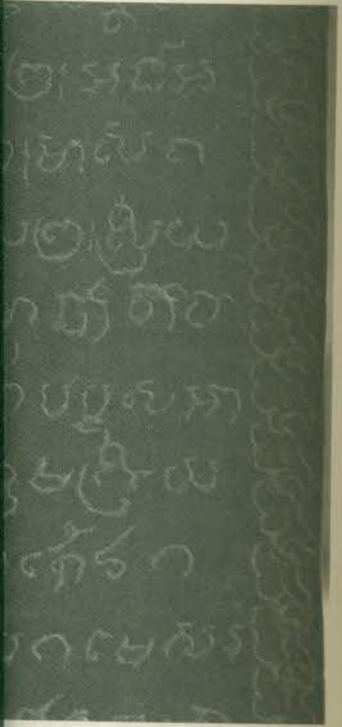
While central Thai script w
Khmer by the early 14th century
Thailand at Sukhothai and its ad
three other scripts were concu
complex: (1) northern Thai, de
(2) Khmer proper (for Pali a
(3) another of its derivate, which
Lao script, the Fak Kham script.

Thai had three lexically c
referred to as A, B, and C, since t
characteristics cannot be recons
tone, D, occurred before final sto
was not contrastive. In writing t
unmarked, tone B was marked b
stroke, and tone C was marked b
inscriptions, tones were not mark
inconsistently, and in still other
manner.

Initial consonants differ ma
Sukhothai retained from proto-Ta
tives /x- ɣ-/ and /f- v-/ and two set
/ŋ-, ɲ-, n-, m-/ and voiceless /ŋ̊-, ɲ̊-
/w- ʍ-/, two labialized velar app
and voiceless, respectively. These
complemented the pan-Southeast
stops, voiced and voiceless, aspirat
initial liquids, and semivowels. Fi
parison with AA, more restrictive,
the three stops above, semivowels, a
Complex clusters posited for pro
14th century already been simplifi
ous diphthongs. On the basis of Si
glossaries (*hua-i i-yü*), Mon loan
tions of names in European recor
texts, it is possible to date sound s
though the actual writing system
(Bauer & Gedney, 1989; Shinta
appears that sometime during t
voicing distinctions were lost, lead
formerly voiced stops and voicele
resulting in the latter series, which
get for the velar fricatives. The vo
in the labiodental fricatives were l
the voiceless one. By contrast, th
got devoiced as were /l̥-/ merging
merging with /w-/. The loss of vo
with its subsequent merger led to a
system, duplicating the number of
nally three to six.

Vowel length in Thai is distin
inventory equals that of Old Mon

(© Christian Bauer, 2005).



CE, in situ (© Christian Bauer, 2001).

in its tonal system, which, in turn, was initiated by a collapse of its voicing distinctions.

While central Thai script was adapted from Khmer by the early 14th century in northwestern Thailand at Sukhothai and its adjacent provinces, three other scripts were concurrent at this site complex: (1) northern Thai, derived from Mon, (2) Khmer proper (for Pali and Khmer), and (3) another of its derivate, which is the ancestor of Lao script, the Fak Kham script.

Thai had three lexically contrastive tones, referred to as A, B, and C, since the exact phonetic characteristics cannot be reconstructed. A fourth tone, D, occurred before final stops /-k, -t, -p/ and was not contrastive. In writing tone, A remained unmarked, tone B was marked by a short vertical stroke, and tone C was marked by a cross. In some inscriptions, tones were not marked at all, in others inconsistently, and in still others in a consistent manner.

Initial consonants differ markedly from AA: Sukhothai retained from proto-Tai two sets of fricatives /x- ɣ-/ and /f- v-/ and two sets of nasals, voiced /ŋ-, ɲ-, n-, m-/ and voiceless /ŋ̊-, ɲ̥-, n̥-, m̥-/ as well as /w- ʍ-/, two labialized velar approximants, voiced and voiceless, respectively. These typically Tai sets complemented the pan-Southeast Asian unaspirated stops, voiced and voiceless, aspirated voiceless stops, initial liquids, and semivowels. Finals were, in comparison with AA, more restrictive, being confined to the three stops above, semivowels, and open syllables. Complex clusters posited for proto-Tai had by the 14th century already been simplified, as had numerous diphthongs. On the basis of Sino-Thai bilingual glossaries (*hua-i i-yü*), Mon loanwords, transcriptions of names in European records, and Thai verse texts, it is possible to date sound shifts in Thai, even though the actual writing system remained stable (Bauer & Gedney, 1989; Shintani, 1974). It thus appears that sometime during the 16th century, voicing distinctions were lost, leading to a merger of formerly voiced stops and voiceless aspirated stops resulting in the latter series, which was also the target for the velar fricatives. The voicing distinctions in the labiodental fricatives were lost, leaving again the voiceless one. By contrast, the voiceless nasals got devoiced as were /l̥-/ merging with /l-/ and /ʍ-/ merging with /w-/. The loss of voicing distinctions with its subsequent merger led to a split in the tonal system, duplicating the number of tones from originally three to six.

Vowel length in Thai is distinctive; the vowel inventory equals that of Old Mon except for /ø/ but to which should be added /ɛ/; the diphthongs /ɯə, aw, iw, ew, uy/; and the triphthongs /iəw, uəy, and ɯəy/. Native word structures are simple, being confined to C(C)V(C) and C^{h}(C)V(C); all other forms as they may occur are loans.

Word formation is by composition; morphological pairs in the lexicon, consisting of base and derivative, are actual loans from Khmer. Since the 19th century, neology has frequent recourse to IA formatives. Worth remembering, though, is the fact that early IA loans entered Thai by way of either Khmer or Mon; witness the tendency to naturalize IA loans. Etymological spellings are a phenomenon of the 19th century (e.g. *sāssanā* ~ *sas*^{1}*nā* ~ *sāshnā* [religion] for the modern prescriptive spelling *śāsanā*).

In syntax as well as lexicon, a couple of layers can be discerned – an earlier Mon layer and a subsequent Khmer one. There are quite distinct syntactic convergence phenomena in the inscriptions of Sukhothai and its environs due to Old Mon; while these are structural features, actual grammatical particles have been borrowed from Khmer. Convergence with Mon also suggests that its textual resources may have found their way in to Thai epigraphs of the 14th and 15th centuries. If nonnative authorship was present remains to be demonstrated but should be considered given the kind of orthographic variation. At least two different dialects can be postulated, and further investigation may reveal an even more complex picture. Unlike later varieties, epigraphic Thai shows a personal pronominal system intact, including a dual. Classifier usage is more restricted than at later stages of the language.

Quantitative analysis of loans in early Thai remains a desideratum; on the basis of the 1982 edition of the Thai dictionary of current usage issued by the Royal Institute, Bangkok (*Bacanānukram chpăp rājapăṇḍityasathān ba.śa. 2525* [The Royal Institute Dictionary, BE 2525]), covering almost ten thousand lemmata, the rate of loans approaches 40%.

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CHRISTIAN BAUER

Physical Bases

Manuscripts and Printing: South, Southeast, and Central Asia

The Buddhist text tradition begins at the end of the period of orality in India. Once script was introduced by the time of Aśoka, it seems that the Buddhists were keen to avail themselves of the new medium, quite in contrast to the followers of the equally oral vedic tradition, who remained reluctant to use script (von Hinüber, 1989, 71). The following chronological survey describes major collections of extant manuscripts beginning in the northern periphery of India including Central Asia with the exception of Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts and then proceeding to Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia. (A handbook on Indic Buddhist manuscripts is provided by Harrison & Hartmann, 2013; comp. Berkwitz, Schober & Brown, 2009.)

It is impossible to know when the first Buddhist texts were written down. Only the Theravāda tradition – which preserves the oldest extant history of the Buddhist order in two chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Island [Ceylon (Sri Lanka)]) and the somewhat later *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great Chronicle) – mentions the 1st century BCE as the approximate date at which the Tipiṭaka was committed to writing. The reason was the fear of losing the texts during politically unstable times (Bechert, 1992). According to later traditions, however, which had forgotten all about the early orality, the Bodhisattva learned how to read and to write in school, and the Buddha himself even writes using his own blood (von Hinüber, 1989, 72).

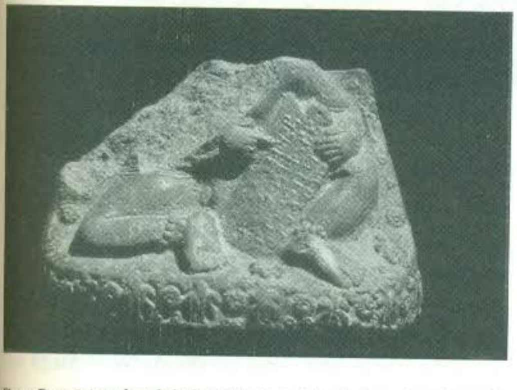

Fig. 1: Practicing the alphabet (Shunga, Ahicchatra, 1st cent. BCE).

The writing material traditionally used in India and consequently also by Buddhists is palm leaf (Skt. *tālapatra*), which is prepared in a complicated process from the leaves of the talipot palm tree (bot. Corypha umbraculifera). The form of the palm leaves determines the oblong shape and the measurement of the books (see fig. 2, 3, and fig. 4). Only in the northwest are texts copied also on birchbark (Skt. *bhūrjapatra*; Janert, 1995, after Hoernle, 1901). Birchbark manuscripts (see fig. 5 and fig. 6) are either scrolls or imitate the shape of palm-leaf books, and even modern printed books can stick to this traditional format. Small formats like "pocket books" mentioned occasionally in Buddhist literature are rare but exist, for example, a *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscript in about 166 folios measuring 4 × 9 cm (Karashima, 2007, 71).

The script is either scratched into palm leaf with the help of a sharp pointed metal stylus (Pal. *ārakaṇṭaka*) in South India and Southeast Asia or written by using ink made from lampblack and a pen made of bamboo, the latter method being preferred in North India and beyond. After being made with a stylus, the grooves in the palm leaves must be filled with lampblack in order to make the script visible. This process has to be repeated after a while, because the lampblack disappears in the course of time. Moreover, oil must be applied regularly to palm leaf to prevent it from becoming brittle. The structure of birchbark allows only the use of pen and ink. The ink, which is kept as a liquid or in dried form as pellets (earliest reference can be found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* [1938, 63]), is usually made from lamp black (Gode, 1946). Occasionally, red ink is used to highlight certain parts of the text. Palm leaves can be and were reused as palimpsests after the script in ink was removed (Lüders, 1940, 192). A so far unique palimpsest with erased Kharoshthi script overwritten by a text in Brahmi is fragment MS 2376/99 in the Schøyen collection (personal communication by K. Matsuda).

Paper as a writing material was introduced in India only during the Muslim period (Gode, 1944). However, a unique "protopaper" was used already

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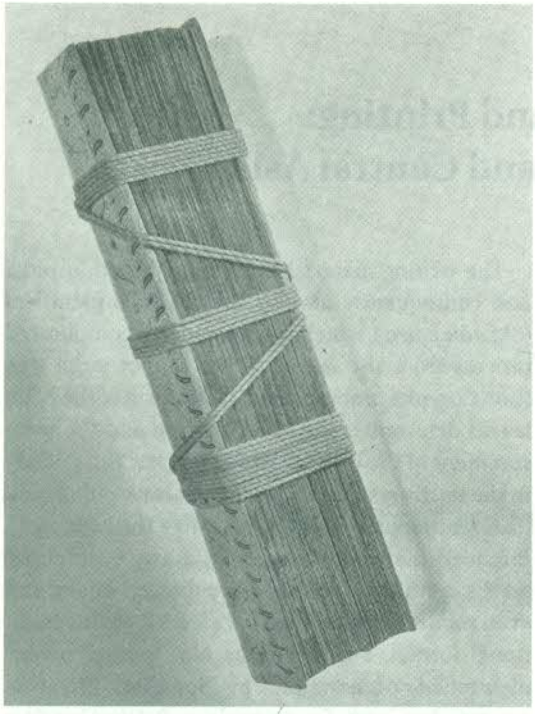

Fig. 2: Closed palm-leaf manuscript (de Silva, 1938, plate III).

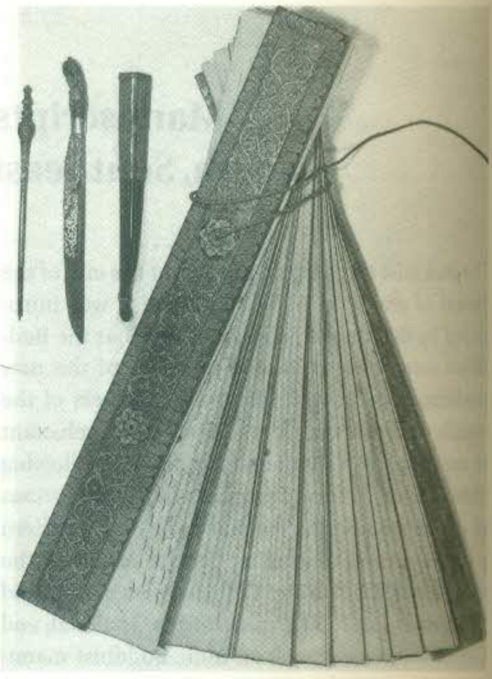

Fig. 3: Opened palm-leaf manuscript, with tools for copying (Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, I C 42 205 a–c; Bechert & Bidoli, vol. I, 1969).

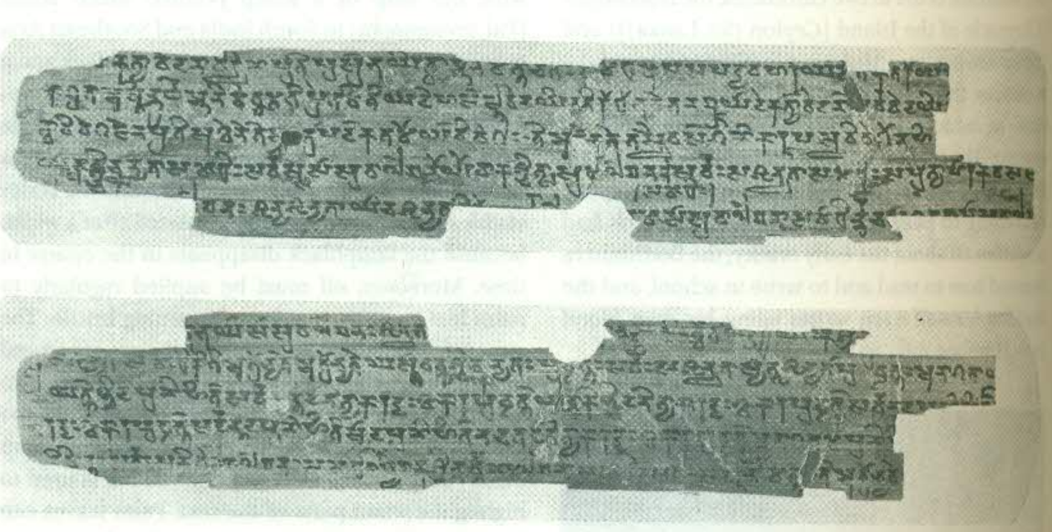

Fig. 4: Palm-leaf manuscript from Central Asia, (ca. 3rd century) (Waldschmidt & Wille 10/1, 1965, Tafel 2).

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In Burma, moreover, it is
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ornamental script.

The individual folios of pal
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upper and lower sides. Very
"bound" books fall apart, becau
break in the course of time. Lo
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the colophons (see below).

Sometimes, individual folios
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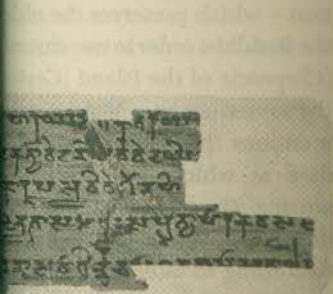

965, Tafel 2).

during the 6th and 7th centuries when the Gilgit manuscripts (see below) were copied (Kishore, 1963–1964). Moreover, Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts are written on a local variety of paper (Trier, 1972), and so are the folding books, which are called *parabaik* (or *pura puik*) in Burma and *samut khoi* in Thailand, where also black paper may be used, with the texts copied in white chalk. In Central Asia, Buddhist texts were in rare cases written also on wood or leather (see below).

Occasionally, other materials such as precious metals or ivory are mentioned in Buddhist literature as a writing material besides cloth (Skt. *paṭa*; Diskalkar, 1979; Sarma, 1985; Konishi, 2005–2006). Rarely, texts on costly materials are preserved such as the gold folios containing the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and other short texts, which were recovered from Prome (Pyay [Praññ]; see fig. 11) and Maunggun in Burma (Falk, 1997). Of a later date is a fragmentary manuscript of a large text, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (seven folios extant), also written on gold leaves and found during excavations in the Jetavana Monastery in Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka) in 1982 (von Hinüber, 1983; see fig. 12). On the special occasion of the celebration of the beginning of the year 1000 of the Cūḷasakkarāja era (i.e. Mar 31, 1638 CE), the king of Burma ordered the Tripiṭaka to be written on 1,008,000 folios of palm leaf and on 10,008 tablets each of ivory, gold, and silver (Tun, 1983, 92, 96, 98).

In Burma, moreover, it is usual to present to monks richly decorated lacquer manuscripts containing *kammavācā* formulas – formulas used in formal acts of the saṅgha – and written in special ornamental script.

The individual folios of palm leaf, birchbark, or paper are held together by a string, rarely wooden pegs, running through one or two holes pierced into each individual folio and through the wooden book covers that protect these piles of loose folios on the upper and lower sides. Very often, these loosely "bound" books fall apart, because the strings tend to break in the course of time. Losses affect mostly the first and last folios, and consequently particularly the colophons (see below).

Sometimes, individual folios are illuminated and book covers richly decorated. Consequently, both are an important source for book painting.

When the book is closed, the cotton strings are pulled and wrapped around the wooden book covers, thus forming a tightly closed package (see fig. 2). This again is wrapped in cloth and again secured by a second string from the outside. To identify the content, a wooden peg (Tha. *chalāk*) bearing the title of the book can be fastened to the outside of such a bundle in Thailand. In Burma, a ribbon (Bur. *cā caññḥ kruiḥ* [or *sazigyo*]) with the name of the owner and the aspiration for merit worked into it may be wrapped around the book (Peters, 2006).

There is no typically "Buddhist" script, with one possible exception, the *bhaikṣukī lipi* ("script of the *bhikṣus*"; also called "arrow-headed script") found only in Buddhist texts of the Sāṃmitīya school (Hanisch, 2008). Otherwise, the manuscripts are written in a large variety of scripts differing according to time and place, all of which, with the exception of Kharoshthi which is based on the Semitic

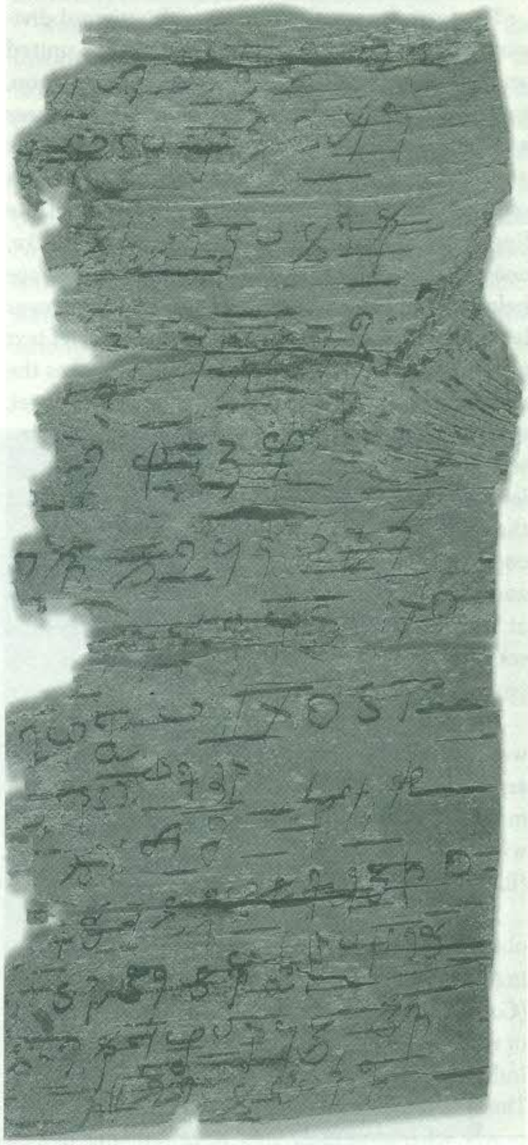

Fig. 5: Birchbark scroll, Kharoshthi script (Salomon, 1999, frontispiece).

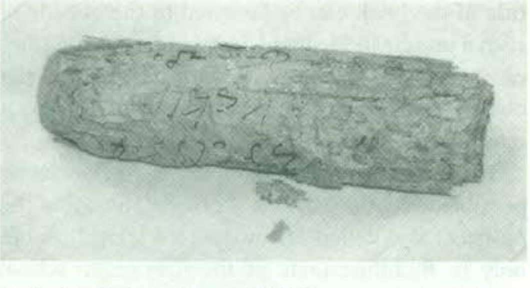

Fig. 6: Birchbark scroll unscrolled (Salomon, 1999, plate 6).

Aramaic alphabet and consequently written from right to left, are ultimately derived from the Brahmi script used in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The texts are usually written without word division, but occasionally groups of words are united and this unit is separated in manuscripts (Renou, 1957, 16n45; comp. Scharfe, 1967). Sometimes, verses are numbered (von Hinüber, 2013, xviii). Mistakes are occasionally corrected, and words or sentences omitted are added in the margin or between the lines by using different markers in the text (Einecke, 2009; Laut, 1992 [for Uighur manuscripts, see below]). The titles can be found either on a cover leaf or more often only in the colophon, a brief text at the end, which may contain a date as well as the name of the author and the title of the text (Vogel, 1974), the name of a scribe, donor, patron, monastery, and the like. Occasionally, colophons were copied and consequently the date of the exemplar that the scribe used is thus preserved besides that of the copy itself (von Hinüber, 2014b, 110; comp. Buescher, 2011, nos. 6–7 in the catalogue). These colophons are at the same time important, but so far little-used sources for Buddhist and Indian cultural history (von Hinüber, forthcoming).

How books in manuscript form (Skt. *pustaka*) were produced in India can be learned from a mediaeval legal Hindu text, the *Dānasāgara*, composed in Bengal by the Sena king Ballālasena (c. 1158–1179) with the help of his teacher Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (Ballālasena, 1956, ch. 43).

Manuscripts were and are highly estimated as objects of worship (Kim, 2013), while books containing "heretical" scriptures were occasionally burnt (Collins, 1990, 98). Special stands used for reading or worshipping books are known from Thailand and India (von Hinüber, 2013, xxivn34; Kim, 2013, 26). There is some faint evidence that, like in Tibetan prayer wheels, manuscripts were put into revolving cases to "mechanize" recitation also in India (Schopen, 2005). Old and worn manuscripts containing Buddhist texts could be ritually interred in pots (Salomon, 2009). In Thailand, they were and are sometimes burnt and the ashes are incorporated into Buddha images.

Hardly anything is known about Buddhist libraries in ancient India. Only the holdings of the library of Gilgit (see below) survive. There is, however, some evidence from Southeast Asia (von Hinüber, 2013, xxivff.) and library buildings are common in present day Thai Buddhist monasteries (see fig. 7).

The oldest extant Buddhist (and Indian) manuscripts stem from the northwestern corner of the Indian cultural area, Gandhara. The very oldest manuscript was for many decades a version of the *Dhammapada* written on birchbark in Kharoshthi script and Gandhari language, which was bought by the French explorer Jules Léon Dutreuil du Rhins (1846–1894) in about 1892 near Khotan in Central Asia (Brough, 1962, 2). Since 1993, however, a still growing number of even older Buddhist manuscripts of the same type have become available. The exact provenance of these manuscripts is unknown, but Afghanistan or the northwestern provinces of Pakistan are a likely guess (Salomon, 1999, 68). According to carbon dating, the oldest among these manuscripts might date back to before the start of the Common Era. These dates are partly confirmed by paleography when the script of the manuscripts is compared to that of dated Kharoshthi inscriptions.

These Kharoshthi manuscripts are preserved today in the various collections: the British Library fragments (Salomon, 1999), the Schøyen collection

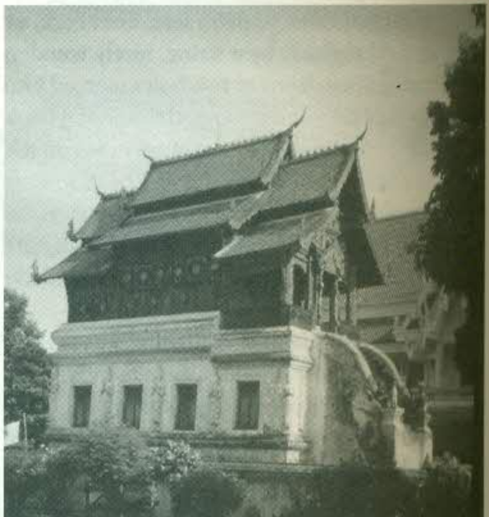

Fig. 7: Library Building in a Thai monastery (Vat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai).

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(Kharoshthi texts written on palm leaf; Braarvig, 2000–2006), the Senior manuscripts (Salomon, 2003; Allon, 2009), the Bajaur collection (Falk & Strauch, 2013), the "split" collection (Falk & Strauch, 2013), and some few but important fragments in the Fond Pelliot of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Salomon, 1998). Texts from the British Library and Senior collections have been and are published in Seattle in the series Gandharan Buddhist Texts (Jongeward *et al.*, 2012, 310).

Following the exploration of Buddhist Central Asia during the first quarter of the 20th century, numerous mostly fragmentary manuscripts on paper but rarely also on palm leaf imported from India, or on birchbark but rarely on wood (Nakatani, 1987), or even on leather (Sims-Williams, 2000, 275), were recovered by British, French, German, Japanese and Russian expeditions. The manuscripts thus collected are preserved in London, Paris, Berlin, Kyoto, and Saint Petersburg. Only the Sanskrit texts of the Turfan collection in Berlin are almost completely catalogued (Waldschmidt *et al.*, 1965–2008; with copious facsimiles in X/1–3), while there is a survey of the Hoernle collection in the holdings of the British Library (Hartmann & Wille, 1992; Sims-Williams, 2006). A substantial part of the fragments from all collections is edited in a large number of various publications. Texts from the Turfan Collection began to appear in the series Kleinere Sanskrittexte (1–5; 1911–1939; Hoffmann & Sander, 1987) continued as Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden (1–13; 1955–1990) with selected manuscripts also published as facsimiles (Waldschmidt, 1963). The palaeography of these Sanskrit manuscripts is described in great detail by L. Sander (1968). Fragments from the Hoernle Collection in the British Library are published together with facsimiles (Karashima & Wille, 2006–2009). The manuscripts brought back by the Ōtani Mission (1902–1913), led by Kozui Ōtani (1876–1948) and kept today in Kyoto, are briefly described by Y. Wakahara (2010).

Numerous Sanskrit manuscripts are kept in the Institut vostokovedenija (Oriental Institute) in Saint Petersburg. These were also acquired from Central Asia partly by the Russian consul Nikolaj Fedorovič Petrovski (1837–1908) in Kashgar (from 1882 onward). Others were found during excavations, among them the Bairam Ali manuscript discovered near Merv in Turkmenistan in 1966, which is the westernmost findspot of any Buddhist manuscript (Bongard-Levin, 1975–1976, 78). It contains among other texts part of the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*,

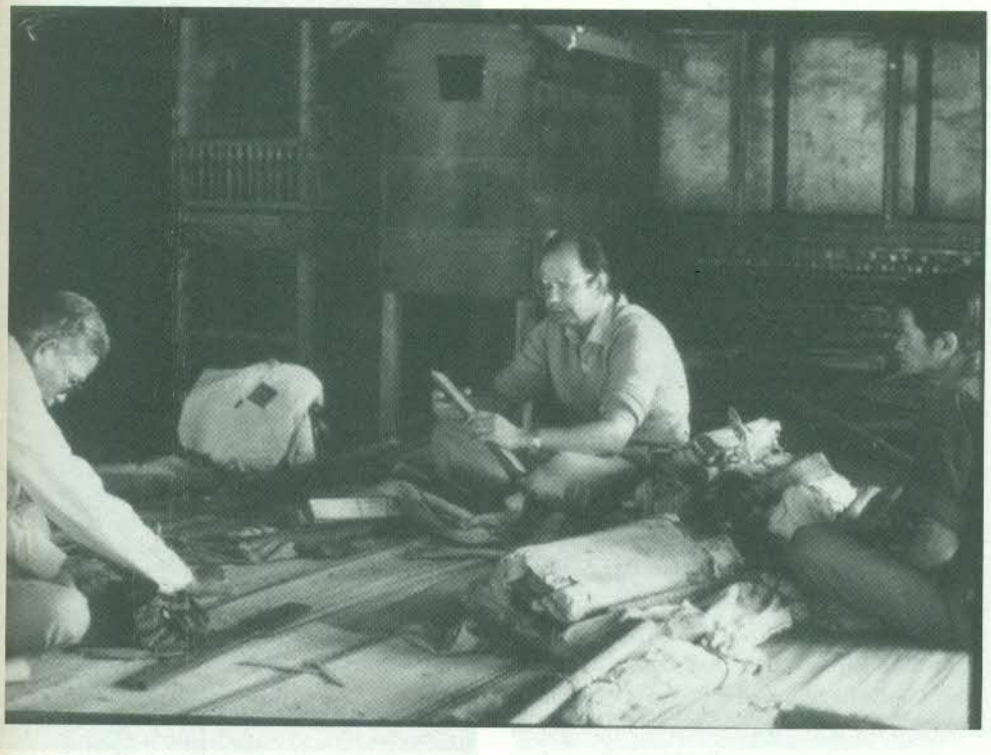

Fig. 8: Sorting out the holdings of a monastic library (Vat Lai Hin, north Thailand).

which is confirmed by the colophon mentioning the scribe Mitraśreṣṭhī, a Vinaya expert (Skt. *vinayadhara*) and Sarvāstivādin; such information on school affiliation is extremely rare in colophons. The holdings of the Institut Vostokovedenija are partly published in three volumes of the series Pamâtniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii (Monuments in Indian Script from Central Asia; Bongard-Levin & Vorob'ëva-Desâtovskaâ, 1985, 1990, 2004), which form at the same time part of the Bibliotheca Buddhica (see below).

At the turn of the millennium, numerous (about 5000) fragmentary Buddhist texts from Afghanistan were acquired by the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen as part of his huge manuscript collection. These fragments, which are being edited since 2000 in the series Manuscripts from the Schøyen Collection: Buddhist Manuscripts (Braarvig, 2000, 2002, 2006; Braarvig & Liland, 2010), contain texts dating from Kushana times to approximately the 7th century. Some of them can be attributed to the Mahāsāṃghika school. The palaeography of this collection is investigated by L. Sander (2010).

Together with this Buddhist Sanskrit literature found in Central Asia, manuscripts containing texts in a variety of languages other than Sanskrit and in various scripts (Maue, 1997) were discovered since the early 20th century, among them the Iranian languages Khotanese (or Saka; Emmerick, 1992), Sogdian (Utz, 1978; Yoshida, 1991), and very rarely even Bactrian (Sims-Williams, 2000). Khotanese manuscripts, written in a variety of the Indian Brahmi script between the 7th and the 10th centuries (Sander, 1984; 1988; for facsimiles, see Leumann, 1934; Bailey, 1938; and Vorob'ëv-Desâtovskij & Vorob'ëva-Desâtovskaâ, 1965), were found mostly in the Khotan area as well as in Tumshuq on the northern branch of the Silk Road (Emmerick, 1985; comp. Schmidt, 1988). Sogdian manuscripts, which are written in a script that was derived from Aramaic like Kharoshthi (see above) and can be written either vertically or horizontally (Yoshida, 2013), are to be dated to the 8th and 11th centuries (Henning, 1958, 54ff.). They were found at Turfan in Xinjiang and Dunhuang in Gansu (McKenzie, 1976). Collections of Khotanese manuscripts are listed by P.O. Skjærvø (2002, xxxiv) and those of Sogdian manuscripts by X. Tremblay (2001, 203–206).

An unusual paper manuscript discovered in Dunhuang contains a fragment of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā* not in Chinese characters but transcribed into the variety of Indian Brahmi script otherwise used for late Khotanese texts (Emmerick & Pulleyblank, 1993).

Buddhist manuscripts, which were also written in a variety of the Brahmi script (Schmidt, 1997; Tamai, 2011, comp. Pinault, 2012; for facsimiles, see Sieg & Siegling, 1921) but in an unknown Indo-European language named Tocharian after its decipherment (Durkin-Meisterernst, 2013), and which were copied between the 5th(?) and 8th century, began to surface on the northern Silk Route in the Tarim Basin in the early 20th century. They are preserved today mostly in Berlin (for the catalogue, see Schaefer, 2013), London, Saint Petersburg, and Paris and in the Ōtani collection in Tokyo and Kyoto (Pinault, 1991, 234ff.; 1994).

Furthermore, there are Buddhist manuscripts found in Turfan in a non-Indo-European language, the old Turkic Uighur (Elverskog, 1997). Uighur manuscripts and block prints dating from the 9th to the 14th century are written either in a variety of the Indian Brahmi script, or mostly in a script derived from the Sogdian, or, very rarely, even in Tibetan script. The larger part of the holdings of Uighur manuscripts and block prints in Germany preserved mainly in the Turfan Collection at Berlin are catalogued by D. Maue, among others (Maue,

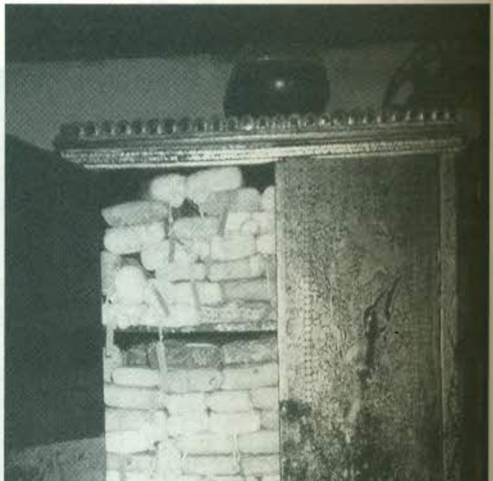

Fig. 9: Cupboard for manuscripts (Vat Sung Men, Phrae, north Thailand).

1996; Raschmann, 2012). The c
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1996; Raschmann, 2012). The colophons of these manuscripts are investigated by P. Zieme (1992) and Y. Kasai (2008).

Occasionally, new finds are recorded from Xinjiang, such as the spectacular discovery in 1959 of 293 fragments of the Uighur *Maitrisimit* (The Encounter with Maitreya), followed by the discovery of about 450 fragments of this text in a cave near Hami in Xinjiang in 2012, as well as of 20 folios of the Uighur version of a lost Sanskrit original entitled *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (Collection of Great Deeds [Called] Ten Courses of Action; Laut, 1996) and 44 folios of the Tocharian *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* (The Drama [Called] the Encounter with Maitreya) at the Buddhist ruins at Šorčuq (Chn. Qigexing) near Yanqi (Karashahr; the ancient Tocharian city Agni) in 1974 (Geng, Laut & Pinault, 2004, 349).

The most spectacular single find of Indic Buddhist manuscripts occurred by chance in the small village Naupur near Gilgit (today northern Pakistan) in 1931. Subsequent excavations conducted at the site in 1938 brought to light a few more partly complete texts.

At present, it is impossible to exactly count the Buddhist and other manuscripts or texts once preserved in the Gilgit library, because after discovery many manuscripts were split up, the folios confused and never sorted out or rearranged. By way of an estimate, there were approximately 50 manuscripts containing about 57 titles, and in addition 17 *avadāna* texts, which perhaps formed parts of one or more collections. The largest manuscript is a voluminous, though incomplete, *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. Exceptionally well-documented are the otherwise little-known *Saṃghāṭasūtra* (eight mss.), besides the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (five mss.) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (four mss.). Furthermore, there are various *sūtra*, abhidharma, and other texts as well as texts on Indian logic (von Hinüber, 2012; 2014).

This material allows a rare glimpse into the structure of an ancient Buddhist library, because no comparable collection from ancient India has come down to us (see above). It is important to note that this library comprised not only Buddhist texts, but also a grammar, small fragments of various medical texts such as the *Carakasaṃhitā* and Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, and non-Buddhist narrative literature (the *Tantrākhyāyika*).

Most of the manuscripts discovered in 1931 are published as facsimiles. The first editions were prepared by Nalinaksha Dutt (1893–1973) and published in the series Gilgit Manuscripts in three volumes comprising nine parts from Srinagar and later from Calcutta between 1939 and 1959. A comprehensive survey of the Gilgit manuscripts, of editions and facsimiles is given by O. von Hinüber (2013b).

The majority of complete Buddhist texts in different varieties of Sanskrit is preserved in Nepal, where, in contrast to India (with the exception of the deserts in Rajasthan), the climate allows for a longer life of books. Therefore the once extremely rich Buddhist manuscript tradition of India was lost almost completely after the decline and final disappearance of Buddhism during the Muslim period, when the necessary replacement of worn out manuscripts by recopying ceased. An exception are a few fairly old manuscripts, which are extant because they were either brought to Tibet and survived (Steinkellner, 2004; Krasser, 2013), or were taken from Bengal to Nepal later at the time of the Muslim conquest of eastern India during the 13th century. Moreover, there is one single Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript containing the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* found in Kerala and copied perhaps in the 16th or 17th century by a scribe coming from North India (Ganapati Sastri, 1920–1925; comp. also Vaidya, 1964), and manuscripts of three Buddhist texts in Tamil. The *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* (also known as the *Sucandrāvadāna*), a Buddhist text also found among the Gilgit Manuscripts (see above), is preserved and used by the Śvetāmbara Jaina community (Jaini, 1968).

The first Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were sent from Nepal to Europe by Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), the second British resident in

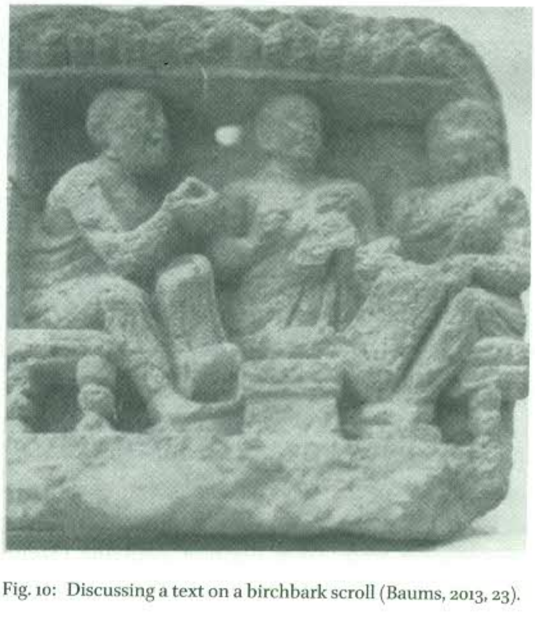

Fig. 10: Discussing a text on a birchbark scroll (Baums, 2013, 23).

Kathmandu in accordance with the Sagauli Treaty (1816). Brian Houghton Hodgson, who stayed in the country from 1820 to 1843, provided manuscripts for Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852), professor at the Collège de France in Paris and one of the pioneers of Buddhology in Europe. On the basis of these manuscripts, Eugène Burnouf prepared his famous *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* in 1844 and his still invaluable translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* in 1852 (Yuyama, 2000; Kotsuki, 2008). Other manuscripts were procured for Cambridge University by Daniel Wright, surgeon to the Kathmandu Residency between 1866 and 1876. C. Bendall (1856–1906) described them in a catalogue with a groundbreaking historical introduction (Bendall, 1883). Later, in 1884–1885 and in 1898–1899, C. Bendall himself traveled to Kathmandu and discovered among others the oldest manuscript preserved in Nepal, a copy of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* dating back perhaps to about 500 CE (Matsuda, 1996), and, strangely enough, a fragment of the Theravāda *Vinayapiṭaka* written in Pali and in a local northern script, which is approximately two or three centuries younger (von Hinüber, 1991). A second important early catalogue of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts in the Durbar Library in Kathmandu was prepared by H.P. Shastri (1905; 1915; 1989).

The heritage of Buddhist manuscripts preserved in Kathmandu, which is still very rich, suffered much from negligence particularly during the 19th century, when centuries-old manuscripts as well as coins and copperplates, some dating back to late Gupta times, were carelessly discarded, once a Buddhist monastery fell into disuse (Bendall, 1883, xxxix). Buddhist manuscripts from public and private collections in the Kathmandu valley were preserved in the form of microfilms by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project from 1970 to 1999 (Grünendahl, 1989). One copy each of this microfilm collection – which also contains a large number of Buddhist manuscripts, for instance old manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* (Yuyama, 2001) – is preserved in the National Library of Nepal in Kathmandu, and in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz. At present, the texts on microfilms are being catalogued in Hamburg. A similar project, restricted to Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal, was carried out in Japan (Takaoka, 1981). Holdings of Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal are also catalogued by S. Lienhard (1988) and H. Buescher (2011).

It was only during the 1930s that Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet became available (Steinkellner, 2004). During three journeys (in 1934, 1936, and 1938), the Indian scholar Rahula Sankrityayana (1893–1963) was able to trace and to photograph Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in different monasteries. These photographs are preserved in the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna and at the Seminar für Indologie und Tibetologie in Göttingen (Bandurski, 1994; Bretfeld, 1997). They are edited in the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series published in Patna since 1953, including the *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya*, the Patna *Dhammapada*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Almost simultaneously the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) traveled widely in Tibet and Nepal and photographed or collected Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, which are held in the library of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome (Sferra, 2008).

In the late 20th century, more Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet became accessible. The varied fate of these Sanskrit manuscripts during the difficult period between 1960 and 1995 is traced in H. Hu-von Hinüber (2006; contains a survey of publications). In spite of a handlist of 259 titles prepared by Wang Sen (Hu-von Hinüber, 2006, 297–334), the content of the Tibetan collection is far from being known in detail. A small number of texts such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Abhisamācarikādharma*, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are available as facsimile editions, usually prepared in cooperation with Japanese scholars (Hu-von Hinüber, 2006, 294f.). Text editions are being published systematically from Vienna since E. Steinkellner signed a memorandum for a joint venture of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Austrian Academy of Sciences) and the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies in Beijing in 1996 (Steinkellner, 2004, 35f.). So far, volumes 1–8, 11 and 14 have appeared in the series Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region between 2005 and 2013. Current Chinese activities to edit Buddhist texts within various projects are described by H. Luo (2013) and Saerji (2013).

In a very early period, Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts dating back to the second half of the 1st millennium were brought from China to Japan, where some folios survive in various temples. Around 1880 they attracted much attention in Europe as the oldest Buddhist manuscripts then known to be extant. Some of them were published immediately in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Müller, 1881). A copy of the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra* was brought back to Japan by the founder of the Shingon sect, Kūkai, who stayed in China from 804 to 806 and who is supposed to have copied the text himself, of which

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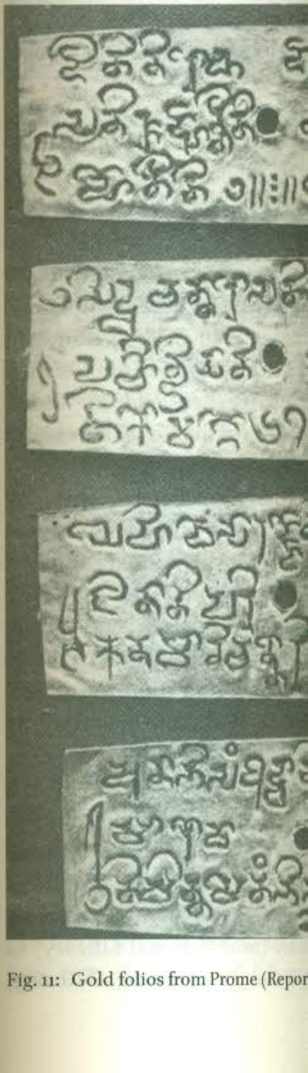

Fig. 11: Gold folios from Prome (Repor

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only the Kōyasan Fragment survives (Yuyama, 1981). Besides temples, several universities in Japan hold important collections of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts (e.g. Matsunami, 1965).

Of course many Buddhist Sanskrit texts are found in different libraries all over the world. These are described in a large number of catalogues mostly together with other manuscripts from India (Janert, 1965). A comprehensive survey of titles of texts is provided by the yet uncompleted *New Catalogus Catalogorum* published in Madras in a revised edition since 1968. The journal *Dhīḥ: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research* reports regularly on manuscripts and texts since 1986 (thus far 53 issues).

Editions of Buddhist texts have appeared as individual volumes or in various series such as the Bibliotheca Buddhica, the Sobranie buddijskih tekstov izdavaemyh Imperatorskoj Akademieju Nauk published in Saint Petersburg since 1902, and the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts published in Darbhanga, Bihar, since 1958.

In contrast to India, where Buddhism disappeared, an unbroken and old tradition of Pali texts belonging to the Theravāda school survives in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. However, the manuscripts actually preserved (for a survey of catalogues, see von Hinüber, 2013a, 252–258) in these areas are considerably younger than those found in the north. With the exception of the gold-leaf manuscripts from Burma and Sri Lanka and the *Vinayapiṭaka* fragment found in Nepal (see above), these manuscripts date from late 15th century onward. Of course this does not mean that this tradition as such is more recent, because there is obviously no connection at all between the age of a manuscript and the date of the text that it conveys.

All Pali manuscripts are ultimately based on the texts of only one monastery, the Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura, with the exception of faint traces of a South Indian text tradition in some Burmese *jātaka* manuscripts (von Hinüber, 1998, 181). The texts of the Mahāvihāra might be based ultimately

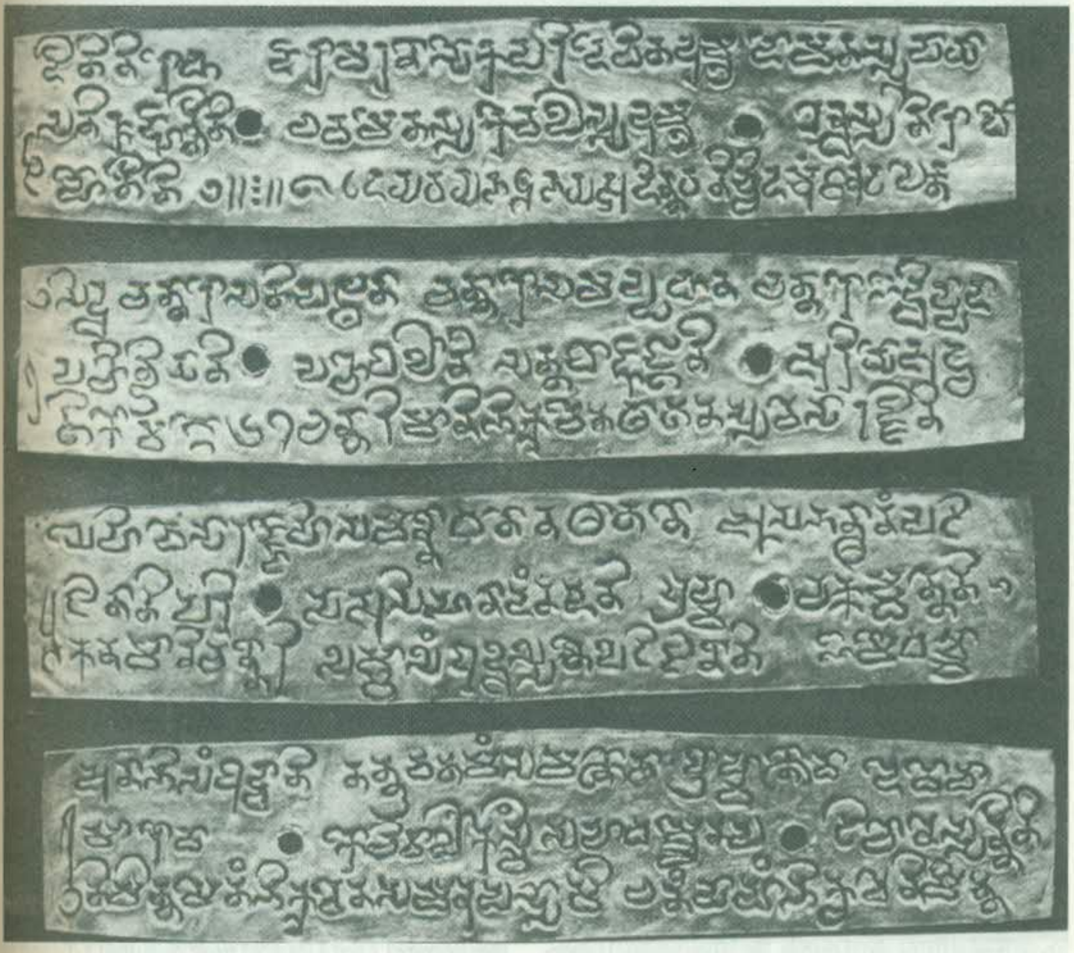

Fig. 11: Gold folios from Prome (Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma, 1938–1939; Rangoon, 1940, plate Va).

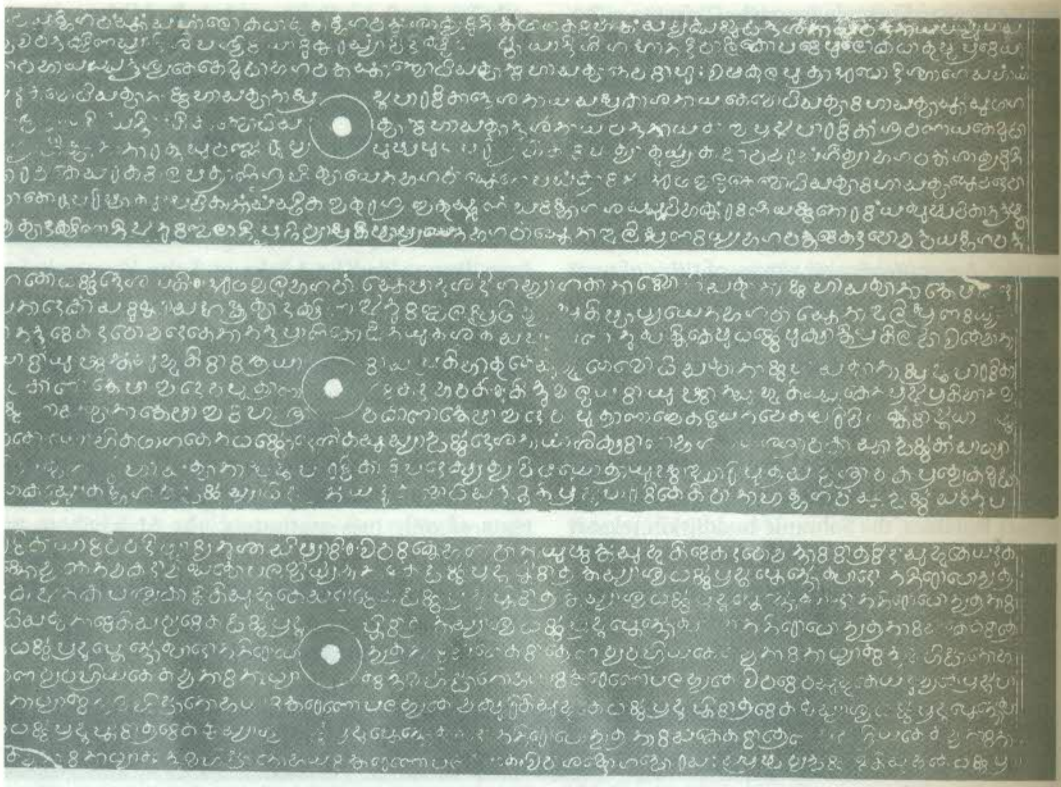

Fig. 12: *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* on gold leaves from Anuradhapura (lose sheet of paper published in Sri Lanka in about 1980).

on the ones of the 1st century BC. However, nothing can be known about the development of the wording before it was consolidated by the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, and others from about 400 CE. A comparison of the Nepalese *Vinayapiṭaka* fragment and the ancient manuscripts from north Thailand with modern editions shows that the text was very stable, quite in contrast to the northern tradition in which almost every manuscript of the same text found at Gilgit shows at times considerable differences in wording. But that the Theravāda manuscript tradition stands out as particularly careful and well preserved may be an illusion due to the fact that canonical texts are better protected against changes than their northern counterparts, which existed as separate texts outside the canon.

During a crisis of Buddhism in Ceylon during the late 18th century, some Pali texts were completely lost and had to be reintroduced from Siam (today Thailand; Supaphan, 1988; von Hinüber, 1988b). The exact extent of the rich manuscript tradition of Ceylon is not known at present, despite different surveys (Somadasa, 1959, 1964; Blackburn, 2002; Ñāṇatusita 2013; comp. de Silva, 1938). Important collections of Buddhist manuscripts from Ceylon include the voluminous Nevill Collection in the British Library (Somadasa, 1987–1995) and the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which holds comparatively old Pali manuscripts acquired by Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) in 1821–1822 in Ceylon. Buddhist manuscripts from Sri Lanka preserved in German libraries are listed by H. Bechert and M. Bidoli (1969–1997; for the holdings of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, see Godakumbura, 1980). .

While manuscripts from Sri Lanka contain mostly a rather conservative text, the monks in Burma tended toward innovation in the wording, following the teaching of the highly influential grammar composed by the Burmese grammarian Aggavaṃsa, completed in 1154 CE (von Hinüber, 1988a). Hardly anything is known about the Pali tradition of the Mon, which was, it seems, ultimately absorbed by the Burmese tradition.

The important collection of manuscripts in the possession of the last king of Burma was split up after the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, with approximately one quarter acquired by the India Office Library (now British Library) and the rest by the Bernard Free Library (now National Library) in Yangon (Rangoon). A catalogue of this royal library,

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Fig. 13: Reading and writing palm-leaf

the *Piṭakatthamain* (*Piṭakat-tō-*
piled from memory in 1888 by
to King Mindon (1808–1878; r. f
successor Thibaw (1859–1916; r
(Maṅ:-krī: Mahāsiriteya-sū [=
manuscripts actually extant and
listed by V. Fausbøll (1894), and
the *Catalogue of Pāli and Burme*
scripts Belonging to the Library
Burma Found in the Palace at Ma
The holdings of German librarie
H. Bechert (1979ff.) and those in
Copenhagen by C.E. Godakumb

Manuscripts from monasterie
sionally offered for sale as anti
in Thailand. To protect them fr
and lost, a substantial number
by the Fragile Palm Leaves Fou
the mid-1990s by P. Skilling in
1997–2002).

The manuscript tradition of T
two branches, which use diffe
north, characters similar to the
written, while in the south, Kh
The much older northern branc
ment of the *jātaka* copied by th
in 1471 CE (von Hinüber, 2013,
undated fragmentary manuscrip
porary but hardly older.

A substantial number of Pali
quality was copied during the lat
turies in monasteries of the vill
is submerged today by the Bhu
the most part, they are preserve
a monastery near Lampang in
(Lanna), while a few of the sa
way into the National Library

t of paper published in Sri Lanka in

voluminous Nevill Collection
y (Somadasa, 1987–1995) and
openhagen, which holds com-
nuscripts acquired by Rasmus
821–1822 in Ceylon. Buddhist
Lanka preserved in German
y H. Bechert and M. Bidoli
ldings of the Royal Library in
akumbura, 1980).
from Sri Lanka contain mostly
text, the monks in Burma
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(von Hinüber, 1988a). Hardly
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of Upper Burma in 1886, with
uarter acquired by the India
ritish Library) and the rest by
ary (now National Library) in
catalogue of this royal library,

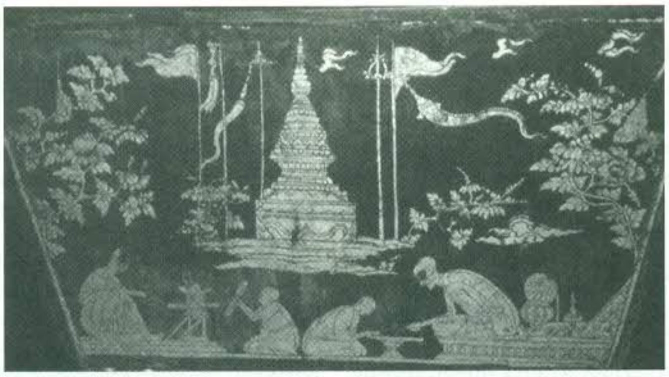

Fig. 13: Reading and writing palm-leaf manuscripts, with manuscript stand (book case, Vat Chang Kham, Nan, north Thailand).

the *Piṭakatthamain* (*Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅ:*), was compiled from memory in 1888 by the former librarian to King Mindon (1808–1878; r. from 1852) and to his successor Thibaw (1859–1916; r. 1878–1885), U Yan (Maṅ:-krī: Mahāsiriteya-sū [= U Yan] 2012). The manuscripts actually extant and now in London are listed by V. Fausbøll (1894), and those in Yangon in the *Catalogue of Pāli and Burmese Books and Manuscripts Belonging to the Library of the Late King of Burma Found in the Palace at Mandalay in 1886* (1910). The holdings of German libraries are catalogued by H. Bechert (1979ff.) and those in the Royal Library in Copenhagen by C.E. Godakumbura (1983).

Manuscripts from monasteries in Burma are occasionally offered for sale as antiquities, particularly in Thailand. To protect them from being dispersed and lost, a substantial number has been acquired by the Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation initiated in the mid-1990s by P. Skilling in Bangkok (Skilling, 1997–2002).

The manuscript tradition of Thailand is split into two branches, which use different scripts: in the north, characters similar to the Burmese script are written, while in the south, Khmer script prevails. The much older northern branch begins with a fragment of the *jātaka* copied by the scribe Ñāṇaraṃsi in 1471 CE (von Hinüber, 2013, ms. no. 108). Some undated fragmentary manuscripts may be contemporary but hardly older.

A substantial number of Pali manuscripts of high quality was copied during the late 15th and 16th centuries in monasteries of the village Tha Soy, which is submerged today by the Bhumibol Reservoir. For the most part, they are preserved in the Vat Lai Hin, a monastery near Lampang in northern Thailand (Lanna), while a few of the same lot found their way into the National Library of Thailand or the Siam Society Library, both in Bangkok. These manuscripts preserve an excellent text tradition, which is sometimes even superior to the one in Sri Lanka or Burma.

The tradition in central Thailand is considerably younger because Buddhist manuscripts in both Pali and Thai suffered heavy losses during the wars with Burma in the 18th century, particularly after the destruction of the old capital Ayutthaya in 1756. A new set of the Tipiṭaka was compiled as the first Royal Edition in Bangkok in the late 18th century on the basis of Pali manuscripts in Mon, Lao, and Khmer scripts. The royal editions issued during the Rattanakosin era (since 1782) and preserved at Vat Phra Kaew, a temple in the royal palace in Bangkok, are not accessible.

Besides numerous libraries in individual monasteries, manuscripts are collected by the National Library in Bangkok. The holdings of the this library were catalogued during the beginning of the 20th century. However, these catalogues were virtually inaccessible before they were reissued in a revised form (Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002; 2004). There does not seem to be any published catalogue or list of acquisitions since 1925. Important collections of Southeast Asian Buddhist Pali manuscripts from Thailand are preserved at the Ōtani University Library (catalogue 1995) and in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Cœdès, 1966).

Palm-leaf manuscripts from Lanna are available in two substantial microfilm collections. During the years 1978–1990, the Social Research Institute at the University of Chiang Mai built up one collection, while the other one was brought together at the initiative of H. Hundius between 1986 and 1991. These microfilms are deposited at the library of the University of Chiang Mai and at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (von Hinüber, 2013, xff.). At present, they are being digitized.

A similar project, also initiated by H. Hundius, was conducted in Laos between 1992 and 2004. The results are accessible electronically and can be consulted in the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (see Web site). Lao manuscripts preserved in Germany are listed by K. Wenk (1976).

In Cambodia, efforts are being made to rebuild the manuscript tradition, which was almost completely destroyed during the Khmer Rouge regime (de Bernon, 2004; comp. Godakumbura, 1983).

The first Theravāda texts to reach Europe were a present by the Thai king Narai (1656–1688) to King Louis XIV of France (Filliozat, 2009). They were incorporated into the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris and served as the basis for the first Pali grammar (Burnouf & Lassen, 1826). The first complete Pali Buddhist text ever printed in Roman characters was the *Mahāvaṃsa*, edited and translated by G. Turnour (1799–1843) in Ceylon in 1837. The first critical edition was the *Dhammapada* by V. Fausbøll (1821–1908) in 1855. In 1881 T.W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922) founded the Pali Text Society, which has continued to publish Pali texts to the present (on the history of the Pali Text Society, see von Hinüber, 2007). Besides these editions, which are considered standard, there are excellent publications from the Theravāda countries. An unusual edition of the Tipiṭaka was ordered by the Burmese king Mindon, who had the complete text transferred from palm leaf to stone and engraved on 729 slabs between 1861 and 1868. This edition was checked and corrected during the fifth council (Pal. *pañcamī dhammasaṅgīti*) between 1868 and 1871 (Bollée, 1968).

The (almost) complete canon was printed for the first time in Thailand in 1893 to commemorate the 25th jubilee of King Chulalongkorn (1853–1910; r. from 1868; von Hinüber, 1997). Moreover, it is a custom in Thailand to print Buddhist texts on the occasion of the cremation of a high-ranking person. These "cremation books" are distributed as gifts to those attending the ceremony.

Part of the Sinhala manuscript tradition is available in the 49 volumes of the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series printed between 1917 and 1940, which comprises all commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) to the Theravāda Tipiṭaka including Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*. The commentaries have also been published on the basis of Thai manuscripts by the Mahamakut Buddhist University in Bangkok since 1920. The last comprehensive edition of the Tipiṭaka, with all commentaries and subcommentaries in 117 volumes (digitized as *Dhammagiripāliganthamālā* of the Vipassana Research Institute [see Web site]) was prepared on the basis of the Burmese manuscript tradition in Yangon on the occasion of the sixth council (Pal. *chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana*) in 1956 to mark the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's nirvāṇa.

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Oskar von Hinüber

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Although the earliest uses of writi
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century CE. A variety of formats a
developed over the centuries in
linked to the function of the book.
creation of a manuscript or printed
the main methods of generating
were an integral part of the Budd
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Manuscripts

The importance of books (used as a
for texts committed to writing) in T
culture is evident in the tradition
Buddhism first appeared in Tibet:
descent of books and other religio
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(r. 605[?]–649 CE), who is, unlike L
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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Manuscripts and Printing: Tibet

Although the earliest uses of writing in Tibet were not Buddhist, manuscripts and later printed books came to play a fundamental role in the development of the tradition. The earliest surviving Tibetan manuscripts are from Central Asian sites ruled by Tibetans during the Imperial Period, dating from the late 8th century. The earliest extant Tibetan woodblock prints are also from Central Asia, produced in the Tangut Kingdom (1038–1227 CE) in the 12th or 13th century CE. A variety of formats and writing styles developed over the centuries in Tibet, generally linked to the function of the book. Furthermore, the creation of a manuscript or printed book was one of the main methods of generating merit, and books were an integral part of the Buddhist economy of patronage, donation, and exchange as well as having active roles as sacred objects in Buddhist ritual practices.

Manuscripts

The importance of books (used as a general term here for texts committed to writing) in Tibetan Buddhist culture is evident in the traditional legend of how Buddhism first appeared in Tibet: the miraculous descent of books and other religious objects from the sky during the reign of an early king. According to the legend, King Lha tho tho ri was unable to read, and sealed the received books away for future generations (see Richardson, 1998; Stein, 1985). The Tibetan tradition places the advent of reading and writing in the reign of Emperor Srong btsan sgam po (r. 605[?]–649 CE), who is, unlike Lha tho tho ri, historically attested. This emperor is said to have sent his minister Thon mi Saṃbhota to India to find a model for the Tibetan alphabet. On his return, Thon mi Saṃbhota is said to have created the Tibetan alphabet from several Indian scripts, inventing six new letters for sounds that do not occur in Indian languages. In these traditional accounts, the invention of the Tibetan alphabet is linked to the formulation and writing down of the legal system, as well as the formation of the social hierarchy, division of the agricultural lands, and standardization of weights and measures (van Schaik, 2011).

Though there is no evidence for the historical existence of Thon mi Saṃbhota, the existence of writing and its use in the administration of the empire and the formulation of a legal code are confirmed by two entries in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the years 654/655 CE and 655/656 CE (Dotson, 2009, 85). At this time, the main writing materials seem to have been stone and wood. Only in the year 744/745 CE do the *Old Tibetan Annals* mention the replacement of wooden slips (*khram*) with paper (*shog*). The use of wooden slips for communication in the Tibetan Empire was confirmed by the discovery by M. Aurel Stein in the early 20th century of hundreds of them in the Tibetan forts at Miran and Mazar Tagh in the Taklamakan and Lop deserts, dating from the late 8th to the mid-9th century – these are part of the Stein collection, now held at the British Library (Thomas, 1951). In central Tibet, the oldest surviving examples of writing are stone inscriptions on pillars and rock faces recording edicts from the imperial court. The earliest of these, the Zhol pillar in Lhasa, dates from the 760s CE (on the early inscriptions, see Richardson, 1985; Iwao, Hill & Takeuchi, 2009).

The Tibetan forts in the Taklamakan and Lop deserts also yielded large numbers of paper manuscripts, mainly documents concerned with administrative and military matters. However, a few Buddhist texts have also been identified among this material, including a copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, several prayers, tantric *sādhana*s, and a Chan text. Many more Tibetan manuscripts were discovered in the "library cave" at the Dunhuang cave complex, now in major international collections in London, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Beijing, and elsewhere (van Schaik & Galambos, 2012).

The Tibetan manuscripts from the Dunhuang caves date from the early 9th to the early 11th century. Some of these seem to have been brought from central and eastern Tibet (and these are among the earlier manuscripts), but most were created in the local region. In the first half of the 9th century, several hundred copies of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* in 25,000 lines and the *Aparimitāyurnāmasūtra* were copied in Dunhuang at the order of Emperor Khri gtsug lde btsan (also known as Ral pa can; r. 815–841 CE). These were created in scroll form, with the

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Tibetan text arranged into columns so that the scroll could be read horizontally, in the same way as Chinese scrolls. However, due to the direction of writing Tibetan, the scrolls are read left to right, unlike Chinese scrolls (Iwao, 2013). The *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* texts were copied in scroll form and in the oblong loose-leaf form known as "*pecha*" (Tib. *dpe cha*; Skt. *pothi*). The local scribes used manuscripts that had been brought to Dunhuang from (probably eastern) Tibet as models for copying. Thus, the same manuscript formats and similar writing styles were in use in other parts of the Tibetan Empire in the early 9th century. Furthermore, other examples of these manuscripts, also copied in Dunhuang, have been found in the libraries of several monasteries in central Tibet, indicating that they were distributed after copying in Dunhuang (Ma De, 2009).

These early examples of the *pecha* form are paradigmatic for Buddhist manuscripts throughout the later history of Tibet. They are based on Indic palm-leaf manuscripts and are oblong and loose leaf; they usually have ruled margins and guidelines and often a string hole surrounded by a circle (for detailed analysis of one such manuscript, see Cantwell & Mayer, 2012; see also below).

Along with the horizontal scroll and *pecha* forms, early Tibetan manuscripts were written on vertically oriented scrolls, manuscripts in concertina format, stitched codex manuscripts, and single sheets of paper. There is some connection between genres of text and particular formats: major scriptural texts tended to be written as *pecha* manuscripts; collections of ritual texts were often in concertina format; the codex was often used for miscellaneous collections of short texts gathered together in a portable format. The discovery of manuscripts from around the 10th century in a stūpa in the Gatang region in central Tibet shows that the codex form was well distributed at this time (Pasang, 2007).

From the 11th century onward, the *pothi* or *pecha* became the standard format for Buddhist texts, with the other formats declining, though not disappearing. The concertina and codex form continued to be used, generally for relatively inexpensive manuscripts intended for personal use. The scroll form remained in use mainly for official documents. The manuscripts found in Tabo Monastery (Himachal Pradesh) have provided the largest group of material for the study of this period in the development of manuscript culture. The Tabo manuscript date from the 11th to 17th centuries, and represent the western Tibetan manuscript tradition. Among the earlier manuscripts, proto-canonical collections of scriptural texts have been identified (Pagel, 1999; for a catalogue, see Scherrer-Schaub & Harrison, 2009).

By the 13th century, more ornate forms of the *pecha* were being made, including the use of silver and gold inks on a dark blue ground (*mthing shog*), and a more elaborate use of illustration (Scherrer-Schaub & Bonami, 2002). Apart from gold and silver, precious and semiprecious materials – such as turquoise and coral – were also used in inks. Other features found in these high-status manuscripts include large ornate lettering on the first folio, sometimes raised in high relief, and elaborate interlocking key decorations around the text and miniatures (Helman-Ważny, 2014, 76–94).

These expensive, high-status manuscript productions are often multiple-volume sets of the canonical collections of the words of the Buddha, the Kanjur (*Bka' 'gyur*) and their Indic commentaries, the Tanjur (*Bstan 'gyur*), and the alternative canons of the Rnying ma and Bön schools. Single manuscripts in this style are usually of a few popular *sūtras*, including the various lengths of the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtras* and the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*. These manuscripts are often large, measuring some 60–90 cm in width (Cüppers, 2010). Less expensively produced manuscripts, smaller in size and often without illustration, were made for a much wider variety of Buddhist texts, including ritual works, philosophical treatises, and biographies. Manuscripts remained in production in Tibet in equal or greater numbers than printed texts through to the early 20th century (for examples, see Helman-Ważny, 2014, 64–75).

Printing

As with manuscripts, the oldest surviving examples of printing in the Tibetan script are from eastern Central Asia. The technology of printing in the Tibetan alphabet seems to have first been developed in the Tangut Kingdom, where the influence of Tibetan Buddhists was increasingly evident throughout the 12th and early 13th centuries. In the early 20th century, Tibetan manuscripts and block prints were recovered from the ruins of the Tangut city of Khara-Khoto, mostly dating from the 12th and 13th centuries (now kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, and the British Library; Iuchi, forthcoming).

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These early block prints are in three forms: the *pecha* format, codices, and single sheets. The codices are compendia of ritual texts such as *dhāraṇīs*, while the single printed sheets contain diagrams printed for ritual purposes such as divination and warding off evil influences (Shi Jinbo, 2005; Stoddard, 2010). Since the technology of woodblock printing was also used in Khara-Khoto to print manuscripts in the Chinese and Tangut scripts, it is likely that local printing techniques were adapted to the Tibetan script (Helman-Ważny 2014, 116–125).

The printing of Tibetan Buddhist texts increased during the period of Mongol rule over Tibet and China (1271–1368), often sponsored by queens at the Mongol court, and printed at Dadu, the capital of the Yuan dynasty on the site of modern Beijing. Texts associated with the Sa skya school, especially the key works of Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251), were printed, as were several *tantras*, such as the *Kālacakratantra* and *Guhyagarbhatantra*. This activity began in the late 13th century and continued to the end of the period of Mongol rule, and all of these printed books, known in Tibet as *hor par ma* ("Mongolian prints") share certain features, including Chinese page numbers, which were probably added for the convenience of the Chinese printers. Several of these Mongolian prints have been identified in the collections of Tibetan monastic libraries (van der Kuijp, 1993; Sangpo, 2010).

Another site of Tibetan printing activity in the late 13th century was modern Gansu province, where a commentary on the *Hevajratantra* by Sa skya Paṇḍita's successor 'Phags pa (1235–1280) was printed in 1273. There are also references in Tibetan literature to the printing of books in eastern Tibet as early as the beginning of 13th century, though there is currently no extant physical evidence of this activity (van der Kuijp, 2010, 453–455).

Fragments of printed books from the time of the Mongol Empire were recovered from the Central Asian sites of Turfan and Etsin Gol, and are now at the Berlin State Library (Taube, 1980). These show that a wide range of printed material was in circulation, alongside *pecha*-style books of Buddhist scriptures, including a concertina manuscript and single sheets of prayers printed under the image of a deity. Also found among these materials are smaller stamped papers with mantras or the classic *ye dharmā* formula encapsulating the Buddha's teaching. This Tibetan material was found among printed and stamped papers in other languages, including Chinese, Sanskrit, and Uighur, and some of the Tibetan prints are multilingual.

The earliest surviving printed book from central Tibet is dated to 1407, a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* by Haribhadra, printed under the aegis of the local ruler of La stod Lho region, Situ Lha btsan skyabs, to commemorate the death of his father Situ Chos kyi rin chen (d. 1402). The colophon celebrates Situ Chos kyi rin chen in terms of his similarities as a ruler to Kublai Khan, suggesting that this early printing activity in central Tibet was conceived on the model of Kublai's sponsorship of the printing of Tibetan Buddhist texts (Diemberger, 2014). The Yongle Kanjur, the first printed Tibetan canonical collection, was produced in 1410 in Beijing (Silk, 1996). In the 1420s and 1430s, the collected works of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) were printed with the sponsorship of the ruling house of Phag mo gru pa (Jackson, 1989, 1990; Sernesi, 2010). The production of printed books increased throughout the 15th century, with the establishment of many small printing houses (*par khang*) in central and western Tibet (Ehrhard, 2000). In the late 15th century, books of the life and songs of the hermit Mi la ras pa (also known as Milarepa; 1052–1111/1123) were printed and achieved wide circulation thanks to the activities of the *yogin* and devotee of Mi la ras pa, Gtsang smyon Heruka, his consort Kun tu bzang mo, and his disciples (Ehrhard, 2010; Sernesi, 2011; Clemente, 2007).

With the development of larger printing houses in the 17th and 18th centuries associated with particular Tibetan monastic establishments, printing activities became increasingly sectarian. This was particularly evident during the Ganden Podrang government established by the fifth Dalai Lama in the 17th century, during which printing activity was concentrated on the core texts of the ruling Gelug school, with the printing blocks of certain rival schools embargoed (Smith, 2004). Partially in response to this, the 18th and 19th centuries saw a major increase in the number and size of printing houses in eastern Tibet, in which existing and new collections of texts largely from the non-Gelug schools were printed. The printing house at Derge was particularly important and remains one of the largest of its kind (for a nicely illustrated volume, see Jin Ping, 2006). Several traditional printing houses are active in Tibetan cultural regions of China, as well as in Nepal, Bhutan, and India in the present day and are continuing to produce *pecha*-style books, although the modern codex-style book is becoming more popular.

Writing Style and Layout

The Tibetan script is based on the Indic Brahmi alphabet, in particular, the late Gupta style prevalent in northern India and Nepal in the 5th and 6th centuries, with elements of the early Siddhamatrika style from the 7th century (van Schaik, 2011; Scherrer-Schaub, 2012). It is written horizontally from left to right and has two main forms of punctuation, a syntactic separator in the form of a vertical bar known as *shad*, and a syllable separator in the form of a dot (elongated in some writing styles) known as *tsheg*. Just as certain manuscript forms were preferred for particular textual genres, as the scribal tradition developed in Tibet, the most important distinction in script styles was between the headed style of script (*dbu can*) used for Buddhist scriptures and other high-status texts, and a number of headless styles (*dbu med*) used for noncanonical Buddhist writing such as treatises and biographies. The highly cursive style known as *khyug* was (and still is) mainly used for letters and official documents. An elaborate cursive style with long descenders was used in the period of Mongol rule for official documents. With the development of printing, the headed style was used in the carving of woodblocks for its greater legibility.

The *mise-en-page* or layout of the text and other elements of the *pecha* manuscript page changed little through the history of Tibetan manuscripts. In most cases, vertical margins and horizontal writing guidelines were drawn before the manuscript was written. Often a hole was made in the page and surrounded by a circle; this could be a single hole in the middle of the page, or to one side, or two holes to either side. This feature was adopted from the conventions of Indic palm-leaf manuscripts, in which a string was threaded through the hole in order to hold the pages together. However, while palm-leaf manuscripts require tying because of their size and shape, paper manuscripts do not; the early manuscripts often have holes, though in most cases, there is no evidence that a string was threaded through them. In later manuscripts, from the 14th century onward, the hole was often replaced by an inked dot (Scherrer-Schaub & Bonami, 2002). Thus it seems that from an early stage, the string hole in Tibetan manuscripts functioned as a symbolic indicator of sacred status, adopted from Indic Buddhist manuscripts.

Margins and guidelines were usually made with faint black or red ink. Except in the case of gold and silver writing on a dark background, the usual color for text is black, with rubrication used to highlight specific aspects of the text, such as the main text in commentaries or the names of cited texts. Interlinear annotation, known as *mchan 'grel*, is seen in manuscripts from the 9th century onward and is usually in a small cursive form of the script. Interlinear annotation may be added to a commentary contained in the main text. It is linked to the activities of teaching and study and is not usually found in manuscripts produced as status objects, such as illuminated canonical collections.

In most manuscripts, the beginning of the text is marked with a feature known as *mgo yig*, literally the headletter. The simplest form of this mark is a curl opening to the left, a form derived from Indic manuscripts and inscriptions. In Tibetan manuscripts from the 10th century onward, more elaborate forms appear, adding further curls. In some manuscripts, the *mgo yig* appears at the beginning of the text on each recto side of the manuscript, regardless of whether a new text begins at that point. In early manuscripts, page numbers appear in the left margin, in the form of letters in various sequences, and numbers written as words (La Vallée Poussin, 1962, xv–xvi). Arabic-style numerals do not appear before the 12th century. In later manuscripts, the most common standard is for the volume to be represented by an alphabetic letter, followed by the page number. Along with this, an abbreviated form of the title of the text (or collection of text) may appear in the margin.

Over the following centuries, a relatively stable format and *mise-en-page* were developed for high-status manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures. These manuscripts have a title page made of several layers of paper stitched and glued together for strength, with the first few syllables of the text written in large size in gold or silver on a dark blue background, often protected with a rectangular piece of silk brocade, fixed at the top edge. Illuminations showing Buddhist deities or sages are placed to both the left and right of the text, and sometimes in the center as well. The following page, or several pages may be in the same format, with the text written in a smaller size. After this, the pages usually revert to black ink on an unpainted background, although the style of silver and/or gold on black is sometimes used throughout a manuscript. The final page of a manuscript often includes illustrations of one or more wrathful protector deities.

Printed books, of which the vast majority are in the *pecha* form, generally follow the layout of manuscripts in terms of margins, numeration, and text

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Materials and Functions

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layout. From the early Mongolian prints onward, printed books of high status sometimes include woodcut illustrations on the early pages, which may be hand colored. The very earliest printed books copy the string holes and circles of Buddhist manuscripts (Diemberger, 2012, 24). Later developments include doubled margins, creating a more clearly defined space around text and images (Erhard, 2000).

Materials and Functions

During the Tibetan Empire, stone, wood, and paper were all used as supports for writing. The use of different materials was generally determined by the function of the text: stone for major edicts and proclamations, wood for very brief administrative notes and military communications, and paper for these functions and all others. Paper, the manufacture of which was probably learnt from China and Central Asia, came into general use in the mid-8th century, and the earliest surviving examples date from the late 8th or early 9th century. Paper-fiber analysis has shown that different types of paper were produced in different areas, based on the availability of raw materials. Among the Central Asian manuscripts, those produced locally are generally made from rag paper, those that were made in central Tibet are constructed from Daphne or Edgeworthia fibers (Tib. *shog shing* or *dung lo ma*), and those produced in eastern Tibet were made from the bark of the paper mulberry (bot. Broussonetia).

In later centuries, most paper was made from Daphne or Edgeworthia fibers, or from the Stellera chamaejasme species (Tib. *re lcag pa*) and, more rarely, Euphorbia fisheriana (Tib. *re lcag gi rtsa ba*). The latter two are derived from the root of the plant and were generally used at higher altitudes, where Daphne or Edgeworthia was not available. Paper was generally made on fixed-wove molds, with the paper left to dry in the frame, unlike Chinese paper, which was made on a sieve mold from which paper sheets could be removed to dry. Thus Tibetan paper differs from Chinese in both materials and method (Helman-Ważny & van Schaik, 2013).

To make the paper surface suitably smooth for writing on, it was rubbed with wheat or barley powder. From the 11th century onward, dark blue paper was made by dying or by painting with a pigment like azurite. Though traditional sources refer to the blue paper as lapis lazuli, this material, which was extremely expensive, was probably only rarely used in this way. Finally, manuscripts were often placed between wooden boards, which could be elaborately carved, and secured with leather straps and/or wrapped in square textile covers (Selig-Brown, 2012; Helman-Ważny, 2014, 56–8). Books kept in libraries are usually identified by an inscribed textile strip that hangs down on one side. Textile writing supports were also used for manuscripts, though less frequently than paper. Silk was used for official edicts, hung or rolled up in scroll form. *Thangka* paintings, usually on silk or cotton, were often inscribed on the back, and sometimes on the front as well.

Scribes wrote using wooden or reed pens; an early 9th-century split-nibbed wooden pen was found in the Tibetan fort at Mazar Tagh (van Schaik, 2011, 56). Ink was, in most cases, made from carbonized plants or soot (lampblack) mixed with animal glue. Various pigments were used to create the red ink used for margins and rubricated texts in the manuscripts, including cinnabar, lead, zinc, and copper (van Schaik, Helman-Ważny & Nöller, 2015). Manuscripts written on blue paper used inks composed in part from silver and gold. A variety of other pigments were used in manuscript illumination.

Printing blocks were usually carved from locally available wood sources. The techniques for preparing blocks and printing from them are closely based on those found in earlier Chinese and Central Asian printing. First the individual blocks are cut to size. Scribes copy the text onto thin sheets of paper, which are placed face down on the printing blocks. Then a carver cuts out around the letters to create a finished block with letters, margins, and/or images in high relief. The blocks are checked, and errors can be corrected by the removal and replacement of a portion of the wood. Completed blocks are brushed with ink, before blank sheets of paper are pressed against them to take up the ink of letters (Helman-Ważny, 2014, 125–132).

Manuscripts and printed books were used in a variety of ways in Tibet. Their functions were not limited to the texts that they carried; as *gsung rten* ("the basis of [the Buddha's] speech") they embodied the sacred power of the Buddhist teachings in their physical presence and could be agents in ritual activity (Diemberger, 2012). Since many books were created for the purpose of generating merit, as mentioned above, often the function of a book after it had been created was simply as a receipt for merit, recorded in the colophon and guaranteed by the continuing physical existence of the book. Some books might serve as the means to generate further merit through recitation. On the one hand, monasteries in Tibet aimed to house at least one complete set of the

Kanjur and Tanjur, and the mere presence of these volumes in the monastery was considered to be highly auspicious, regardless of whether they were read. On the other hand, the recitation of the entire collection was considered an especially meritorious activity. The recitation of certain *sūtras*, particularly one of the versions of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, could be sponsored in order to accomplish various ends, such as warding off illness.

The physical copies of the Kanjur and Tanjur could also be used for ritual purposes that did not involve reading; for example, the entire set of volumes might be carried in a ritual procession. Furthermore, books were considered to have ritual efficacy largely unrelated to the texts therein, and they could be used for magical purposes such as ensuring a good harvest. Other manuscripts and prints that were created for merit-generating and apotropaic purposes were single sheets containing Buddhist prayers or magical diagrams, which could be worn for protection, or placed in a suitable position in the house, usually above the front doorway. Prayer flags perform a similar role. Printed texts were also placed inside statues and stūpas in the ritual of consecration, and placed inside wheels to be turned by hand or by water (Bentor, 1996).

Many manuscripts and prints were created for specific ritual functions. Manuscripts are often miscellanies of ritual texts for medical, funerary, and other uses. These are usually of a portable size, sometimes stitched to make them easier to consult. Larger collections of tantric texts containing rituals for ceremonies of blessing, granting permission, and empowerment are read by the lama performing the ritual. Similar texts, or text collections, are used by practitioners in the course of their regular recitation practices. In all cases, books, or even book fragments, are treated as objects worthy of reverence, and Buddhists frequently advise their students on the proper treatment of books; for example, they should be kept on high shelves and never stepped over or on.

In monasteries where texts are taught and studied, manuscripts and printed books provide the basis for this work. Since memorization was central to the practice of learning, the book provided the basis for the memorization of a text. Books, often annotated with interlinear notes, played a role in the practice of teaching, usually through oral commentary on the text contained in the book. The ritual recitation of the text also served the purpose of authorizing students to study the text themselves. This transmission through reading is known as "spoken transmission" (*ljags lung*) or "book transmission" (*dpe cha'i lung*), or simply "transmission" (*lung*). This transmission establishes the student and teacher in a lineage traced back to the text's source, which in many cases will be the Buddha Śākyamuni himself.

The practice of note taking is attested in a number of manuscripts from the Dunhuang library cave that appear to contain students' notes and others that show signs of being taken down from dictation (Kapstein, 2006; van Schaik 2007). Furthermore the many texts of instruction called *zin bris* or *brjed byang*, referring to their origin as students' notes, suggest that the practice was common from the 11th century onward. An interesting specific case is the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā*, a student's notes on the treatises of Candrakīrti taken by a Tibetan in the Indian monastic university of Vikramaśīla, in the Sanskrit language but in Tibetan script (see Yonezawa, 2004ff.). In Tibet, through to the 20th century, children learning to write used a wooden board painted black, on which letters could be written and erased.

Social Context

Tibetan rulers, explicitly modeling themselves on their imperial predecessors, often sponsored major manuscript and print-copying projects. As late as the 20th century, the 13th Dalai Lama began a project to carve new blocks for the Buddhist canon on his return from exile in India, resulting in the "Lhasa Kanjur" (Vogel *et al.*, 1998). The sponsorship of the copying of scriptures is often mentioned in biographies of Tibetan lamas alongside other meritorious projects such as the establishment or refurbishment of monasteries and the building of stūpas. Very large sums were spent on scripture-copying projects. For example, a complete set of manuscripts of the Kanjur produced in central Tibet in the 17th century cost 300 kg of silver (*dngul srang*) for 114 volumes (Cüppers, 2010, 125). A complete set of block prints of the Kanjur made in Derge in the 18th century, comprising 103 volumes and requiring the carving of 66,000 wooden blocks, cost 7,622 ingots of gold, roughly equivalent to 1,275 kg of silver (Schaeffer, 2009, 105; see also Chaix, 2010).

There is no evidence that there was ever a significant book market in Tibet: rather manuscripts and printed books were created according to demand, directly funded by donations from sponsors (Diemberger, 2012, 33). The creation and circulation of Buddhist manuscripts and printed books in Tibet, as elsewhere in the Buddhist world, must

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e that there was ever a sig- in Tibet: rather manuscripts were created according to ed by donations from spon- , 33). The creation and circu- nuscripts and printed books in the Buddhist world, must

be understood in terms of the concept of merit, a causal force with positive effects including lengthening one's lifespan and ensuring a good rebirth in the next life. The merit gained by copying scriptures, mentioned in several Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, is considered to be gained not only by the scribe but also, and even more so, by the one who sponsors the creation of the manuscript. The names of sponsors are generally recorded in colophons; the greater the expense and the magnificence of the finished product, the greater the merit generated for the sponsor.

Documents from Dunhuang relating to the manuscript-copying project commissioned by Emperor Khri Gtsug lde btsan in the 9th century show how such projects were organized. Scribes were provided with allotted stacks of paper and expected to return these with the text copied in, with a small allowance for spoiled pages. Those who could not account for their pages could be punished through corporal punishment or confiscation of their property. These manuscripts were then checked by a proofreader (*zhus pa*) responsible for a group of scribes. At this stage, any pages with too many errors were removed and had to be rewritten. These pages might then be checked again by another proofreader. A supervisor (*gnyer pa*) responsible for all of the local scribes collected the resulting manuscripts and dealt with any infringements and punishments (Takeuchi, 1994). Though commissioned by the emperor, the whole endeavor was funded from local taxation (Iwao, 2009). The use of punishment and local taxation to fund Buddhist scripture-copying projects did come to be perceived as a problem, and later accounts of such projects emphasize the fair treatment and remuneration of workers (Schaeffer, 2009, 105), though in central Tibet at least, book production was still supported by local taxation in the 17th century (Cüppers, 2010, 122).

The imperial model remained an inspiration to later manuscript-copying projects. A colophon from a Tanjur-copying project in the 14th century shows that little changed over the centuries; the list of those involved includes the same roles of scribe, proofreader, and supervisor seen in the 9th-century records. The 14th-century colophon also mentions several other figures, including papermakers (*shog bzo ba*), page numberers (*grangs yig pa*), and collators (*gras mkhan*) as well as those who worked on the book covers, carvers (*rkos mkhan*), goldsmiths (*gdong rkos kyi gser bzo mkhan*), strap makers (*sku rags mkhan*), and blacksmiths who made the buckles for the straps (*sku rags kyi chab ma'i mhar ba*). A letter to the head scribes on another copying project by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) provides further details of the copying process in his time – for example, that the proofreading process involved a reader reciting the text aloud while the scribes checked their copies. Bu ston's letter also sets out aesthetic standards for manuscript production and mentions a method of correction seen as early as the Dunhuang manuscripts: pasting a piece of paper over the erroneous text and writing the correct text on top of it. The importance of the patron, and the fact that the manuscripts are to be considered his property, is stressed by Bu ston as a reason for the high standards expected of the scribes (Schaeffer, 2009, 21–27).

The cataloguing and editing of texts have been a feature of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition from an early stage. The major monasteries in Tibet all had libraries, with some, such as the libraries of Sakya and Ganden monasteries being famous for their extensive collections of Tibetan and Sanskrit manuscripts. The first catalogues of library holdings date back to the early 9th century, two of which are still extant: the *Ldan dkar ma* (alternatively spelled *Lhan kar ma*) and the *Phang thang ma* (for editions, see Lalou, 1953; Herrmann-Pfandt, 2008; Kawagoe, 2005). These are relatively simple lists of text titles, authors, organized thematically. The size of each book is also listed in terms of "verses" (*shlo ka*) and "volumes" (*bam po*). It has been pointed out that these terms were not always used literally, as *shlo ka* are also counted in prose texts and *bam po* does not necessarily correspond to physical volumes in the early manuscripts. One possibility is that *bam po* refer to the units of paper assigned to a scribe and were used to calculate scribes' pay (Scherrer-Schaub, 1989; van der Kuijp, 2009).

Later catalogues from the 13th and 14th centuries, such as the catalogue used as a basis for compiling the Buddhist canon by Bu ston, are more discursive and include elements of text criticism (Nishioka, 1980–1983). Tibetan scholars have been very much aware of problems deriving from scribal errors and other issues of faulty textual transmission (several examples of textual criticism are discussed in van der Kuijp, 2010). The scholar and editor Zhus chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697–1744) recorded in detail his editorial work on a major project of carving new printing blocks for the Buddhist canon commissioned by the king of Derge in the first half of the 18th century. Zhus chen discusses the multiple sources that he assembled for this task and criticizes many of them in strong terms, blaming inaccuracies on the faults of scribes as well as on the misguided emendations of previous editors. In order to avoid further corruption through misguided scribal corrections, Zhus chen imposed fines if scribes could not show that their emendations were based on an alternative exemplar. Zhus chen himself and other supervising editors were allowed to make emendations, and Zhus chen occasionally used Sanskrit manuscripts to clarify problems encountered in the Tibetan texts (Schaeffer, 2009, 94–103).

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Sam van Schaik

Manuscripts and Printing: East Asia

Although historically East Asia has been an arena where ethnically and politically diverse states alternated with one another, from the point of view of the history of Buddhism the region refers to an area now largely covered by China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Having said that, it is important to keep in mind that this division reflects the modern geopolitical reality, according to which state boundaries and national identities separate ethnically, culturally, and linguistically distinct regions. Diachronically, however, the situation was much more complex, as states, ethnicities, and languages interacted in a variety of ways. The languages and scripts used in the region today are merely the current state of affairs, which will no doubt continue to evolve in the future.

The written tradition of Buddhism in East Asia has been dominated by texts written in Chinese, and this shared tradition in turn helps to define the cultural boundaries of the region. The role of the Chinese language and script in this part of the world cannot be exaggerated, as it was used not only in the context of Buddhism but also for the spread of other cultural influences, most notably Confucianism. At the same time, the transmission of religious texts was also one of the primary reasons why the Chinese script was adopted as a writing system for a variety of languages in East Asia. Moreover, the majority of cultures that invented their own script did this either by modifying Chinese characters (e.g. Jpn. *kana*, Vtn. *chữ nôm*, and Khitan large script) or by drawing inspiration from them (e.g. Tangut and Khitan small script), while at the same time, they also continued to use Chinese texts. As a result of the overall dominance of the Chinese textual tradition and the Chinese writing system in East Asia, the material culture of Buddhist texts also largely follows the Chinese model.

There is no scholarly consensus regarding the time when Buddhism was first introduced in China, but it must have happened no later than the 1st century CE, that is, the second half of the Eastern Han dynasty (Zürcher, 1990; Rong, 2004). Translations of Buddhist literature appear from the mid-2nd century CE (Nattier, 2008), including works by renowned translators such as Lokakṣema (active during the late 2nd cent. CE) and Kang Senghui (d. 280). In terms of archaeological material, however, the earliest surviving Buddhist manuscript written in Chinese dates to the late 3rd century and was discovered in 1908 at Toyuq near Turfan by the second Ōtani expedition. This is a fragment of the *Zhu Fo yaoji jing* (諸佛要集經; T. 810 756b20) translated by Dharmarakṣa with a colophon dating it to 296 CE (Inokuchi Taijun, 1980, 1–2, Plate 1; Ikeda On, 1990, 74; Okabe Kazuō, vol. I, 1983, 21–24; Chen Guocan, 1983, 6–13; Boucher, 1996, 80–81; Zacchetti, 2006, 165–167).

The majority of manuscripts dating to periods before the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE) survived in a sealed library cave at a Buddhist temple complex near the town of Dunhuang, at the eastern terminus of the so-called Silk Road. This is the single-largest collection of manuscripts from medieval China, and most of these are Buddhist texts. This is partly due to the fact that the collection most likely represents the original library of the Sanjie Monastery (三界寺) in the late 10th century (Rong, 2013, 119–130). But another reason behind the large proportion of Buddhist texts among surviving manuscripts is the tradition of *sūtra* copying for the sake of accumulating merits. The colophons of the manuscripts demonstrate that many of the scrolls found in Dunhuang were the result of such activity, and people either copied the *sūtras* themselves or hired professionals to do so (Ikeda On, 1990; Lin Congming, 1991, 290–308). *Sūtra* copying was not merely a mechanical process of creating a new copy of a *sūtra* from an existing scroll but – at least in theory – a spiritual undertaking in which the process of production was just as important as the end result. Especially in Japan, a strong emphasis was laid on the purity of the copying process, as the writing materials, the copyist, and the place all had to be void of contamination (Lowe, 2012). The colophons of the medieval manuscripts also reveal that many of the *sūtras* were produced "for the benefit" of deceased parents or children, in order to accumulate merits for family members or for the sake of all sentient beings (Giles, 1935a; 1935b; 1937; Ikeda On, 1990). Judging from the manuscripts with colophons, such offerings represented a sizeable portion of a medieval monastic

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library. Hiring a monk to do th
also involved a substantial dona
the colophons mention cutting ba
order to be able to afford a *sūtra*-c
Surviving Buddhist texts in Ch
nantly on paper. In fact, the spre
or less paralleled the spread of Bu
showing the intimate connection
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before the Common Era but is
come to be used as a writing mat
the 1st or 2nd century CE (Tsien, 19
of the 4th century, when we begin
quantities of manuscripts, paper
pletely replaced wood, silk, and ot
rials. Thus, while it is probable tha
translations of Buddhist texts were
or silk, the oldest surviving Buddhi
are all written on paper. There a
instances of Buddhist *sūtras* writt
but these seem to have been creat
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writing on bamboo and silk. On o
(*Pelliot chinois* 4500), the brush-w
are also embroidered over with silk
to the extraordinary amount of wo
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The origins and early spread
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(Drège, 1999, 25–26; Barrett, 2008,
the earliest surviving examples of
dominantly Buddhist texts, even
necessarily mean that other types
printed at this time (Chia & Wee
ies of the *Hyakumantō darani* (百
missioned by the Japanese Emp
德; 718–770 CE) in the 760s are u
earliest printed texts that can be
tainty (Kornicki, 2012). Some schol
dhāraṇī sūtra (*Wugou jingguang d*
垢浄光大陀羅尼經]) found in 196
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Wu Zetian (武則天; r. 690–705 CE
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ccumulate merits for family
of all sentient beings (Giles,
On, 1990). Judging from the
hons, such offerings repre-
on of a medieval monastic

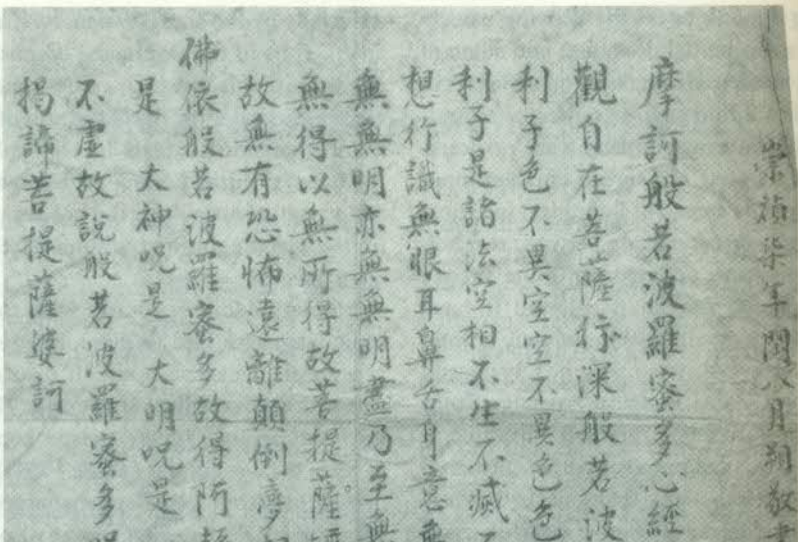
library. Hiring a monk to do the copying usually also involved a substantial donation, and some of the colophons mention cutting back on expenses in order to be able to afford a *sūtra*-copying offering.

Surviving Buddhist texts in China are predominantly on paper. In fact, the spread of paper more or less paralleled the spread of Buddhism in China, showing the intimate connection between technology and religion. Paper appeared in China already before the Common Era but is believed to have come to be used as a writing material only around the 1st or 2nd century CE (Tsien, 1962, 38). By the end of the 4th century, when we begin to have significant quantities of manuscripts, paper had almost completely replaced wood, silk, and other writing materials. Thus, while it is probable that some of the early translations of Buddhist texts were written on wood or silk, the oldest surviving Buddhist texts in Chinese are all written on paper. There are also individual instances of Buddhist *sūtras* written on silk scrolls, but these seem to have been created in imitation of paper scrolls and are more closely related to medieval silk paintings than to the earlier tradition of writing on bamboo and silk. On one of these scrolls (*Pelliot chinois* 4500), the brush-written characters are also embroidered over with silk thread, attesting to the extraordinary amount of work that went into the production of the object.

The origins and early spread of printing technology are intimately connected with Buddhism (Drège, 1999, 25–26; Barrett, 2008, 134–135). In fact, the earliest surviving examples of printing are predominantly Buddhist texts, even if this does not necessarily mean that other types of texts were not printed at this time (Chia & Weerdt, 2011, 2). Copies of the *Hyakumantō darani* (百萬塔陀羅尼) commissioned by the Japanese Empress Shōtoku (称徳; 718–770 CE) in the 760s are understood as the earliest printed texts that can be dated with certainty (Kornicki, 2012). Some scholars claim that the *dhāraṇī sūtra* (*Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* [無垢浄光大陀羅尼經]) found in 1966 at the Pulguksa Temple (佛國寺) in Korea is older, but, as P. Kornicki points out, its date is "open to argument" (2012, 48). The surviving pieces of evidence underline the vital role of Buddhism in the origins of printing. The mass scale of the application and spread of this technology may be connected with the rule of Empress Wu Zetian (武則天; r. 690–705 CE), who relied on Buddhism in her efforts to win legitimation (Barrett, 2008). In turn, the fact that printing was connected with her – and with Buddhism – may have been the reason why, after the restoration of the Tang dynasty in 705 CE, the technology remained largely unused, especially by the state (Welch, 1981, 41, 115; Barrett, 2008). Thus in the Dunhuang corpus, the majority of the materials in which come from the 9th–10th centuries, well after the invention of printing, the number of printed texts is negligible. Even after the use of printing became widespread in the early Song, manuscript culture did not disappear but continued as an important tradition (McDermott, 2005, 90–93; see fig. 1).

When Buddhist scriptures were translated from Indic languages into Chinese, besides the obvious process of linguistic adaptation, texts were also converted to a new medium and format. Throughout the medieval period, Chinese sources continue to refer to texts in *pothi* format (*fanjia* [梵夾]; a book form originating from palm-leaf manuscripts, although other materials, e.g. paper, were also used in later periods) being brought from India to China, yet the Chinese versions are habitually referred to as scrolls (*juan* [卷]), even after the appearance of other bookbinding formats. Thus the scroll has been the archetypal book form throughout Chinese history. Its physical format most likely derives from the rolls in use during the Warring States and Qin and Han periods, which were made from parallel slips of bamboo or wood and then tied together into a continuous writing surface. Medieval paper scrolls seem to have emulated this format not only in being rolled up but also by ruling the paper with vertical gridlines that resembled the parallel slips of bamboo rolls.

The standard *sūtra* form is best exemplified by the *sūtras* commissioned by the Tang court. There are dozens of such examples among the Dunhuang materials, and it is clear from the colophons that, even though the entire collection was found in what used to be a distant corner of the empire, these texts had been produced in the capital and only subsequently sent to other provinces. A court-commissioned *sūtra* was invariably written in a beautiful and even calligraphy with great attention to the aesthetic appeal of the manuscript. The scroll itself was produced with equally great care, as if it were an artifact in its own right. It consisted of rectangular sheets of paper that had been dyed with a yellowish dye, which also acted as an insecticide to prevent damage. The sheets were glued together into a long band of paper up to several meters long, depending on the length of the text to be written on it. At the end of the scroll, the corners of the last sheet were cut off, and to this narrowed end, a wooden or bamboo stave (*zhou* [軸]) was attached so that the scroll could be rolled up more easily (Fujieda, 1966, 16–19; Tsien, 1962, 155). The beginning of the scroll was enforced with extra paper to which a ribbon or cord



崇禎柒年閏八月朔敬書

摩訶般若波羅蜜多心經

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不虛故說般若波羅蜜多呪即說 呪曰揭諦揭諦波羅揭諦波羅僧

揭諦菩提薩婆訶

Fig. 1: A votive manuscript copy of the *Heart Sūtra* found interned inside a large statue of Avalokiteśvara dating to 1634 (© Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1960, 416 F).

was attached, in order to tie the scroll and prevent it from unrolling.

In addition to the physical form of the scroll, the layout of the standard *sūtra* was also regularized. Each paper sheet contained 27–29 vertical lines of text, and each line had exactly 17 characters. Horizontal lines were drawn across the top and bottom of the sheet, thereby creating top and bottom margins, which were left empty. The sheets had no side margins, and vertical grid lines drawn between the top and bottom horizontal lines continued from one sheet to another so seamlessly that today it is sometimes difficult to see where the sheets are glued together without examining the original manuscript. The title of the text was written at the beginning and end of the scroll, with characters tightly crammed together in order to visually set it apart from the main text. Typically, the beginning of the scroll had the complete title, while the end contained only an abbreviated one. The title was

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Fig. 2: The end of a court-commissioned

the manuscript (© The British Library Or.8

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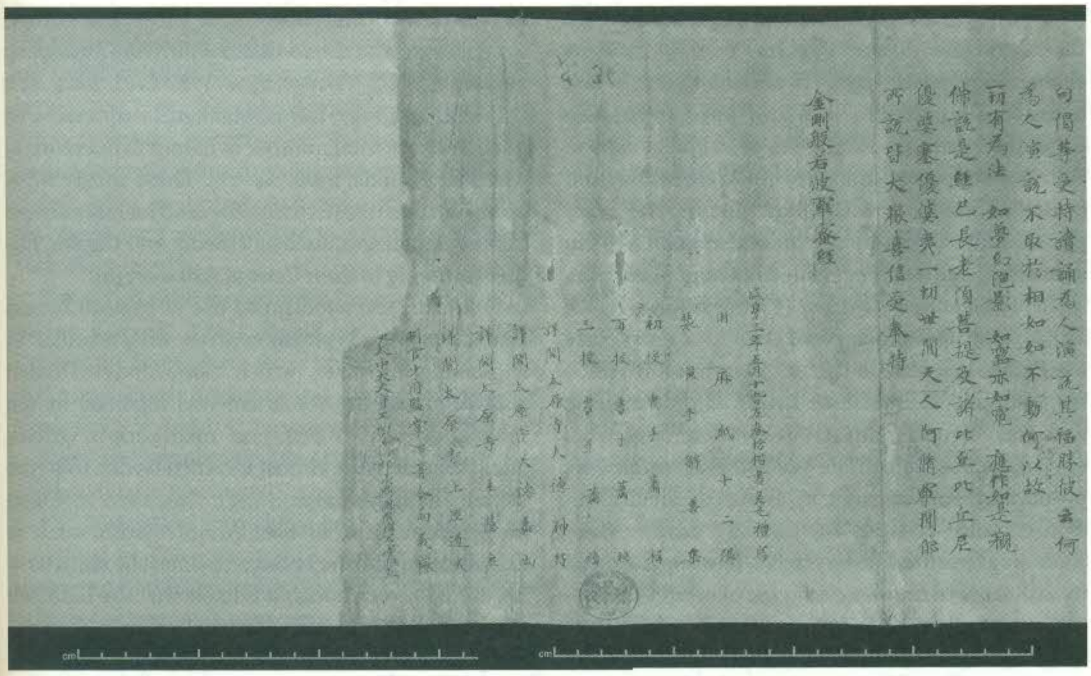

Fig. 2: The end of a court-commissioned copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* with the colophon listing the names of the people who checked the manuscript (© The British Library Or.8210/S.36).

rizontal lines continued from r so seamlessly that today it is to see where the sheets are hout examining the original e of the text was written at the of the scroll, with characters ether in order to visually set it h text. Typically, the beginning complete title, while the end abbreviated one. The title was also written on the outside of the rolled-up scroll, so that it could be identified without having to unroll it (Fujieda, 1966, 17–18).

In standard *sūtras*, the text was usually followed by a colophon, recording information relevant to the production of the scroll (Drège, 2007). For example, the colophon of manuscript Or. 8210/S. 36, a copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* (see fig. 2), has a lengthy colophon, which states that the scroll was copied on the 19th day of the 5th month of the 3rd year of the Xianheng (672 CE) reign by a certain Wu Yuanli (吳元禮; Giles, 1957, 23–24; McMullen, 2013, 108). In addition, the colophon also includes a count of paper sheets used; a statement about the dyeing of the paper; the names of the first, second, and third editors; the names and affiliations of four further "detailed proofreaders"; and, finally, two supervisors. This attests to the great care with which each scroll was produced and the number of persons and institutions that this elaborate process involved. Naturally, *sūtras* produced locally by ordinary people or hired monks were less regulated, and their colophons were also much shorter. About a thousand Dunhuang manuscripts have colophons (Fujieda, 1973, 121; Ikeda On, 1990), and the majority of these are quite simple, recording the time and name of the person making the copy and, less commonly, the reason for doing so. Occasionally we also find examples in which a colophon contains a more personal description of creating the scroll.

Within a monastic library, scrolls were often stored in larger bundles (*zhi* [帙]) wrapped together with *sūtra* wrappers (*zhizi* [帙子] or *jingzhi* [經帙]) made of silk or brocade (Fang Guangchang & Xu Peiling, 1995, 1–8; Fujieda, 1966, 19). When the Dunhuang manuscripts were first discovered, little attention was paid to their original arrangement, and when visitors to the library cave repeatedly examined the scrolls, the bundles were taken apart and the *sūtra* wrappers misplaced or lost (Rong, 2013, 115–127). As a result, a significant amount of information about the bundles and the overall arrangement of a medieval monastic library were lost. It is only much later that scholars realized the significance of these items and tried to collect what remained of the original *sūtra* wrappers and reconstruct the organization of the library (Rong, 2013, 112–115).

The large-scale production of texts also meant that manuscripts had to be stored, conserved, and, eventually, disposed of. Storage involved not only the safekeeping of the manuscripts but also an organizing system that would facilitate retrieval and use. Although the ways of storing manuscripts evolved over time and could also differ in various regions across East Asia, in general scriptures were stored in monastic libraries in bundles (*zhi*) or cases (*han* [函]), which were marked sequentially with the characters of the *Qianziwen* (千字文; Fang Guangchang, 1990; 1995). These characters – and occasionally the titles – would have been seen from the outside of the shelves or cabinets used to store the scriptures, enabling quick access without having to examine them individually. The complete Buddhist canon may have also been kept in a revolving *sūtra* cabinet called *lunzang* (輪藏; Jpn. *rinzō*) or *zhuanlun jingzang* (轉輪經藏; Jpn. *tenrin kyōzō*), typically an octagonal pagoda-like structure ostensibly invented in the 6th century, but which is mentioned in transmitted sources only starting with the 8th–9th centuries (Goodrich, 1942; Guo, 1999; Eubanks, 2010). The revolving *sūtra* cabinet primarily functioned not as a storage facility but a mechanical reading and praying device, since according to contemporary belief, rotating it around its axis accrued the same amount of merit as if having recited all of the scriptures stored within (Guo, 1999, 103–105; Eubanks, 2010, 7–12).

Manuscripts, and later printed texts, were also placed in relic deposits to ensure the survival of the dharma during the final age called *mofa* (末法; end dharma), and many of the surviving manuscripts have been discovered in such repositories (Shen, 2001). In these cases, the *sūtras* functioned as relics, representing both the body of the Buddha and his teachings. The consecrated scriptures could be enshrined in large pagoda-size stūpas, as in the eastern parts of the Khitan Liao Kingdom during the 10th–11th centuries (Shen, 2001), or buried in *sūtra* mounds (経塚; Jpn. *kyōzuka*), as it was customary as part of the *sūtra* burial (埋経; Jpn. *maikyō*) practice in Heian Japan (Moerman, 2007; 2010).

The scroll remained one of the major forms of book well into the Song period. Even printed texts used the same form, as it is seen in the famous printed copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* from the Stein collection at the British Library (Or. 8210/P. 2), dated to 868 CE (Wood & Barnard, 2010). Starting with the 8th century, however, along with the spread of Buddhist texts and culture, a number of other book forms were introduced, most likely as an influence from Central Asian manuscript cultures such as Tibetan, Uighur, Khotanese, or Sogdian (Galambos, 2012, 76–77). Thus Buddhism, and religion in general (e.g. Manicheism and Christianity), played a vital role in the spread of various technologies related to writing. A typically Buddhist influence is the *pothi* format, which appeared in Dunhuang from the late 8th century, after the Tibetans extended their control over the Hexi region, including Dunhuang (Men'šikov, 1988, 124). More common book forms were the concertina (Drège, 1984), notebook (Drège, 1979), codex, and the so-called whirlwind (*xuanfeng zhuang* [旋風裝]; Drège, 1996; Whitfield, 2004, 298; Du Weisheng, 1997) forms, which make up a sizeable portion of the total number of extant Chinese manuscripts (Fujieda, 1966, 24–27). These forms were, however, much more commonly used for manuscripts in other languages, such as Tibetan and Uighur, further testifying to their Central Asian origin.

Following the widespread use of paper, Chinese characters were typically written with a brush. In Dunhuang, however, which came under Tibetan control in 768 CE, the brush was replaced by the Tibetan-style hard pen, and manuscripts written after this date were almost all written with this type of pen (Fujieda, 1969, 37–39). However, in China proper, and in other East Asian regions, such as Korea and Japan, the brush remained the main writing utensil, even though it is likely that the hard pen was also used. The ink with which texts were written in East Asia was almost always black, and color ink was used only occasionally. Sometimes portions of manuscripts were written in red or orange, but this was relatively uncommon and appears only as an addition to a larger body of text written in black. A tradition specifically related to Buddhist culture is writing with one's own blood, thinned down with water (Kieschnick, 2000). Another typically Buddhist phenomenon evidenced in Korea and Japan is writing with gold or silver ink, typically on dark – for example indigo – paper (Mote *et al.*, 1988, 64). Sometimes the entire text was written in this manner, sometimes only the names of the Buddha or bodhisattvas, while the rest of the *sūtra* appears in black ink.

Punctuation and reading marks are quite common in the surviving texts. The marks were relatively uniform through different times, evidencing the continuity of the manuscript tradition throughout the dynastic period. Among the marks used in the Dunhuang corpus, the most common ones are those used to signify corrections, repetitions, abbreviations, divisions of text, and phonetic readings (Li, 1988; Ishizuka, 1970; 1981; 1993; Galambos, forthcoming). Reading marks became especially important in non-Chinese regions such as Korea and Japan, where they were used to facilitate parsing and reading the text, since written Chinese texts were often read (and pronounced) in Korean and Japanese, which have significantly different grammar and word order from Chinese (Frellesvig, 2010, 261–263; Ishizuka, 1995). Generally speaking, punctuation and reading marks were written in black or, less commonly, in red ink. There have also

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been "inkless" reading marks created by impressing the sharp edge of a pen or other instrument: these are called by their Japanese name *kakuhitsu* (角筆; corner pen), as they are primarily known to us from Japanese manuscript culture (Kobayashi Yoshinori, 1989; Girard, 2005). However, examples of *kakuhitsu* are known in Korea and even among the Dunhuang manuscripts in China (Kobayashi Yoshinori, 1997).

The script used for writing Chinese texts was, of course, Chinese. Yet it should be pointed out that Dunhuang, from where most of our surviving medieval manuscripts originate, was a cosmopolitan city along the Silk Road, at the intersection of different cultures and peoples. People of different ethnicities and languages intermixed on a daily basis, and most of the population must have been to some extent multilingual. The manuscripts provide evidence for widespread multilingualism, showing how people of various backgrounds wrote in a variety of languages and scripts (Takata, 2000; Galambos, 2012). There are many bilingual manuscripts with examples of Chinese *sūtras* transcribed phonetically using the Tibetan, Khotanese, or Brahmi alphabets, or combinations of these, attesting to the fact that individuals who could read these scripts, but not the Chinese script, nevertheless wished to recite Buddhist scriptures in the Chinese language. These phonetic transcriptions of Chinese characters have been used by modern scholars to reconstruct the northwestern dialect of Chinese during the 9th–10th centuries (Luo Changpei, 1933; Csongor, 1969; Takata Tokio, 1988). The opposite phenomenon is also found. In the 10th-century Sino-Tibetan manuscript IOL Tib J 754, for example, Chinese is used, in addition to writing Chinese, to phonetically transcribe Tibetan and Sanskrit words (van Schaik & Galambos, 2012).

Most of the Chinese manuscripts extant from the medieval period come from northwestern China, from the peripheries, or even beyond the borders, of the Chinese empires. This geographical imbalance is partly due to coincidence, but a perhaps even more important reason is the desert climate of the sites where the texts were found. The largest collection of Chinese Buddhist manuscripts comes from Dunhuang, the last major Chinese city along the Silk Road. In 1900, a Daoist priest who lived at the Mogao caves near Dunhuang discovered in one of the temple caves a hidden chamber that contained tens of thousands of manuscripts in Chinese, Tibetan, and other languages. The bulk of the collection was acquired from the priest by the Hungarian-born British explorer Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and was subsequently shipped to the British Museum (Stein, 1912, 182–194; Rong, 2013, 79–108). Other foreign explorers and scholars followed suit, and in several years, the collection became scattered around the world, with the most important portions held in London, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Kyoto, and Beijing. The cave had been sealed in the early 11th century, and the overall majority of the manuscripts comprised Buddhist texts, including *sūtras*, commentaries, works of popular literature, and documentation related to the life of the local Buddhist community. The vast quantity of manuscripts discovered at the library cave had a massive impact on the development of Oriental studies both in the West and in China and Japan (Rong, 2013, 205–266). In addition to the above-mentioned printed copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* from 868 CE, common printed Buddhist texts were one-leaf prayer models with an image of a buddha or a bodhisattva with a votive text beneath.

Catalogues have been compiled of the collections in Britain (Giles, 1957), France (Gernet & Wu, 1970; Soymié *et al.*, 1985–1995; Wang-Toutain, 2001), Russia (Men'shikov *et al.*, 1963–1967), and China (Chen Yuan, 1931; Fang Guangchang, 2013). There have also been attempts at compiling a union catalogue (Wang Zhongmin, 1962; Shi Pingting *et al.*, 2000), but to date this task has not yet been fully accomplished. Even though photographs of selected manuscripts appeared early on, such as the magnificent collection of Yabuki Keiki (矢吹慶輝) called *Meisha Yoin* (鳴沙餘韻; Yabuki Keiki, 1930), it was only from the 1960s onward, that microfilms of the French and British collections were released. The *Dunhuang Baozang* (敦煌寶藏) came out in 140 volumes with facsimile editions (from microfilms) of the main collections worldwide (Huang Yongwu, 1981–1986). This made it possible to study the manuscripts as a corpus, rather than just working on individual texts. Since 1995, the International Dunhuang Project based at the British Library has been digitizing the manuscripts and making them available online through their Web site – free of charge. As other holding institutions, such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France, joined the project, the number of manuscripts available through the Web site grew rapidly. Parallel with this, academic publishers in China began the publication of large multivolume editions of high-resolution photographs. The largest Japanese collections have also been published or are in the process of being published (Nogami Shunjō, 1965–1972; Oda Yoshihisa, 1984–2010; Kyōu shooku, 2009–2013). As a result, by now the majority of the Chinese contents of the original library cave are accessible to researchers.

Another major collection of Buddhist texts comes from the dead city of Khara-Khoto in Inner Mongolia. In the 11th–12th centuries, this was an important city in the Tangut kingdom of Western Xia (Xixia [西夏]), which was later abandoned. The ruins of the city were explored by the Russian explorer Piotr Kozlov (1863–1935), who passed through in 1908 on his way to Tibet. On two subsequent visits, he excavated over two thousand manuscripts and printed books written in Tangut, and many more in Chinese (Kozlov, 1923). He shipped the entire cache back to Saint Petersburg, and this became the largest collection of Tangut material in the world (Kychanov, 2008). Aurel Stein also visited the site in 1914 and secured a collection of about six thousand fragments, which are currently kept in the British Library (Stein, 1928, vol. I, 429–506; Grinstead, 1961). Most of the Tangut texts comprise Buddhist *sūtras* and other writings, as Buddhism from the very beginning was adopted as the state religion in Western Xia. In addition to the Tangut material, however, the site also yielded a significant amount of Chinese texts, both printed and handwritten. Catalogues of the Saint Petersburg collection of Tangut (Kychanov, 1999) and Chinese (Men'shikov, 1984) texts were published relatively early, but no catalogue yet exists for the British collection. Facsimxile publications of most of the non-fragmentary texts have come out for the Russian, British, Chinese, and French collections, even though the quality of reproductions in some cases is less than ideal. In addition, good-quality color images of a limited number of texts from the British and Russian collections have been made freely available through the International Dunhuang Project Web site.

Yet another important group of medieval Buddhist material are the Turfan texts – both handwritten and printed – from Xinjiang, China's westernmost region. The largest collection was acquired between 1902 and 1914 by four subsequent German expeditions to Turfan led by Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930). The excavations yielded more than 30 thousand fragments in a large variety of languages and scripts, with the majority being in Chinese and Uighur. A large proportion of the texts is Buddhist, yet there are also many other types of material, such as Manichean and Christian writings, or copies of classical Chinese texts (Fuchs *et al.*, 2001). A catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist texts has been compiled by a team of Japanese scholars (Kudara *et al.*, 2005). Apart from the German collection of Turfan material, a significant amount of texts from Turfan was excavated by Chinese archaeologists in the 1960s and 1970s, and these are preserved in China. In addition, new texts are being continuously discovered in caves in the region of Turfan, thus the Turfan corpus continues to grow. Smaller groups of texts, partly in Chinese, partly in a variety of local scripts and languages, have also been discovered at other sites in Xinjiang, and these represent important sources for the study of the spread of Buddhism in China and Central Asia. Buddhist manuscripts have been discovered at sites near Khotan, Kucha, and Loulan, although these cannot compare to the vast quantities found at Dunhuang, Khara-Khoto, and Turfan. Nevertheless, the manuscripts provide evidence for the use of Chinese in these oases, along with other regional languages.

Most of the medieval texts available today survived in the dry desert climate of western China. Yet in a number of cases, the colophons of the manuscripts testify that the scrolls actually came from central China, especially from the Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang. For example, the court-commissioned *sūtras* – mentioned above – were sponsored by the Tang court and produced in the capital before they were sent out to various parts of the empire. Naturally, the monasteries of the capital region and other cultural centers of China proper also had extensive libraries, but these did not survive, and the occasional discoveries cannot compete with the wealth of manuscripts and prints found in the West. Among the important finds are the Buddhist printed and handwritten texts from the Liao dynasty discovered in 1974 in a wooden pagoda in Yingxian county, Shanxi province (Shanxi, 1991). More recently, in 2004 over three hundred Buddhist manuscripts, paintings, and printed texts from the 9th–10th centuries were found inside a tower at Shende Temple (神德寺) in Shaanxi province during renovation work. A catalogue (Huang Zheng & Wang Xuemei, 2012) and good-quality photographs (Huang Zheng *et al.*, 2012) of the texts have already been published.

Apart from western China, the largest number of Buddhist manuscripts in Chinese is preserved in Japan. These were brought over to the islands by Japanese monks who crossed over to China starting from the late 7th century. In Japan – as was also the case in Korea and Vietnam – Buddhism predominantly relied on Chinese texts, and vernacular translations were made only in the modern period. From the 8th century, the state supported Buddhism and a *sūtra*-copying office was established, producing large quantities of copies. Archival materials at the Shōsōin (正倉院), the imperial treasure house in

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Toshinori, 2007, 5). Yet anot
with a very large and well-
early Buddhist manuscripts
(石山寺) Temple in Ōtsu (Ishi
worth noting, however, that
scripts have left the temple col
in museums and libraries. For
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collections have been publishe
number of manuscripts are a
able digitally. Particularly wor
Nihon Koshakyō database pro
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(1973), even though some of the
is by now out of date. For using
and for an overview of the main
may consult B. Ruppert's (2006

The transmission of Buddh
evidenced in transmitted so
century. The transmission of
the following centuries, as mo
kingdoms went to China to stud
or sent texts back home (Korni
firsthand witness to the use
texts in the kingdom of Silla is

ne 1960s and 1970s, and these
. In addition, new texts are
overed in caves in the region
n corpus continues to grow.
partly in Chinese, partly in a
d languages, have also been
s in Xinjiang, and these rep-
s for the study of the spread
and Central Asia. Buddhist
n discovered at sites near
lan, although these cannot
ntities found at Dunhuang,
n. Nevertheless, the manu-
e for the use of Chinese in
other regional languages.
l texts available today sur-
limate of western China. Yet
he colophons of the manu-
scrolls actually came from
lly from the Tang capitals
ng. For example, the court-
– mentioned above – were
court and produced in the
sent out to various parts of
e monasteries of the capital
al centers of China proper
ries, but these did not sur-
discoveries cannot compete
scripts and prints found in
nportant finds are the Bud-
written texts from the Liao
974 in a wooden pagoda in
xi province (Shanxi, 1991).
ver three hundred Buddhist
and printed texts from the
e found inside a tower at
) in Shaanxi province dur-
catalogue (Huang Zheng &
d good-quality photographs
2) of the texts have already

China, the largest number
ts in Chinese is preserved
ought over to the islands by
ossed over to China starting
y. In Japan – as was also the
nam – Buddhism predomi-
texts, and vernacular trans-
in the modern period. From
e supported Buddhism and
was established, producing
s. Archival materials at the
imperial treasure house in

Nara, document in detail how *sūtras* were copied, including the measures taken to ensure the purity of the process (Lowe, 2012). The Shōgozō *sūtra* repository, originally part of the Sonshōin subtemple of the Tōdaiji (東大寺) Temple, houses nearly five thousand scrolls, including manuscripts copied in Japan and those imported from China and Korea. The Shōgozō collection is in the process of being published in digital form, with 101 discs already available (Kunaichō, 2000ff.).

In addition to the central repository of the Shōgozō, many Buddhist temples in Japan have significant collections of Buddhist texts, including Song editions of the canon, or manuscript copies made from both printed and handwritten texts. One of the important collections of Buddhist manuscripts is at the Nanatsudera (七寺) Temple in Nagoya, and these were recently identified as having been copied from Chinese manuscripts that came to Japan during the Nara period, thus predating the Song canon of 983 CE (Ochiai, 1991). Another recently "rediscovered" collection is that of the Amanosan Kongōji (天野山金剛寺) Temple, in which more than half of the manuscripts were copied from older manuscripts during the late Heian period (Ochiai Toshinori, 2007, 5). Yet another Japanese temple with a very large and well-known collection of early Buddhist manuscripts is the Ishiyamadera (石山寺) Temple in Ōtsu (Ishiyamadera, 1978). It is worth noting, however, that by now many manuscripts have left the temple collections and are kept in museums and libraries. For example, the library of Tenri University is well known for its collection of Nara-period manuscripts. Many of the Japanese collections have been published, and an increasing number of manuscripts are also becoming available digitally. Particularly worth mentioning is the Nihon Koshakyō database project, which provides high-quality images of Buddhist manuscripts from Japanese collections on its Web site. The best catalogue of Japanese manuscripts is by Tanaka Kaidō (1973), even though some of the information therein is by now out of date. For using manuscript archives and for an overview of the main collections, readers may consult B. Ruppert's (2006) introduction.

The transmission of Buddhist texts to Korea is evidenced in transmitted sources since the 6th century. The transmission of texts intensified in the following centuries, as monks from the Korean kingdoms went to China to study and either brought or sent texts back home (Kornicki, forthcoming). A firsthand witness to the use of Chinese Buddhist texts in the kingdom of Silla is a manuscript copy of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* copied in the mid-8th century, which was discovered in 1979 and is now classified as national treasure (McBride, 2008, 97). The popularity of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* in Silla is also evidenced in the about two hundred fragments of a copy carved in stone, believed to have been carved in the late 7th century (McBridge, 2008, 98). Some of the early manuscripts, as well as copies made from them, have survived in Japan (Kornicki, forthcoming). A Tang-dynasty fragment of the travel account of the Silla monk Hyecho (704?–787 CE), who embarked on a pilgrimage to India in 723 CE, was also discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts (Pelliot, 1908, 511–512; Jan, 1965, 55–63; Yang *et al.*, 1984). During the Koryŏ dynasty, when Buddhism functioned as a state religion, efforts were made to obtain printed editions of the Chinese canon from the Song and Liao (Khitan) states, which in turn led to the publication of two Korean editions of the canon, one in the 11th and another in the 13th century (Kornicki, forthcoming; Lancaster, 1996; the texts of the two editions – the whole of the second and the surviving texts of the first – are available online [see bibliography]). The printing blocks of the second edition are still preserved in the Haeinsa Monastery.

In Vietnam, Buddhism is attested from at least the 2nd century CE, and manuscripts must have been regularly brought in the south, even if there is little evidence remaining. After Vietnam separated itself from the Chinese domain in the 10th century and became a tributary state, we begin to have references to diplomatic contacts with China, which also include official requests for the Chinese canon made on several occasions during the 11th century (Kornicki, forthcoming). These printed editions were then copied locally by hand, although there are sources suggesting – without hard evidence – that a local edition may have been printed in Vietnam at the end of the 13th century (Kornicki, forthcoming).

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IMRE GALAMBOS

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Imre Galambos

Epigraphy: South Asia

Inscriptions are an indispensable source for the study of Indian Buddhism. Buddhist inscriptions number in many thousands from all parts of South Asia, from the 3rd century BCE until the early centuries of the 2nd millennium CE. The main languages are Prakrit, Sanskrit, Gandhari, and Sinhala; Pali inscriptions are virtually nonexistent in South Asia, though common in Thailand. There are few, if any, Buddhist inscriptions in Tamil. The scripts are Brahmi and its many varieties and derivatives, and Kharoshthi in the northwest. Buddhist inscriptions typically record the establishment of stūpas, gifts to monasteries or the establishment of endowments for them, and dedications of relics and images. Cultic inscriptions consist of citations of ritual or canonical texts, while label inscriptions identify accompanying sculptures or paintings. Inscriptions elucidate innumerable aspects of the history, ritual and popular practice, and economic and institutional bases of Buddhism that are not revealed by the canonical literary tradition.

Editions, translations, and studies of Buddhist inscriptions are scattered in a variety of publications. The only wide-ranging collections of Buddhist inscriptions are M. Shizutani's (1979) *Indo Bukkyō Himei Mokuroku* (Catalogue of Indian Buddhist Inscriptions) and K. Tsukamoto's (1996–2003) *Indo Bukkyō Himei no Kenkyū* (Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions). M. Shizutani's collection contains some 2,200 inscriptions arranged into broad historical periods with summaries and bibliographic references. The first volume (1996) of K. Tsukamoto's more comprehensive collection is arranged geographically into five regions, presenting complete or partial texts with annotation, bibliography, and Japanese translation. The second volume (1998) consists of word indices, maps, and illustrations. The third volume (2003) presents some 1,400 recently discovered inscriptions from the northern areas of Pakistan (see below).

There is no general anthology of Indian Buddhist inscriptions. D.C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (1965b; 1983) includes many Buddhist inscriptions, but they are not grouped together as such. General works on Indian epigraphy such as those by H. Falk (1993), D.C. Sircar (1965a; 1966), and R. Salomon (1998) address various aspects of Buddhist inscriptions but do not treat them separately as such. K.H. Golzio's study (2010) provides convenient summary of Buddhist epigraphic material from South and Southeast Asia, but it is seriously flawed and in large part plagiarized (Kieffer-Pülz, 2013).

Many Buddhist inscriptions have been published in periodicals such as *Epigraphia Indica, Indian Antiquary*, and *Journal of the Epigraphic Society of India* and in various collections such as the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. The present entry introduces only the most important publications, including collections of particular groups of Buddhist inscriptions (e.g. Konow, 1929; Lüders, 1961; Nakanishi & von Hinüber, 2014). Detailed references to particular inscriptions can be found in the catalogues of M. Shizutani and K. Tsukamoto and in standard epigraphic reference sources such as those by H. Lüders (1912b) and D.R. Bhandarkar (1927–1936; for further references, see Salomon, 1998, 252–261). Here specific references are given only for items of special importance or for new discoveries not included in the standard reference sources.

The study of Buddhist inscriptions has burgeoned in recent decades, in part because of the discovery of many new inscriptions from Gandhara and at sites such as Deur Kothar, Kanaganahalli, and Sannati. But equally important are innovative modes of analysis and application, with inscriptions being studied in terms of their broader archaeological, cultural, and historical significance, shedding a great deal of light on the actual practice of Buddhism. G. Schopen's groundbreaking studies of Buddhist belief and practice on the basis of inscriptions (compiled in Schopen, 1997; 2004; 2005; 2014) have been particularly influential. Other scholars have made recent contributions on such topics as the ritual function of inscribed objects (Boucher, 1991), the historical contextualization of inscriptions (Walters, 2008), and the lineages of the Buddha's disciples as revealed in inscriptions (Tournier, 2012; 2014).

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Mauryan Period (3rd Cent. BCE)

The first Buddhist inscriptions are those of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (c. 269–232 BCE), recorded in three Prakrit dialects. General guides and surveys of Aśoka's inscriptions are by F.R. Allchin and K.R. Norman (1985) and H. Falk (2006). (For an authoritative and comprehensive, though dated, edition, see Hultzsch, 1925; on the dialects, see Hinüber, 2001a, 46–51 and Oberlies, 2003.) While Aśoka's major rock and pillar edicts are nonsectarian, his minor rock edicts and separate pillar edicts are explicitly Buddhist. In the minor rock edicts (Andersen, 1990), found at 18 sites (incl. the recently discovered Ratanpurwa version; Falk, 2013), the emperor proclaims his affiliation with the Buddhist community and expresses his resolve to practice more zealously. Several minor pillar edicts address issues facing the Buddhist communities, particularly the ever-present threat of schism. Aśoka also erected two pillars recording his visits to Buddhist sacred sites at Nigali Sagar and Lumbini (Hultzsch, 1925, 164–169). Finally, in the Calcutta-Bairat inscription (Rajasthan; Schneider, 1982), he recommends seven canonical texts – this is an exceptionally important record, containing the earliest datable reference to specific canonical texts.

The reliquary vase from Piprawa (Uttar Pradesh; Fleet, 1906) seems to be approximately contemporaneous with Aśoka. It is thus the earliest record of the deposit of relics of the Buddha, a genre that became very popular in subsequent centuries.

In Sri Lanka during this period and continuing into the 1st century BCE, more than a thousand brief inscriptions in old Sinhalese Prakrit record the dedication of caves to the saṅgha. This is the beginning of a vast corpus of Buddhist inscriptions in Sri Lanka, independently documented in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and *Inscriptions of Ceylon*.

Shunga Period (2nd–1st Cents. BCE)

Aśoka's choice of Prakrit rather than Sanskrit as his epigraphic language set the pattern for the next several centuries, during which various forms of midland Middle Indo-Aryan remained the epigraphic *lingua franca* for Buddhist inscriptions. But beginning around the 2nd century CE, in a development paralleling Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in literature, Buddhist inscriptions became increasingly Sanskritized, and by the 5th century CE standard Sanskrit had become the primary language.

In the Shunga period, Buddhist inscriptions in Prakrit became extremely common, with large numbers found at major stūpa and pilgrimage sites, most notably Sanchi, with over 900 inscriptions, and Bharhut, with 225. At Sanchi (Majumdar, 1940), the vast majority of inscriptions are short donative records on gates, pillars, crossbars, coping stones, and other elements of the circumambulatory structures around the stūpas. A typical example (no. 70; Majumdar, vol. I, 1940, 306) reads *nāvagāmikānā upāsikānā dānaṃ*, "gift of the female lay followers from Navagrama."

The stūpas at Sanchi and the nearby sites of Satdhara, Sonari, Bhojpur, and Andher have also yielded several reliquaries with inscriptions labeling them as containing the bodily remains of venerable monks. Most of these are otherwise unknown local figures, but two reliquaries from Sanchi and Satdhara bear the names of the Buddha's foremost disciples, Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana.

The Bharhut stūpa (Lüders, 1963) has 141 donative inscriptions similar to those at Sanchi, plus 84 labels describing the scenes carved into the pillars and railings of the circumambulatory path, including references to 27 *jātakas* and *avadānas*, several of which are not attested in the canonical texts. For example, the *Rurujātaka* (no. 482 in the Pali *jātaka* collection) is depicted on a pillar medallion with the label *Migajātaka*, "The *jātaka* of the Deer" (Lüders, 1963, 126).

Similar short dedicatory inscriptions are found at several other sites in North and central India – for example Pauni, which yielded some 30 inscriptions of this and subsequent periods (Deo & Joshi, 1972). Smaller numbers of similar inscriptions are found at places such as Bodh Gaya and Sarnath, which were to become major epigraphic sites in later periods. Two inscriptions recently discovered at Deur Kothar connect the lineages of their monastic donors to the Buddha and to his disciple Anuruddha (von Hinüber & Skilling, 2013; Salomon & Marino, 2014), a sort of attestation never seen before in early Buddhist inscriptions.

In this period, Buddhist inscriptions began to appear in the Deccan. Ten inscriptions on reliquaries from Bhattiprolu (Lüders, 1912a) record, in an anomalous local variety of Brahmi and of the Prakrit epigraphical *lingua franca*, the names of the local devotees who sponsored the relics. Other sites in the central and eastern Deccan, such as Kesanapalli (Khan, 1969), Amaravati, and Sannati (Sarma & Rao, 1993), have yielded large numbers of short donative inscriptions from this and subsequent periods.

Satavahana and Ikshvak
(1st–3rd Cents. CE)

During this period, Buddhist ir
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Satavahana and Ikshvaku Period (1st–3rd Cents. CE)

During this period, Buddhist inscriptions become very numerous, especially in four main centers: (1) the valley of the Kṛṣṇā River and neighboring regions of the Deccan, (2) Mathura and adjoining areas of central North India, (3) the Western Ghats, and (4) Gandhara and surrounding regions in the far northwest.

In the Deccan, many hundreds of Buddhist inscriptions dating from this period have been discovered at sites such as Alluru, Amaravati, Ghantasala, Guntupalli, Gurzala, Jaggayyapeta, Kanaganahalli-Sannati, Nagarjunakonda, Phanigiri, Rentala, and Salihundam. This material, including some inscriptions not previously published, is conveniently compiled by B.S.L. Hanumatha Rao *et al.* (1998). Many of these record donations sponsored by the Satavahana dynasty and its associates, and later by the Ikshvaku dynasty. Here we begin to see a shift away from patronage of stūpa sites by local monastic and nonelite lay followers making small individual contributions toward large-scale sponsorship by royalty and nobility.

The now ruined Amaravati stūpa is the source of over two hundred Buddhist inscriptions spanning some 15 centuries, including some particularly interesting specimens. The oldest Amaravati inscription is a fragmentary pillar with a text that resembles several Aśokan inscriptions but cannot be identified with any of them (Falk, 2006, 226). The majority of the Amaravati inscriptions date from the Shunga and especially the Satavahana periods (Burgess, 1887; *EpInd* 15, 258–275; Sivaramamurti, 1942, 271–304) and record donations of elements of the circumambulatory path such as railing pillars and crossbars. A unique fragmentary pillar from the earlier phase shows various episodes from the life of the Buddha with explanatory labels whose phrasing resembles that of the Pali *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (Ghosh & Sarkar, 1964–1965). After the Satavahana period, the Buddhist epigraphic record at Amaravati becomes sparse, but inscriptions with Buddhist content appear as late as the 13th century (*EpInd* 6, 146–160; 10, 43–44).

During the reign of the Ikshvaku kings, around the late 3rd century CE, the Kṛṣṇā Valley emerged as a particularly copious source of Buddhist inscriptions. Their capital, Nagarjunakonda, yielded several dozen long inscriptions (summarized in Srinivasan & Sankaranarayanan, 1979) recording gifts of *āyaka* pillars (sets of pillar on platforms attached to the drum of the stūpa), *caityas* (*cetiyaghara*), pavilions (*maṃṭava*), monasteries (vihāra), and sculptures by female members and associates of the Ikshvaku court, continuing the trend toward large-scale royal and elite patronage. One Nagarjunakonda inscription (*EpInd* 20, 22–23) presents a long list of countries said to have been converted by the Sri Lankan monks of the Theriya (i.e. Theravāda) school resident there, providing interesting information about the spread of Buddhism, or at least the self-presentation thereof.

Among recent discoveries in the Deccan, Phanigiri has yielded several new specimens, including an unusual inscription, mostly in Sanskrit verse, recording the dedication of a *dharmacakra* (Skilling & von Hinüber, 2011). The recently excavated site of Kanaganahalli has yielded a spectacular corpus of some three hundred inscriptions, including donative records and labels describing *jātaka* scenes and portraits of Aśoka and Satavahana kings (Poonacha, 2013; Nakanishi & von Hinüber, 2014).

The language of the Buddhist inscriptions of this region is usually Midland Prakrit, with some Dravidian influence. But there are also a few Sanskrit inscriptions, for example from Nagarjunakonda (*EpInd* 35, 11–13, 17–18) and Phanigiri, anticipating the gradual shift from Prakrit to Sanskrit that took place in subsequent centuries.

Mathura became a major center of Buddhist activity in the first few centuries of the Common Era, especially during the Kushana Empire, yielding some 150 inscriptions in all, mostly from this period. Most of these are collected in H. Lüders' (1961) posthumous edition, but several more inscriptions have been discovered subsequently (Salomon, 1998, 144). In Mathura, unlike the far northwest and the south, donative inscriptions on the pedestals of statues of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other Buddhist figures predominate, although inscriptions on pillars, slabs, railings, and utensils are not rare. Again in contrast to contemporary Buddhist inscriptions that were composed in Prakrit, most of the Mathura inscriptions are in Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit (Damsteegt, 1978), or occasionally in pure Sanskrit (Salomon, 1998, 81–86). The Mathura inscriptions attest to the presence in the city and its environs of at least four different schools: Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, Sāṃmitīya, and Sarvāstivādin. Such information allows us to localize traditions which are otherwise known only from textual sources lacking geographical and historical contexts. Similar image-dedication inscriptions are found at other sites in the Kushana sphere of influence in North India, notably Sarnath, Kosam (Kauśāmbī), and Saheth-Maheth (Śrāvastī).

The frequency of Iranian and other non-Indian names in Mathura inscriptions betrays a strong presence of a non-Indian elite from the northwest who sponsored Buddhist institutions under the Kshatrapas (Satraps) of Mathura and their successors, the Kushanas. Unlike nearly all other Mathura inscriptions, which are written in Brahmi script, the uniquely important Mathura lion capital inscription (recently reedited in Falk, 2011; Baums, 2012, 219–222) is in Kharoshthi script and Gandhari language. Especially significant for the history of Buddhism is the Mathura pedestal inscription recording the dedication of a statue of the buddha Amitābha (Schopen, 1987), the earliest definite reference in inscriptions to a Mahāyāna figure.

The rock-cut shrines at sites such as Nasik, Karle, Junnar, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, and Kuda in the Western Ghats have yielded large numbers of donative inscriptions from the first two centuries of the Common Era. This material is collected by J. Burgess and B. Indraji (1881); for improved editions, see the works by É. Senart (1902–1903 [Karle]; 1905–1906 [Nasik]) and S.R. Gokhale (1991 [Kanheri]). These inscriptions record gifts of caves, cells, columns, stūpas, wells, doors, images, and other structural and decorative elements of the cave complexes. Many inscriptions, especially at Junnar and Nasik, also document endowments of villages or farm lands for the maintenance of the monastic communities. While most inscriptions are brief notices in Prakrit, the lavish gifts of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Western Kshatrapa ruler Nahapāna, are celebrated in elaborate records at Nasik and Karle in Hybrid Sanskrit, or in one case in Sanskrit. The Satavahana kings who seized this region from the Kshatrapas later renewed these grants with equally ornate inscriptions in Prakrit. These styles anticipate the subsequent development of long Buddhist inscriptions in formal literary Sanskrit.

In this period Buddhist inscriptions are especially numerous in the Gandhara region and adjoining areas, eastern Afghanistan, and southern Uzbekistan. Unlike other early Buddhist inscriptions written in Brahmi, nearly all of the Gandharan inscriptions are in Kharoshthi script and in the northwestern Prakrit vernacular, Gandhari. At the time of S. Konow's collection of Kharoshthi inscriptions in 1929, only one hundred were available, but now some six or seven hundred such inscriptions with Buddhist content are known (see the Web site Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts). Typical genres are foundations of relics and stūpas; dedications of wells and images; donations of pots, bowls, lamps, and other utensils; and pilgrims' records. Relic and stūpa inscriptions are particularly important, with some 60 examples, engraved on the reliquaries themselves, on sheets of metal placed in the reliquary, and on the stone slabs covering the reliquary chamber (Baums, 2012; Salomon, 2012). Though usually short, some, notably the gold-leaf inscription of King Senavarma of Oḍi (Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts no. 249; von Hinüber, 2003), include elaborate formulas incorporating quotations from canonical texts.

Gandharan inscriptions, especially relic dedications, are often dated, making them a valuable historical source. They also often contain references to the schools to which the donations were made, showing, for example, the dominance of the Dharmaguptakas in eastern Afghanistan in contrast to the prevalence of the Mahāsāṅghika school in southern Uzbekistan, as attested in a corpus of several hundred potsherd inscriptions from Termez (Fussman, 2011).

Buddhist pilgrims' and travelers' records numbering in the thousands have been discovered in recent decades along the river valleys of the upper Indus and Hunza Rivers at sites such as Shatial, Chilas, Thalpan, and Hunza. These inscriptions, often accompanied by drawings of buddhas, stūpas, and other Buddhist symbols, are thoroughly documented in the volumes of *Materialen zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans*, mainly by G. Fussman and O. von Hinüber, and are summarized (based on publications up to 2003) in volume III of K. Tsukamoto (1996–2003). This material constitutes a unique body of information (Neelis, 2011) on the spread of Buddhism beyond India into Central and East Asia.

In Sri Lanka during this period, hundreds of rock inscriptions in old Sinhalese record donations of water tanks, agricultural lands, and other gifts to the Buddhist saṅgha. These are anthologized in volume II of *Inscriptions of Ceylon*.

Gupta Period (4th–6th Cents. CE)

During the reign of the Gupta Empire and its contemporaries, the character of Buddhist epigraphy changed drastically. Buddhist inscriptions adopted the formats of Brahmanical records, the predominant types being copperplate grants and stone *praśastis* (eulogies) in Classical Sanskrit. Buddhist inscriptions

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were proportionally less frequent in comparison to non-Buddhist ones, and less concentrated in particular sites or zones, except for major Buddhist pilgrimage centers such as Nalanda, Sarnath, and Bodh Gaya. Mahāyāna beliefs and practices are explicitly espoused in many inscriptions of this period.

Buddhist copperplate charters typically record donations to Buddhist institutions granted or approved by kings. The kings were not always themselves Buddhists but acted to administer requests by officials, associates, or influential individuals who were. The "gift" typically took the form of a village or tract of land whose tax revenues were granted to the donees in perpetuity. In their format and contents, such inscriptions are virtually identical to non-Buddhist inscriptions of the corresponding type, except that the recipients are Buddhists rather than Brahmans. Buddhist copperplate inscriptions first appear in the late 3rd century CE (Falk, 1999–2000) and become fairly common from around the 5th century CE onward, mainly in northern and eastern India, although they remain everywhere much fewer than the corresponding non-Buddhist inscriptions. A significant early example is the Gunaighar (Bangladesh) plate (*IHQ* 6, 45–60) of 507 CE, recording the gift of 11 plots for the maintenance of Mahāyāna monks of the Avalokiteśvarāśrama vihāra. An early example from south India is the Hiregutti plates (*EpInd* 27, 70–75), recording King Aśaṅkita's donation of a village to the saṅgha. From western India, some 25 examples belong to the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī (listed in von Hinüber, 2013).

An early specimen of a *praśasti*-type inscription is the Kura (Pakistan) stone inscription commemorating the dedication of a Buddhist monastery under the auspices of the Hun king Toramāṇa. At the end of this inscription, the designation of the donees' school affiliation appears to have been altered (Schopen, 2000, 15), hinting at the sectarian rivalries that must have plagued such institutions. A notable example from the late 6th century CE is the Bodh Gaya inscription recording the foundation of a temple by Mahānāman, a native of Sri Lanka, prefiguring the increase in later centuries of inscriptions recording donations at this site by Buddhist pilgrims from outside of India (Tournier, 2014).

Other specimens of stone *praśastis* come from the Ajanta caves, notably the inscription of the Vakataka minister Varāhadeva (late 5th cent. CE), recording the dedication of cave 16 and containing a vivid poetic description of it (v. 24; CII 5, 103–111). Ajanta at this period also yielded specimens of literary inscriptions containing quotations from Buddhist poetic works such as the *Jātakamālā* and *Saundarananda*, accompanying paintings of the corresponding passages (Lüders, 1902; Schlingloff, 1975). A complete catalogue of Ajanta inscriptions, numbering nearly one hundred, including unpublished graffiti, is presented in Cohen, 2006.

Other types of inscriptions with textual citations are found in great numbers during this period, especially ones containing short passages summarizing the essence of the dharma, which were considered equivalent to bodily relics (Boucher, 1991). Earlier types, going back to the 2nd century CE, consisted of a *pratītyasamutpāda* (dependent co-origination) formula, but in this period, the so-called Buddhist creed verse proliferated (*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat/teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*; "the Tathāgata expounded the cause of those dharmas which arise from a cause, and the cessation of them; so spoke the great renouncer"; Skilling, 2008a).

From this period onward, such texts are found in huge numbers, on bricks, slabs, metal plates, images, pedestals, and especially clay tokens. They are found all over the Buddhist world, mostly in Sanskrit but sometimes in Pali (von Hinüber, 1985), particularly in Southeast Asia (Skilling, 2002; 2008b). A complex citation inscription in Pali is the set of 20 gold plates from Hmawza (ancient Śrīkṣetra), Burma, containing the *pratītyasamutpāda*, the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (factors conducive to enlightenment), and six other formulas (Falk, 1997). Similar inscriptions have been found in Turkmenistan (Baums, 2009) and Afghanistan (Melzer, 2006). The latter example includes extracts from Mahāyāna texts, and other Mahāyāna citation texts are found in Sri Lanka (Paranavitana, 1928–1933; 1934–1941; von Hinüber, 1984).

Royal, personal, and institutional seals and sealings from this period are found in large numbers at sites such as Nalanda, Sarnath, Kosam, and Kasia. This material is summarized by K.K. Thaplyal (1972, 206–222). Such inscriptions are often useful in determining the location of ancient Buddhist sites and in interpreting their monastic structures.

It is also during this period that Buddhist inscriptions began to appear in Nepal. Several noteworthy examples are ably presented and analyzed by D. Acharya (2008). Like most Buddhist inscriptions from Nepal of this and subsequent periods, these are dedicatory or cultic records on images; more ornate types of Buddhist inscriptions are very rare in Nepal.

Late Inscriptions (7th–13th Cents. CE)

During this period, Buddhist inscriptions became more and more similar in style and format to non-Buddhist inscriptions. The predominant types are elaborate *praśasti* stone inscriptions recording donations and foundations, long copperplate grants, image dedications, and sealings. Major donative records typically record large-scale foundations of monastic institutions, whereas smaller donations are mostly in the form of images; relic dedications are no longer found. Buddhist inscriptions decreased in number during this period and are found in large numbers only in northeastern India, particularly under the patronage of the Pala and other regional dynasties. In other parts of South Asia, Buddhist records are mostly scattered and dispersed and concentrated only at sacred sites such as Sarnath, Bodh Gaya, Amaravati, Saheth-Maheth (Śrāvastī), and Nalanda. Several of these inscriptions record the patronage of royalty from outside South Asia. Many inscriptions of this period attest to the predominance of the Mahāyāna – for example the 12th-century Nalanda inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra (*EpInd* 21, 97–101), referring to Prajñāpāramitā and temples of Khasarpaṇa and Tārā.

Nalanda has yielded particularly interesting specimens of late Buddhist inscriptions (Sastri, 1942). For instance, the 9th-century copper plate of the Pala king Devapāladeva (*EpInd* 17, 310–327; Majumdar, 1926) records the dedication of four villages to a monastery built at Nalanda by the king of the Sailendra dynasty of Java and Sumatra. The 11th-century "Larger Leiden plates" (*EpInd* 22, 213–266) correspondingly commemorate the Chola king Rājarāja I's donation of a village to a monastery built by a Sailendra prince. A stone inscription from Ghosravan, near Nalanda (*IA* 17, 307–312), recounts the career of a monk from Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad, Afghanistan) who became the supervisor of a monastery at Nalanda, showing that Buddhist communities in South Asia were still in communication over vast distances.

Donative inscriptions on statues are especially numerous during the Pala period in northeastern India (8th–12th cents.). These are conveniently collected by S.L. Huntington, (1984, 203–250; see also Bhattacharya, 1998). A cache of 93 inscribed bronze figures was discovered at Kurkihar near Gaya (Banerji-Sastri, 1940a; 1940b; Gupta, 1965, 125–159), many of them dedicated by devotees from distant Kanchipuram. Another interesting series of inscribed bronze images comes from the period of the Palola dynasty of Gilgit in the far northwest (see e.g. von Hinüber, 2004; 2011).

In this period, stone tablets and terracotta impressions of *dhāraṇīs* are found in many parts of the Indian Buddhist world, even in its farthest reaches, from Afghanistan to the Maldives (see e.g. Schopen, 1982; Gippert, 2004). Ratnagiri (Odisha) has yielded several specimens of *dhāraṇī* inscriptions from the 9th to the 11th century (Mitra, 1981, 98–100, 229–232) as well as many monastic and personal sealings, terracotta tablets, and stone slabs with the "Buddhist creed" (Mitra, 1983, 380–422).

By the 12th century, Buddhist inscriptions had become increasingly rare, though a few noteworthy specimens survive, mostly at pilgrimage sites. The construction of a vihāra by Kumāradevī, a queen of the Gahadavala king Govindacandra, is recorded in a stone inscription in ornate verse from Sarnath (*EpInd* 9, 319–328). A copper plate from Saheth-Maheth (*EpInd* 11, 20–26) commemorates Govindracandra's dedication of six villages to the Jetavana Monastery at the request of two monks from Utkala (modern Odisha) and Coḍa (variant Coḷa; Tam. Cōḻa, the Chola Kingdom). A later stone inscription from Saheth-Maheth (*IA* 17, 61–64) records the foundation of a Buddhist monastery in 1219–1220 CE. Among the latest Buddhist inscriptions is the Amaravati inscription of 1234 CE (*EpInd* 6, 157–159) recording grants by members of the local royalty to a Buddhist institution, but J.S. Walters (2008) proposes that this does not provide evidence of an ongoing local Buddhist tradition, but rather shows the influence of a strategic alliance with contemporary Sri Lankan rulers.

In Sri Lanka, Buddhist inscriptions in Sinhalese on pillars and stone slabs are very abundant, particularly between the 9th and the 12th century (*ICe* 5). These typically record gifts to the saṅgha by royalty and laypeople or proclamations concerning its regulations and affairs called *katikāvata* (Ratnapala, 1971; Gunawardana, 1979). There are also a few inscriptions in Sanskrit, some illustrating the presence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but, surprisingly, very few Pali inscriptions (Dias, 1971).

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RICHARD SALOMON

Epigraphy: Southeast Asia

Most Buddhist inscriptions in Southeast Asia may be assigned to one of three general analytical categories. They may be classified as citation inscriptions, caption inscriptions, or donative inscriptions; however, there are also less common types of epigraphy (see p. 994 on *siddhayātra* inscriptions) that elude this tripartite schematization.

Epigraphs of the first type are so-called because they inscribe text for which parallels can often be traced in Buddhist scripture. The paradigmatic example is the inscription of the *ye dhammā* (Pal.) / *ye dharmāḥ* (Skt.) stanza, an encapsulation of the teaching of "conditioned arising" (Pal. *paṭiccasamuppāda*; Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*), which is found in different recensions in a wide range of Pali, other Middle Indo-Aryan, and Sanskrit literary sources (Skilling, 1999; 2003–2004). While we follow scholarly convention in referring to such epigraphs as citation inscriptions, in most cases it is not possible to determine with certainty whether such inscriptions were in fact cited from a particular source text, recalled from memory, or if they were transmitted independently of any perceived scriptural basis. And indeed there is at least one major corpus of citation inscriptions from early Southeast Asia (see p. 994 on the *ajñānāc cīyate* verse) for which there is no textual parallel in the Buddhist literature that has come down to us (Skilling, 2015). Citation inscriptions were and still are produced by Buddhists across the region as embodiments of the dhamma and objects of veneration and ritual. We include in this category also inscribed mantras and so-called *bīja* (seed) syllables.

Caption inscriptions comprise epigraphic glosses that accompany iconographic representations of narratives drawn from Buddhist texts, such as a life of a buddha or a *jātaka* (tale of a former life of a buddha).

Donative inscriptions were and still are produced, and often publicly established and displayed, to document a work of merit consisting of a gift (*dāna*) made to support and perpetuate the institutions and teachings of Buddhism. Such gifts include building, repairing, and adorning monasteries and shrines; offering lands, livestock, and labor for the upkeep of a monastic community; creating images or ritual utensils; copying texts of the dhamma or representing them in art; and sponsoring ordinations. A donative inscription might amount to nothing more than the name of a donor etched on the base of a Buddha image, or run to hundreds of lines inscribed across the front and back of multiple massive stone slabs.

The motivations for such meritorious acts of giving are many, and often find explicit mention in lengthier donative inscriptions. Among other things, stated motivations include wishes for buddhahood, the opportunity to take a bodhisatta vow, *nibbāna* at the time of the next Buddha Metteyya, prosperity and happiness in this life or the next, the protection and prolongation of the teachings of the Buddha, and the sharing of merit with living or deceased persons or deities. Several formulaic components are characteristic of lengthier donative inscriptions:

1. the date of the work of merit;
2. the name(s) of the donor(s);
3. the name(s) of the recipient(s) of the gift;
4. a list of the property transferred;
5. the motivation for the gift; and
6. an admonition warning others against nullifying or injuring the gift.

As some examples discussed below show, occasionally donative inscriptions incorporate citations, eulogies to the donor (*praśasti*), and words of praise for the Buddha, dhamma, or saṅgha.

During the premodern period, the purpose of donative inscriptions was not primarily commemorative. They were legal documents that testified to the legitimate ownership of property. Inscriptions were cited in tax surveys to establish the owners and boundaries of land, and invoked in court cases as evidence of the property belonging to a particular monastic community. Some inscriptions record protracted legal battles over property, with laypersons accusing monks of falsely claiming ownership over lands that had never been donated to them (Than Tun, 1998), or factions within a family disputing who had the right to give property to a monastic community and thereby accrue merit (Frasch, 1996). Because of the continued legal importance of inscriptions, authorities occasionally reinscribed damaged ones onto new ston
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damaged ones onto new stone or copperplate or copied them onto palm-leaf or paper manuscripts. An example of the former is a countrywide cadastral audit initiated by the Burmese king Badon in the late 18th century that involved recopying stones and archiving of hundreds of original and recopied inscriptions in and around the capital city (Taw Sein Ko, 1897; 1913; for updated readings of selected inscriptions, see *Manta leḥ mahāmuni taṃ tuiṅḥ atvaṅḥ rhi kyok cā myāḥ*). For copying onto copperplates, see, for instance, the case of the Old Javanese Wanua Tengah III inscription (mentioned on p. 995), which incorporates a copy of a prior Sanskrit edict, and the Old Javanese Kāñcana and Śobhāmṛta inscriptions, which pretend to be integral recopies of documents centuries older (Sarkar, 1971–72, no. 22; Titi Surti Nastiti, 2007).

While in some parts of Southeast Asia, Buddhism has enjoyed nearly exclusive patronage from the state throughout history, and in some others its success as an institutionalized religion has waxed and waned in competition notably with (Śaiva) Hinduism, there are also certain regions – although not many – where it has never played more than a marginal role. Defining what constitutes a Buddhist inscription is dependent, among other factors, on the overall social status of Buddhism in a given area. Throughout history, any inscription from Burma, for instance, can be considered Buddhist by default; the island of Sumatra, before Islamization, has hardly yielded any explicitly non-Buddhist epigraphs, and so in case of doubt, any inscription will have to be considered Buddhist. In other areas, we must depend on textual content or archaeological context to determine whether an inscription may be called Buddhist. In this connection, it is useful to keep in mind that ostensibly conclusive keywords such as *bhikṣusaṃgha* and vihāra may in certain cases denote Śaiva ascetics and monasteries, and that inscriptions may not be designated as Buddhist on the sole grounds of occurrence of such terms (on *bhikṣusaṃgha* in a Śaiva Sanskrit inscription of 8th-century Java, see Griffiths, forthcoming a; on the occurrence of vihāra in Śaiva epigraphical context in Campā, see Griffiths *et al.*, 2012, 236).

Geographical and Chronological Overview

Buddhist epigraphy covers almost the whole of the area that is known, in current geopolitical and academic parlance, as Southeast Asia. Not a single member state of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (with the possible exception of Singapore) is not home to a number of Buddhist inscriptions. Present borders are only partly a useful guide in the classification of Buddhist inscriptions: some regions now considered part of Southeast Asia might for the purposes of treating Buddhist epigraphy equally well be classified as belonging to South or East Asia; all of maritime Southeast Asia – the current states of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the Philippines – can usefully be considered a cultural-historical unit (which we will call Nusantara), as can Laos together with Thailand; current Vietnam must be viewed as comprising at least two historical entities, Campā and Đại Việt (the latter not taken into account in this entry); the epigraphical heritage of the Khmers stretches far beyond today's borders of Cambodia.

The oldest Buddhist inscription from Southeast Asia, if not the oldest inscription from Southeast Asia *tout court*, is found on a small number of clay objects stamped with the Pali or Prakrit inscription *saṃghasiri*, found during the excavation of a mound at the Beikthano archaeological site in lower-central Burma, provisionally dated to the 2nd century CE (Aung Thaw, 1968). These may, however, have been imported from the Indian subcontinent.

The chronology of the earliest positively local Buddhist inscriptions is problematic throughout the region, but certainly by the 6th century CE, a culture of production of Buddhist inscriptions was well established in several areas. This culture died out centuries ago in all of Nusantara, but lives on into the present in large parts of the Southeast Asian mainland.

Scripts and Languages

With the exception of those parts of Vietnam where the use of Chinese characters was the norm, all other Buddhist cultures of Southeast Asia (including Campā in what is now Vietnam) have exclusively used script types that are directly or indirectly adopted from South Asia. The classification of and nomenclature for premodern Indic scripts in Southeast Asia is a notorious problem (comp. Sander, 2007), and hardly any sophisticated research crossing the boundaries of present nation states has been undertaken in this field. Many publications on early Southeast Asian inscriptions use the term "Pallava" script. This name refers to the Pallava dynasty, which came to power on the southeast coast of India around 300 CE. Early 20th-century scholars attributed to this dynasty the dissemination of cultural features – such as the use of Sanskrit and production of Hindu and Buddhist statuary – from India to Southeast Asia. But there is virtually no direct evidence of any Pallava involvement, certainly not for the earliest centuries, and the Pallavas were by no means the only southern Indian kings to use this script during the early 1st millennium. Moreover, the inscriptions of other dynasties show a form of writing that looks just as much like the script used in Southeast Asia as does the script seen in Pallava inscriptions. Several inscriptions from Burma, Thailand, and Malaysia employ this script in Buddhist contexts, in Pali citation inscriptions, whereas the Pallava dynasty was never an important patron of Buddhism. For these reasons, among others, it is preferable to use more neutral terms – for instance, Late Southern Brahmi – to describe the form of writing found in most Buddhist inscriptions of Southeast Asia before about 700 CE. After this period, Late Southern Brahmi developed in separate directions in various regions of Southeast Asia, creating, for example, the "Kawi" script of Java (de Casparis, 1975), seen in caption inscriptions on Borobudur probably dating to the 8th century, which is the antecedent of modern Javanese and Balinese scripts. In the same way, the modern scripts of mainland Southeast Asia (notably Mon-Burmese, Khmer and Thai; see e.g. Antelme, 2007) also descend ultimately from Late Southern Brahmi.

Indic writing was received in Southeast Asia in more than one wave, and certain areas during certain periods were strongly influenced by northeastern Indian Buddhist culture. In those areas, we find scripts derived from Northern Brahmi, namely, Late Northern Brahmi (roughly 6th–7th cents.; found in Arakan and at Śrīkṣetra, both Burma) and the Siddhamatrika script (in the 8th and 9th cents.; particularly on Java and Bali; see Griffiths *et al.*, 2013; Griffiths, 2014a), from the dominion of the Palas, who ruled a large area of northeastern India from about the mid-8th century onward. Later we find instances of Nagari script proper, in Burma (see p. 992) as well as Nusantara (de Casparis, 1982; Griffiths, 2014b).

One particular script seems to show features of both northern and southern Indic writing: this so-called Pyu script, known only from a small number of inscriptions found at Pyu sites within the Irrawaddy River valley of central Burma, still requires detailed study in order for it to be classified. The same script is involved in the rare phenomenon of digraphy – that is, the use of more than one script in a single inscription. One can find combinations of Pyu script, used to write the Pyu language – which is not yet well understood, but is apparently a member of the Tibeto-Burman language family – with Late Southern Brahmi to write Pali or Late Northern Brahmi to write Sanskrit. This last example simultaneously illustrates the fact that, in general, the northern scripts, when used in Southeast Asia, show a strong association with Buddhism and Sanskrit (de Casparis, 1982), whereas Late Southern Brahmi and its descendant scripts are not so specialized in terms of religious affiliation and are used to write a far more diverse range of languages. Two generalizations are possible with regard to the Pali language: it is in Southeast Asia never written in a northern Indic script, and it always indicates a Buddhist context.

There are very rare examples of the use of the later South Indian scripts Tamil and Grantha, and a single epigraph written in the northern Bhaikshuki script (Dimitrov, 2010).

Materials and Object Types

The favored material for large inscriptions has, throughout history, been stone. Stone inscriptions are in the vast majority of cases documents intended to be public and, hence, to be read. In mainland Southeast Asia, sandstone of excellent quality for manufacture of inscriptions is widely available. In Nusantara, the quality of available stone (in most cases andesite) tends to be lower, and consequently ancient stone inscriptions from the archipelago are often considerably more challenging to decipher than are contemporary inscriptions from the mainland. The favored format for stone inscriptions is the stela, that is, a slab of stone intended to stand upright on a tenon, without necessary structural integration into a larger architectural context (such as a temple), generally inscribed at least on its two large faces, often also bearing text on smaller faces at the top and sides. Architectural elements in stone, such as doorjambs and lintels, are also often inscribed, as are stone cult images, relief slabs applied to walls of monuments, and so on.

Inscriptions were and still are also commonly engraved on metal supports, predominantly in copper/bronze, silver, and gold. Inscriptions engraved on metal supports may be for public readership, but certain types of metal inscriptions were clearly not meant to be read, serving only ritual purposes.

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The medium of the copperplate, well known in Indian epigraphy for recording land transactions, was widely used in Southeast Asia only in Nusantara (on Bali, Java and Luzon) – singular exceptions known from Arakan (Sircar, 1967), from the Haṃsavatī kingdom in lower Burma (Pan Hla & Guillon, 1972) and from U Thong in Thailand (Cœdès, 1958; this inscription is not Buddhist) confirm the rule. Throughout Southeast Asia, foils or leaves made of precious metals were inscribed with Buddhist texts and worn as amulets or installed in monuments or images at the time of their consecration. Ritual utensils also bear inscriptions; bronze bells stand out in Burma for being very often endowed with donative inscriptions but are scarcely found, or even absent, as an epigraphic medium in other parts of Southeast Asia. Elsewhere, inscribed ritual utensils are somewhat rare, but a substantial number of explicitly Buddhist examples are known from ancient Cambodia (Estève & Vincent, 2010; Griffiths & Vincent, 2014). Although inscribed (signet) rings are not uncommon, only very few of the preserved examples can be connected with Buddhism (Malleret, vol. III, 1959–1960, 111; no. 916 *saṅghapauttasya*). A very widely attested type of metal support for inscriptions is, finally, the sculptured cult image itself.

The third important material used as epigraphic support is clay, whether left unbaked or baked to become terracotta. Most instances of the use of this material do not serve purposes of public expression. Clay/terracotta is the favored material in Buddhist contexts for the mass reproduction of Buddhist texts and images as part of ritual practices. The technique of applying text is that of stamping onto an object, engraving into a mold, or inscribing the clay directly. Such inscriptions are found in great numbers, throughout Southeast Asia, on so-called votive tablets or sealings (see pp. 992–996, 1002–1003) bearing molded images. The practice of stamping texts onto small semispherical lumps of clay and inserting those into small clay stūpas seems to have been limited to Nusantara, where we also find clay stūpas directly stamped with the same texts (Issatriadi, 1976–1977). The engraving of caption inscriptions into clay plaques with narrative reliefs – an instance of the public use of this kind of material support – is apparently limited to Burma (see p. 1002).

The last-mentioned type of inscription may be compared with the application of ink narrative captions, donative statements, horoscopes, and perhaps in some cases graffiti onto plaster layers. This practice is extensively attested at Pagan and in later Burmese temples and also – though very poorly preserved – in several Buddhist sanctuaries of Central Java (de Casparis, 1958, 7, 13). A special type of yellow-beige pyrophyllite, known as *andagū* in Burmese, was used for the carving of rather small images, rarely exceeding 30 cm, many of which bear inscriptions (Bautze-Picron, 2006). Other materials used as epigraphic support are ivory and wood, but we know no examples older than a few centuries.

Inscriptions in Sanskrit

Inscriptions in Sanskrit no doubt form the most diverse linguistic subgroup within the corpus of Southeast Asian Buddhist epigraphy. They are represented in all present-day countries (except Singapore), found in bilingual combination with most languages of vernacular epigraphy, and illustrate a greater typological diversity of Buddhist inscriptions than one might find in any other individual language of Southeast Asia, past or present.

The spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia is concomitant to the general spread of Indic cultural features in the region. All early inscriptions of Southeast Asia are undated, and determining the earliest Buddhist examples depends on – notoriously treacherous and imprecise – paleographic arguments. Although current scholarship assigns somewhat earlier dates to the oldest Pali inscriptions of Burma (see p. 996) than it does to the earliest Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit, we would not wish to exclude the possibility that one or more of the Sanskrit inscriptions discussed below are in fact earlier than, or contemporary to, them. Sanskrit was only very rarely inscribed in central Burma but elsewhere has known phases of significant or even exclusive use in epigraphic practice. The general trend has been for its use to give way to that of vernacular languages, although it never went out of fashion in Cambodia throughout the so-called pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods (6th–13th cents.); in Nusantara, where Sanskrit has never known a long phase of predominant usage, continuous exchange with South Asia seems to be one reason behind the resurfacing of Sanskrit as an epigraphic language at various brief periods in different regions.

Arakan

Among the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Buddhist Southeast Asia are no doubt some that were found in Arakan. The Arakan tradition of Sanskrit epigraphy is limited chronologically to roughly the second half of the 1st millennium CE and forms only the first chapter of the epigraphic history of Arakan. After a gap of several centuries without any local epigraphic production, an Arakanese vernacular tradition starts in about the 14th century and forms the second chapter of this history (see pp. 1002–1003). The majority of the relevant items have been found around the major early urban site of Vesālī. The total number of Sanskrit inscriptions so far recorded is about two dozen (Johnston, 1944; Gutman, 1976; Griffiths, forthcoming d). The corpus includes several *ye dharmāḥ* stanza citations (Kyaw Minn Htin, 2011), besides some short and some (very) extensive donative inscriptions, including the aforementioned copperplate charter.

Central Burma

On the whole, the Sanskrit epigraphical record of Burma is not well served by publications and some pioneer work remains to be done. We are aware of only four inscriptions wholly or substantially composed in Sanskrit found in what is today central Burma:

1. the bilingual and digraphic Sanskrit-Pyu inscription – whose partly damaged text does not evidently permit classification among any of our categories – engraved on the base of a stone Buddha image at the Śrīkṣetra Museum (Pyay, Burma), comprising eight stanzas in *vaṃśasthavila* meter interspersed with Pyu glosses (Luce, vol. I, 1985, 65, 65n22, 132; vol. II, 1985, pl. 16–17; Griffiths *et al.*, forthcoming);
2. the fragments of a monolingual Sanskrit inscription, engraved in a form of Late Northern Brahmi, said to have been found at Śrīkṣetra but of which no trace is to be found there nowadays (see Sircar, 1976, 210–217; another fragment whose discovery was reported in the *ASB*, 1960, 22 [fig. 13] may well belong to this same inscription);
3. a ruined inscription held in a small shed near the Tharaba gate at Pagan, in a form of early Nagari or proto-Bengali script, almost entirely illegible; and
4. the recently discovered Sawlu inscription from Myittha, which at the top of the side also bearing Pali and Pyu texts, reveals the extremely damaged remains of a Sanskrit portion too, again in such a north(east) Indian script.

Some small artifacts, such as rings and intaglios, bear short legends in the form of Sanskrit words or names; notable are several instances of intaglios bearing the Sanskrit (or Pali) compound *dayādānaṃ* (gift out of compassion; Aung Thaw, 1972, 14).

From the early 2nd millennium CE, there is also the evidence of the numerous sealings dated to the reigns of Aniruddha (r. c. 1044–1077) and his immediate successors, some of which carry short Sanskrit or Palicized Sanskrit donative statements or citations, frequently of the *ye dharmāḥ* stanza, stamped in Nagari script into the clay. In addition, there are a few instances in which donative inscriptions contain short Sanskrit passages in the Mon-Burmese script, usually recording astronomical data, such as in the final several lines of the monumental Shwegugyi Inscription (1131 CE; Pe Maung Tin & Luce, 1960). During this period Sanskrit is also, though rarely, found written in Burmese script in brief invocatory phrases that begin inscriptions (otherwise written in Pali). The most common of such usages is the Sanskrit word *śrī*, found nine times among the earliest Burmese vernacular inscriptions dated to the 12th century, and several variations on *namo sarvajñāya* (e.g. *namo sarbbajaññāya*; "hail to the omniscient [Buddha]!").

The Khmer Cultural Sphere

The epigraphical record of ancient Cambodia, covering all of present Cambodia and large portions of what are now Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam, is comparatively well served by the monumental series of *Inscriptions du Cambodge* by G. Cœdès (1937–1966); in volume VIII, he published an inventory of about 1000 inscriptions that assigns a K. (for Khmer) number to and lists the bibliography for each item. Since then, the inventory has been carried forward (Jacques, 1971; see also Gerschheimer, 2003–2004) and further volumes of inscriptions have been published (Pou, 1989; 2001; 2011).

A tradition of use of Sanskrit for Buddhist inscriptions in the Khmer cultural sphere is attested from the 6th–7th centuries onward down to the 14th century (see Harris, 2005: ch. 1, app. A and B), that is, during the pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods. Two early Sanskrit inscriptions (K. 40; K. 604) suggest a significant role of Brahmans in the earliest history of Buddhism, as is also observed in the Wat Maheyong inscription of Thailand (see p. 994). In terms of royal patronage, and hence in terms of the epigraphic record, Buddhism generally remained in the shadow of Śaivism during the 1st millennium CE, and Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions are therefore relatively rare (Sanderson, 2003–2004, 424–433). Many scholars have assumed a phenomenon of syncretism between Buddhism and other religions of Indian origin, as well as local religious traditions, again relying heavily on epigraphic evidence, but the notion of syncretism is problematic (Estève, 2009).

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The Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions that we have almost exclusively record works of merit (donation, foundation), following the general pattern typical of Cambodian Sanskrit epigraphy in their textual structure, always engraved on stone and always entirely composed in verse form respecting the standards of the *kāvya* genre, entailing inclusion of a quantity of praise poetry (*praśasti*) directed at one or more deities as well as the issuing authority (usually the king) that often overshadows the record of the work of merit, which it is the basic *raison d'être* of the inscription to record. Many such inscriptions are accompanied (almost always: concluded) by business portions in Old Khmer.

During the reigns of Jayavarman V (r. 968/969–1000) and Jayavarman VII (r. 1182/1183–c. 1220), two kings who were particularly favorable to Buddhism, we witness an efflorescence of Buddhist Sanskrit epigraphy, including some of the most poetically impressive and historically informative Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia, that of Vat Sithor (K. 111; Sharrock, 2012), the group of Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions of Bat Chum (K. 266–268; Mertens, 2005), and the enormous Buddhist donations recorded in the stelae of Ta Prohm (K. 273) and Preah Khan (K. 908). A recently discovered and still unpublished Sanskrit inscription (K. 1297) reveals the kings Jayavarman VI (r. 1080/1081–1107/1108) and Tribhuvanādityavarman (r. 1169–1177), about whom very little was known so far, to have been important supporters of Buddhism as well (Griffiths & Vincent, 2014); it focuses on donations at the apparently very important, though still unidentified, site named Vaṃśārāma in the Sanskrit inscriptions, Chpār Ransī in Khmer (Estève, 2009, 446–475).

Many scholars have invoked epigraphical evidence in an effort to trace the history of Theravāda/Śrāvakayāna in Cambodia, but the arguments are rarely conclusive (Harris, 2005, ch. 1) and generally rely on inscriptions in Khmer or Pali. It is Sanskrit inscriptions that tend to be invoked with regard to the question of earliest epigraphic attestations of Mahāyāna and Mantranaya (tantric) Buddhism (Woodward, 2004; Green, 2014); of particular interest in this connection is the unique *prastāra* (alphabet diagram) inscription from Bat Chum (K. 948; Cœdès, 1952b; Woodward, 2009).

Campā

The corpus of inscriptions of Campā spans from about the 5th to the 15th century. The inventory of these inscriptions, initiated, like that for the Khmer corpus, by G. Cœdès (Cœdès & Parmentier, 1923) and still maintained by the École française d'Extrême-Orient (Griffiths *et al.*, 2008–2009) covers about 240 inscriptions (each with a C. number), only a small percentage of which is Buddhist, the most important ones of these (in size) being in Sanskrit, some others in vernacular Cam (see p. 1001). Most of the published Campā inscriptions are readily available in one handy volume which makes available in English translation all French-language publications that had appeared before 2004 (Golzio, 2004). Since then, important publications include *The Inscriptions of Campā in the Museum of Cham Sculpture at Đà Nẵng* (Griffiths *et al.*, 2012; see also the website of the Corpus of the Inscriptions of Campā).

In Campā, as in ancient Cambodia, Śaivism was on the whole the dominant religion, and the fact that Buddhist inscriptions form a minority reflects this. Several authors have compiled surveys of Buddhism in ancient Campā, all relying partly or principally on inscriptions (Mabbett, 1986; Chutiwongs, 2005; Schweyer, 2009). The Buddhist inscriptions of Campā are very comparable in their physical appearance and contents to those of Cambodia; they are always engraved on stone and always composed in verse form (e.g. C. 66). Some of them are concluded by a business portion in Old Cam. Their distribution on the map of Campā is relatively even, although a certain concentration is notable in the 9th and 10th centuries in what are now Quảng Nam, Thừa Thiên-Huế, Quảng Trị, and Quảng Bình provinces. The Buddhism of ancient Campā was quite clearly part of the Mahāyāna/Mantranaya complex, with possible evidence of influence of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Woodward, 2011). Absent from the mentioned overviews are some relatively early (c. 7th cent.?) *ye dharmāḥ* inscriptions (C. 46; C. 134) from Phú Yên and Quảng Nam provinces respectively, the former recorded to have been engraved on a molded tablet. A comparably early stela with image of a Buddha, recently discovered also in Phú Yên, is engraved two times with the *ye dharmāḥ* stanza, to which is added a statement of the “four truths of the noble” (Skilling *et al.*, 2010); two fragmentary molded tablets, on whose backs the *ye dharmāḥ* stanza is written in script that suggests a dating to the 9th century, were also found in Phú Yên (Skilling, 2003–2004; Skilling *et al.*, 2010). A 10th-century donative Sanskrit inscription (C. 167) relevant to the history of Buddhism remains unpublished.

Laos and Central Thailand

No early Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit are known from Laos. What early Buddhist inscriptions there are, are in Mon. The use of Sanskrit was certainly not prominent in what is now central Thailand, in the predominantly Mon-speaking polity that silver medallions and a stone inscription, dated on paleographic grounds to circa the 7th century CE, as well as later inscriptions and Chinese sources, call Dvāravatī (Boeles, 1964; Skilling, 2003; Revire, forthcoming a). Despite their primary connection with Mon rather than Khmer culture, almost all of the pre-Thai inscriptions of central Thailand have been included in the inventory of Cambodian inscriptions (see p. 992), and hence bear K. numbers. The few early inscriptions found in central Thailand that include Sanskrit portions listed by N. Revire (2014) are mostly fragmentary. Some Sanskrit inscriptions found in this area are clearly Śaiva; in several cases, it seems that materials belong to the Khmer cultural sphere rather than Dvāravatī or some other non-Khmer kingdom.

Still, the existence of a modest Sanskrit epigraphic tradition in Buddhist circles of Dvāravatī is undeniable (K. 577). It cannot be excluded that the important, but very fragmentary, Wat Maheyong inscription (K. 407), commonly assumed to come from the peninsular province Nakhon Si Thammarat, actually comes from a Dvāravatī site. Its script is virtually identical to that of the Dvāravatī Pali citation inscriptions (see p. 997) and records donations to the monastic community apparently in conjunction with Brahmans.

Nusantara

The southern segment of the Malayan peninsula belongs culturally to island Southeast Asia (Nusantara). The number of inscriptions found on the mainland is on the whole very limited, but the few that have been found in what is today Southern Thailand and Western Malaysia are almost exclusively Buddhist. Several specimens of Sanskrit *ye dharmāḥ* stanzas were found on the Thai side of the border (Skilling, 2003–2004), as were inscriptions citing the "four truths of the noble" (Revire, forthcoming b). Most of the epigraphic material on the Malaysian side has been thoroughly documented by M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992; 2002). Among those of special interest are the two tablets found at sites in Kedah, thought to date to about the 7th century, that cite (one with one more verse than the other) the same passage from the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā*, a text of whose Sanskrit transmission only quotations survive and which is integrally known solely from Chinese (T. 397, 400) and Tibetan (D 152/P 819) translations (Quaritch Wales, 1940; Chia & Andaya, 2011, figs. 2.7–2.8).

Also from the same Kedah area are two rather small stone slabs, illustrated with the images of stūpas, around which are engraved the respective inscriptions. In the more recently discovered Sungai Mas inscription (Allen, 1986–1987), we find the *ajñānāc cīyate* verse, apparently a scriptural citation found in several epigraphical instances throughout Nusantara but one whose source text has not been identified (Skilling, forthcoming). In the more famous inscription of Buddhagupta (Chhabra, 1935), we find the same verse, but now combined with the phrase *mahānāvikabuddhaguptasya raktamṛttikavās[tavyasya]* ("of the great shipcaptain Buddhagupta, resident of Raktamṛttika") and *sarvveṇa prakāreṇa sarvvasmin sarvvathā sa[r]vva... siddhayāt[r]ā[h] santu* ("in all ways, everywhere and at all times may all... obtain success in their travels"). We are inclined to interpret this inscription as an ex voto of said Buddhagupta, explicitly stated to originate from a place that may well be the same as that after which was named the Raktamṛttikā Mahāvihāra in what is now Rajbadidanga, Murshidabad district, West Bengal, India (although problems with this interpretation remain; see Skilling, 2015). A substantial number of simpler texts containing in fullest form the phrase *jayasiddhayātrasarvvasatvāḥ* ("May all beings obtain victory and success in their travels!") or shorter versions but minimally the word *siddhayātra* engraved on unprepared river stones have been found near Buddhist sanctuaries in South Sumatra and South Kalimantan (de Casparis, 1956, 1–2; Suwedi Montana, 1990). We tentatively accept here the unpublished idea of P.-Y. Manguin (not shared by previous scholars) that these would also have been ex votos.

The Nusantara archipelago is richly endowed with a variety of molded clay tablets or sealings that are known in the secondary literature as votive tablets; recent scholarship has distanced itself from this term, based on the argument that such molded tablets "were not produced as a result of a vow but rather in ritual contexts in order to produce merit" (Skilling, 2005). If our understanding is correct that such clay tablets served a different ritual purpose than the *siddhayātra* stones, then we know of no other examples of ex voto inscriptions in the Buddhist world.

Molded clay tablets of the type discussed by P. Skilling, if they are inscribed, in the vast majority

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of Nusantaran cases bear the *ye dharmāḥ* stanza, which is also often applied onto other small clay artifacts (e.g. miniature stūpas) by stamp (Griffiths, 2011b); unique for Nusantara is its reduction to the mantra *oṃ ye te svāhā* (Cruijsen *et al.*, 2012, 91). Very rarely attested citations of other texts on clay sealings have been discussed by A. Griffiths (2014a). There is a possible case of citation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* on a small stone tablet from Sumatra, resembling the aforementioned *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā* citation tablets from Kedah (Griffiths, 2011b); a large stone from Lampung bears the *dhāraṇī* of the *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra*, and citations of other Mahāyāna scriptures are found on a substantial corpus of metal foil inscriptions, apparently serving as consecration deposits for statues; sometimes they are directly engraved on metal statues, sometimes on substantial plates, perhaps intended as consecration deposits for stūpas (Cruijsen *et al.*, 2012; Orlina, 2012; Griffiths, 2014a). Besides citation of verses or *dhāraṇīs* from Mahāyāna scriptures, there is also a growing body of citations of mantras from tantric scriptures including the *Hevajratantra* (Sundberg, 2003; Griffiths *et al.*, 2013; Griffiths, 2014a). A unique case is the *Mahāraudranāmahṛdaya*, a *dhāraṇī* with close intertextual connections to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, engraved on a foil excavated near Borobudur and also transmitted on Bali, but not known from any other part of the Buddhist world (Griffiths, 2014c). Some textual material from or related to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is also found engraved on stone stakes (*kīlaka*) apparently serving to demarcate ground plans of Buddhist monuments in central Java (Griffiths, 2014a). The aforementioned types of inscriptions often include one or more *bīja* mantras, but there are also several cases of sets of small gold foils engraved with individual *bījas* together intended to form *maṇḍalas* (Nihom, 1998; Griffiths, 2014b).

Several instances of the category of caption inscriptions are known from Java (Candi Borobudur and Candi Jago) and other islands (Batu Pahat in West Kalimantan; see Krom, vol. I, 1927, ch. 2; Brandes, 1904, app. I; Skilling, 2015). Due to lack of case endings, the identification of the language as Sanskrit cannot always be established with total certainty, as local languages have abundantly absorbed Sanskrit lexical material in stem forms. The inscription of Pasir Panjang on Karimun Besar (in the Riau archipelago) seems to be at once a caption identifying a pair of large natural indentations in a rocky outcrop as footprints of the Buddha and a memento of a figure calling himself Golapaṇḍita (perhaps "Scholar from Gauḍa"; Caldwell & Hazlewood, 1994).

We are able to treat here only in the most cursory manner what is, at least in terms of textual volume and richness as historical source material, the most important subclass of Nusantaran Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions, namely those whose basic *raison d'être* is to record donations, installations of statues, and other such works of merit, in the literary form of the *kāvya* genre also current in Cambodia and Campā. Compared to those and other Buddhist epigraphic cultures, Buddhists of ancient Nusantara much more rarely opted for the production of bilingual inscriptions (one exception is the Sanskrit-Old Javanese Kayumwungan stela included in Long, 2014), and indeed – with exceptions in specific areas and periods – on the whole much more rarely used Sanskrit for donative records to begin with.

No such records have come to light on Borneo/Kalimantan, where epigraphic remains generally are very sparse; from Bali, which is rich in epigraphy and which has yielded several Buddhist citation inscriptions, not a single Buddhist donative inscription in Sanskrit has been recorded either. In Sumatra, the early Buddhist kingdom of Śrīvijaya seems hardly to have issued Sanskrit donative inscriptions, only two fragments of such documents being known so far (de Casparis, 1956, ch. 1 [fragments a, b]); in what is now Nakhon Si Thammarat province of Thailand, it has left the splendid Sanskrit *praśasti* known as the Ligor inscription of the late 8th century (Long, 2014, ch. 1). Much later, in about the 13th century, one more Sanskrit donative inscription was issued in this region by a king called Candrabhānu (Cœdès, 1918; 1992a; Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 2002). Back on Sumatra, the only significant group of Sanskrit donative inscriptions is that issued under the reign of Ādityavarman in West Sumatra in the 14th century, which are extremely challenging both by the state of preservation of several items and by the extremely unorthodox register of Sanskrit that is employed in all of them. These have not yet been served by a comprehensive publication (see Kulke, 2009; Kozok & van Reijn, 2010).

In the archipelago, Java has produced the greatest number of Buddhist Sanskrit donative inscriptions. The first substantial group is that issued, mostly in Siddhamatrika script and exclusively on stone, by the Sailendra dynasty in the 8th and 9th centuries, in Central Java (Long, 2014). A unique case is the Sanskrit inscription issued under King Garuṅ in the early 9th century that is included wholesale in the early-10th-century Wanua Tengah III copperplate inscription of Balituṅ in Old Javanese (Wisseman Christie, 2001; Griffiths, 2011a; Boechari, 2012, ch. 32, no. 6).

Sanskrit inscriptions are altogether very rare in the East Javanese period, that is, from the 10th century onward, but the few exceptions are almost all from Buddhist contexts (Bosch, 1919–21; Speijer, 1903; 1904; Poerbatjaraka, 1922; Kozok & van Reijn, 2010). All of them are engraved on stone or bronze statuary whose installation they record (and all but one are discussed in Reichle, 2007).

Inscriptions in Pali

Although Pali is a Middle Indo-Aryan language that originated on the Indian subcontinent in the late 1st millennium BCE, nearly all of the early epigraphic evidence of Pali comes not from India or Sri Lanka but from mainland Southeast Asia (comp. von Hinüber, 1985). Inscriptions in Pali begin circa the 5th century CE and are concentrated around the central Irrawaddy basin of modern-day Burma and the Chao Phraya and Pasak basins of modern-day Thailand, with a single 7th- or 8th-century example from Cambodia (Skilling, 2002). During this early period, epigraphic Pali is mainly used for inscribing textual citations. By the early 2nd millennium, Pali assumes a broader documentary function, and is used as a language for recording works of merit, a role formerly reserved for Sanskrit or vernaculars in these areas.

All 1st-millennium Pali inscriptions from Southeast Asia lack dates. Perhaps the earliest example of the dated inscription of Pali in the region is K. 997, which contains several verses paralleled in the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* and is otherwise in Khmer. Its date has been variously read as 761, 941, and 1061 CE, but a date before the 10th century is extremely implausible (Revire, 2012). Dates have been assigned to undated Pali epigraphs on the basis of paleography or archaeological context, but a complete analysis of the surviving corpus, in comparison with both regional and South Asian inscriptions, has yet to be undertaken (see Falk, 1997 for some South Asian comparisons). For this reason remarks concerning early chronology should be understood as provisional.

Burma (1st Millennium CE)

A mid-1st-millennium walled settlement called Śrīkṣetra, associated with the Pyu-speaking culture, is located near the modern town of Pyay in central lower Burma. This Sanskritized name, generally used in scholarship, is perhaps first attested in a bronze seal whose authenticity and precise date require further scrutiny (Krüger & Letz, 2006), or otherwise in Mon epigraphy of the 11th and 12th centuries, in which it is also called "Sisīt" (Blagden, 1920, 94, 135, 150), whereas in the 7th century, the Chinese monk Xuanzang referred to the site as Shili Chadaluo (室利差呾羅國; Wade, 2014). The earliest (13th-cent.) name for the site in Burmese epigraphy is Sirikhyattrā (Nyein Maung *et al.*, vol. I, 1972–2013, 262), and it is typically referred to as Sirikhetta or Sarekhettarā in later Pali and Burmese inscriptions and texts.

In 1897, two gold plates inscribed in Pali were discovered at Lebaw village seven miles south of Śrīkṣetra. Known as the Maunggan Gold Plates, and currently held at the British Library, the first of them begins with a citation of the *ye dhammā* stanza, paralleled in several locations in the Tipiṭaka (see Vin i.40). This is followed by a sequence of 14 numbered lists of aspects of the Buddhist teaching that refer, for example, to the "four truths of the noble" (*cattāri ariyasaccāni*) and the "five eyes" (*pañcacakkhūni*) and "ten powers" of a buddha (*dasabalāni*). The sequence is not a direct citation of any single text but rather a compilation of numbered lists found in multiple canonical sources. The second plate also begins with the *ye dhammā* stanza, and then lists the *iti pi so* formula of the nine qualities of the Buddha and the *svākkhato* formula of the six qualities of the *dhamma* (see AN iii.285). The first editor of the text dated the plates to the 1st century (Tun Nyein, 1898); L. Finot (1912) provided a more realistic date of the 5th century. On the basis of a reappraisal of the shape of certain letters, H. Falk (1997) has recently suggested a 6th-century date.

In 1926 the excavation of the Khin Ba mound situated within the wall of Śrīkṣetra unearthed the relic chamber of a ruined stūpa, inside of which was discovered, among other Buddhist artifacts, a gold manuscript consisting of 20 folios of inscribed Pali text bound with covers and secured with a gold wire, as well as a number of fragmentary inscriptions on gold and silver plates and a silver reliquary inscribed in Pyu and Pali (Duroiselle, 1926). This golden manuscript was first read in 1939 (Lu Pe Win, 1940), and has since probably received more scholarly attention than any other early Pali epigraphic document (Stargardt, 1995; 2000; Skilling, 2005b). It contains eight Pali citations traceable to various texts of the Tipiṭaka, including the *Paṭisambhidhāmagga* and *Dhammapada*, and has been dated to the first half of

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the 5th century (Falk, 1997). A further inscribed gold plate bearing the *iti pi so* formula was discovered shortly thereafter at Kyundawzu, also within the walls of Śrīkṣetra (Duroiselle, 1928), and has been dated to approximately the same period (Falk, 1997).

Other Pali citation inscriptions on metal, stone, and clay from Burma probably date to the latter half of the 1st millennium, although in most cases, the material has not been subjected to paleographic scrutiny. From Kunzeik, near the modern city of Bago (ancient Pegu), is a stone slab, apparently contemporary with the Khin Ba mound finds, inscribed with the formula of "conditioned arising" in the specific form used in the opening of the Vinaya *Mahāvagga* (Luce, 1974; Skilling, 1997a). Many clay sealings inscribed in Pali (and vernacular Mon and Pyu) have been found at Śrīkṣetra and other sites in Burma (Mya, 1961). From Arakan in modern-day western Burma, there are also mid-1st century *ye dhammā* and other Pali inscriptions that await closer study (*ASB*, 1959; 1960; 1965). An interesting set of inscriptions from Śrīkṣetra cites verses with parallels in the *paritta* corpus of Pali recitational, ritual, and protective texts (Aung Thaw, 1993; Skilling, 1997b).

Thailand (1st Millennium CE)

Extensive early Pali epigraphic material is found also in neighboring central Thailand, connected with the Dvāravatī Kingdom (see p. 994). A recent survey notes 42 citation inscriptions, among which 26 are of the *ye dhammā* stanza, datable between the 7th and the 9th century CE (Revire, 2014). The content of these inscriptions is similar to the Burmese material in paralleling texts of the Pali Tipiṭaka. Supports include stone, brick, and molded clay. Distinctive to this region are Pali citation inscriptions on stone *dharmacakras*, "wheels of the law," and their supporting pillars/bases. Texts include excerpts concerning the four truths from the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*, excerpts from the *Udāna*, *Suttanipāta*, and *Dhammapada*, and the formula of "conditioned arising" (Brown, 1996). It is also from central Thailand that we find the earliest Buddha images inscribed in Pali (Skilling, 2003–2004).

The citation inscriptions mentioned here and in the previous section attest to the wide circulation and patronage of Pali literature in early Southeast Asia and to the fact that texts inscribed in Pali were regarded as ritual objects worthy of veneration in their own right. From the 11th century, however, Pali comes to be more widely used in donative inscriptions, as a language for documenting acts of merit and, often, to record the motivations for such acts.

Later Mainland Southeast Asia

Some of the earliest 2nd-millenium examples are Buddhist sealings inscribed in Pali and bearing names of donors, the kings Aniruddha and Sawlu of Pagan, which have been found across Burma, as far south as near Yangon and Myeik (Luce & Ba Shin, 1969–1970; Skilling, 2008). Dated Pali lithic inscriptions recording donations begin with Rājakumāra's Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi inscription of circa 1113 (Taw Sein Ko & Duroiselle, 1919) and the Shwegugyi inscription of 1131 (Pe Maung Tin & Luce, 1960). The latter is a particularly impressive example of Pali poetry, consisting of one hundred verses that include several citations from the Tipiṭaka and a condensed telling of the life of Gotama Buddha. The inscription also eulogizes the king, a feature found in other 2nd-millennium Pali inscriptions, such as one dated 1361 from Sukhothai that contains references to Pali scripture and commemorates the ordination of King Līdayya (Cœdès, vol. 1, 1924–1929, 111–116). A Pali inscription from Cambodia, long mistakenly regarded as the earliest from the country, also dates from around this period (1308 CE), and records the royal donation of a monastery along with villages and slaves (*dāsidāsa*) for its upkeep (K. 754).

Perhaps the longest donative inscription in Pali was established by King Dhammacetī in Bago in 1476 to commemorate the royal reestablishment of a pure Vinaya lineage in Rāmaññadesa (Taw Sein Ko, 1893). Known as the Kalyāṇī Sīmā inscription, and simultaneously produced also in a vernacular Mon version, it is one of the more historically significant Pali inscriptions, as its narrative of the history of Buddhism in Southeast Asia and Buddhist exchanges with Sri Lanka was later translated into multiple vernaculars and transmitted in manuscript form, entering into different regional chronicle (*vaṃsa*) traditions. Monolingual Pali inscriptions appear to be less common in Cambodia, Laos, and Northern Thailand, but a bilingual epigraph from Laos dated 1567 carries a long donative statement in Pali (Lorrillard, 2003a), and there are a number of Northern Thai Buddha images with citation and donative inscriptions in the language (Veidlinger, 2007).

Later in the 2nd millennium, inscriptions of Pali texts continued to be produced. The most ambitious is the inscription of all the root texts of the Tipiṭaka on 729 stone stelae at the Kuthodaw Temple in Mandalay, sponsored by King Mindon between 1860 and 1868. This was followed by a number of similar projects (the most recent in 1980), including one in 1913 that resulted in the inscription of Pali commentarial and subcommentarial texts on 1772 stelae (Vicittasiri & Kumārābhivaṃsa, 2000; Bollée, 1968). In 19th-century Thailand the *Dhammapada* and other Pali texts were inscribed at Phra Pathom Chedi in Nakhon Pathom (Skilling, 2000).

Southeast Asian Inscriptions in Chinese

If we limit our scope here to the period before the large-scale immigration of Chinese populations into Southeast Asia and the consequent efflorescence of a local Chinese epigraphic corpus, we must conclude that Chinese epigraphy is of almost negligible importance. A rather badly worn bilingual/digraphic Pyu-Chinese inscription dating to the 13th century, found at Pagan, reveals no explicit connection with Buddhism (Chen Yi-Sein, 1960). An inscription dated the 12th year of Ming emperor Wanli (1584–1585) from Bhamo (also in Burma), is not overtly Buddhist either (Duroiselle, 1929–1930). One or two molded tablets found at Si Thep show an explicitly Buddhist donor statement in Chinese, coupled with a line in Indic writing that has not so far been deciphered (Skilling, 2009, 121). Several Buddhist sealings from the 1420s bearing short inscriptions in Chinese have been identified among the tens of thousands of sealings and fragments thereof recovered from Wat Ratchaburana in Ayutthaya. Each begins with the words "Great Ming" (Da Ming; 大明), followed by the donor's name and a brief donative expression. At least one of the names inscribed appears to include a Chinese surname and non-Chinese personal name (Wade, 2000).

Southeast Asian Inscriptions in Tamil

Although Tamil inscriptions are not unknown in the strongholds of Buddhism that were Thailand and Burma (Francis, 2008–2009, 412), the only Tamil inscription from a Buddhist context known to us is the bilingual and digraphic Malay-Tamil Rokan inscription of 1261 from North Sumatra, recording a royal work of merit (Griffiths, 2014b).

Southeast Asian Inscriptions in Prakrit

The label Prakrit is occasionally applied by scholarship on Southeast Asian epigraphy rather loosely, or at least without a clear indication of the intended referent, simply to designate the language of inscriptions that display Middle Indo-Aryan features yet do not easily agree with standard Pali. In certain instances the designations Hybrid Pali, Sanskritized Pali, or simply incorrect Sanskrit might be more appropriate. In any event, the corpus of inscriptions from Southeast Asia that might plausibly be classified as containing a Middle Indo-Aryan language other than Pali is very limited. P. Skilling (2009) has identified several epigraphs of the *ye dhammā* verse in a Middle Indo-Aryan recension that differs from the standard Pali and Sanskrit recensions. This so-called *avaca* recension is attested in inscriptions from Bihar and Bengal, written in the rare Bhaikshuki script, and also in several inscriptions found in Thailand, Cambodia, and Southern Vietnam. The Southeast Asian examples include inscriptions of the verse on the back of a standing Buddha image from 7th-century Cambodia (K. 820; Skilling, 1999; 2002), as well as on a gold plate of unknown provenance (though purchased in Bangkok) currently in the Musée Guimet (Skilling, 2003–2004). Another intriguing item is a brief Prakrit (or possibly Hybrid Pali) donative inscription on the base of a small Buddha image released from a *cetiya* (shrine) atop Shinma Mountain (near Pakhangyi, Burma) during an earthquake in 1975. This inscription is written in the Bhaikshuki script, otherwise unattested in Southeast Asia (Sircar, 1977). It has since been reinstalled in the *cetiya* and only an inexact eye-copy remains available for consultation.

Inscriptions in Vernacular Languages

Inscriptions in Malay

The corpus of Old Malay inscriptions spans from the 7th through the 14th/15th centuries and has not yet been served by a comprehensive publication, but an inventory with extensive references to relevant publications will be included in a survey by A. Griffiths (forthcoming b). The corpus is surprisingly limited in size, given the likelihood that Malay served as lingua franca throughout the archipelago from early date, but most of the preserved Old Malay

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inscriptions are explicitly Buddhist. Unique within Nusantaran epigraphy is a group of three inscriptions – found respectively at Sambas (West Kalimantan), Talang Tuwo (Palembang, South Sumatra) and Candi Sewu (Central Java) – stating explicitly in Old Malay that their text is a *praṇidhāna* (bodhisattva vow; see Griffiths, 2014a, 147; Cœdès, 1930; 1992; Boechari, 2012: ch. 32, no. II; on such *praṇidhāna*s, see also p. 1000; Tournier, 2014).

The majority of the Old Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, belonging to the late 7th century, do not show any overt signs of a dominance of Buddhism in public life. However, such dominance is inferred from the evidence of the Talang Tuwo inscription, the occurrence of the term *siddhayātra* (see p. 994) in the Kedukan Bukit inscription, the occurrence of the phrase *vihāra ini* ("this monastery") in a fragmentary inscription from Palembang, the preponderance of Buddhist icons in the archaeological record, and other types of evidence (for the Śrīvijayan epigraphical material, see Cœdès, 1930; 1992; de Casparis, 1956: chs. 1–2; Boechari, 2012, chs. 24–25; Griffiths, 2011b).

A short inscription, possibly of the 8th century, engraved on a large sculpture of Avalokiteśvara from Sumatra, consists only in the words *ḍaṅ ācāryya sphuṭa* ("Master Sphuṭa"; Boechari, 2012, 373 [with unlikely reading *syuṭa*]). This might be a caption but is more likely a very brief donor statement. The sole vernacular element *ḍaṅ* being common to Malay and Javanese, the language of this short text cannot be determined with certainty. Two substantial donative texts in Old Malay from Sumatra are the late-10th-century Hujung Langit inscription from Lampung, not yet entirely published (Damais, 1962), and the late-13th-century Padang Roco inscription from the upper Batanghari (Krom, 1916). In the highlands of West Sumatra, the aforementioned king Ādityavarman and his rough contemporaries have also left inscriptions in Old Malay, of which one (a large stela at Pagaruyung) is clearly donative while the purport of the two other Old Malay texts (one of which also at Pagaruyung, the other at Lubuk Layang) is rather unclear; very little has been published on these inscriptions, and nothing very reliable (see de Casparis, 1995; Budi Istiawan, 2006). Other donative inscriptions in Old Malay, respectively from South and North Sumatra, have been published by A. Griffiths (2011b and 2014b).

Mention should be made here of a substantial number of rolled-up inscribed tin foils that have been found in recent years in the riverbed of the Batanghari at Muara Jambi. These seem to have functioned as amulets because they bear protective magical inscriptions that are definitely pre-Islamic but show no explicit signs of any specific religious context. Given the fact that no non-Buddhist inscriptions are known from pre-Islamic Sumatra, they may be loosely classified as Buddhist. A publication of a number of these is in preparation by A. Griffiths.

None of the few Old Malay inscriptions found on Java – except the aforementioned *praṇidhāna* found at Candi Sewu, known as the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription – is Buddhist. The Old Malay Laguna copperplate inscription found near Manila on Luzon is a legal document that is not obviously Buddhist and is therefore only mentioned here.

Inscriptions in Javanese

The rich corpus of Old Javanese inscriptions, engraved both on stone supports and on copperplates, yields extensive data on Buddhism in early Java. This field too has not yet been served by any publications that cover more than specific subgroups of inscriptions, and many inscriptions whose readings have been published remain untranslated (important collections of Old Javanese inscriptions are Brandes, 1913; de Casparis, 1956; *Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. I, 1940; Sarkar, 1971–1972; Boechari & Wibowo, 1985–1986; Boechari, 2012, ch. 32).

We may first mention the large corpus of short donor statements found on a number of Buddhist monuments from Central Java, most abundantly on Candi Plaosan Lor (de Casparis, 1958). As admitted above (p. 988), we occasionally encounter the problem of whether we may conclude from the occurrence of certain keywords that a given donative inscription is Buddhist. A case in point is the Wayuku inscription of 854 CE, which records the demarcation by Rakai Sisai Pu Virājā of the rice fields at Wayuku in order that they become rent-free holdings of his monastery at Abhayananda (lines 4–6: *manusuk savaḥ i vayuku sīmāni bihāranira i abhayananda*; Sarkar, 1971–1972, no. 18). Can this monastery (*bihāra*) here be assumed to have been Buddhist? This was certainly the case for the monastery of Pikatan (*bihāra i pikatan*), whose rise and fall in royal favor over nearly the entire duration of Central Javanese history is the subject of a unique historical retrospective in the Wanua Tengah III plates issued under King Balituṅ in 908 CE, already mentioned in p. 995, because as part of its recital of the historical facts it incorporates a Sanskrit inscription issued by a previous ruler. This text is very rich in information about the practice of Buddhism in early Java. Other copperplate charters issued during the reign of Balituṅ (e.g. Sangsang; Sarkar, 1971–1972, no. 72) also record donations to vihāras but tend to be poor in information that can directly be exploited by historians of Indian religions, whether these monasteries were Śaiva or Buddhist, because the richness of Javanese epigraphy lies rather in economic and onomastic domains.

The mentioned cases of ambiguity notwithstanding, Javanese epigraphy knew certain explicit markers of religious affiliation, notably the use of the keyword *sogata* (Skt. *saugata*), or the use of an unambiguous invocation at the start of an epigraph: from the Buddhist tantric mantra *ṭaki hūṃ jaḥ* (Griffiths, 2014a, 178) to entirely unmistakable opening phrases such as *namo sarvabuddhāya* ("Hail to all the buddhas!"; Harahara inscription; Brandes, 1913, no. 55 – this text concerns a sanctuary named *dharmma lpas kapodgālikanani kulasantānānira mpuṅku iṅ nairañjanā*: "the tax-exempt foundation that is the private property of the family of the master of Nairañjanā") or *namo 'stu sarvabuddhāya* (Śobhāmṛta; Titi Surti Nastiti, 2007); in one inscription, we actually read *oṃ namaś śivāya namo buddhāya* ("Hail to Śiva! Hail to the Buddha!"; Taji Gunung; Sarkar, 1971–1972, no. 80). Among significant Buddhist land grants, mention may finally be made here of the Ālasantan charter of 939 CE (Wibowo, 1979), recording transactions at the heart of the Trowulan complex that would in later centuries become the capital of the Majapahit Kingdom. Two short inscriptions of 10th- and 13th-century East Java (Kubur Panjang and Lucem; Damais, 1952, 242; Hadi Sidomulyo, 2012–2013, 102) record the planting of Bodhi trees and are hence arguably traces of Buddhist practices.

A small number of recent finds at and around the major Buddhist complex at Muara Jambi in Sumatra includes two remarkable documents in Old Javanese, a language whose cosmopolitan allure evidently was able to carry it far from the island of Java. These are a donative statement by a certain Mpu Kusuma on a *makara* (roughly, crocodile image) balustrade (Griffiths, 2012) and an amazing tin amulet-roll engraved in Grantha script but Old Javanese language (Griffiths, forthcoming c).

Inscriptions in Balinese (and Old Javanese from Bali)

The epigraphical record of the island of Bali comprises inscriptions in native Old Balinese, in Old Javanese, and in Sanskrit. There are some publications comprising readings of epigraphs, sometimes with translations (van Stein Callenfels, 1926; Stutterheim, 1929–1930; Goris, 1954). But on the whole, there is very little secondary literature to guide one in accessing the epigraphic material of the island, even less in a European language. Some Buddhist functionaries figure in a certain number of inscriptions, but the transactions being recorded do not seem to show a specific connection with Buddhism. In a group of late-10th-/early-11th-century inscriptions, we find the elements Nalanda/Nalənda (*sic*; for Nālandā) and Vārānasī (*sic*) integrated into the titles of such officiants, which suggest some degree of knowledge of the Buddhist as well as the Śaiva cosmopolis in India, although clearly the meaning here is not that these individuals actually came from India (Goris, 1954, no. 302, Va5; no. 303, V5; no. 305, IXb3; see also Goris' index, under *wandāmi* and *sogata/nogata*).

Inscriptions in Khmer

Khmer, an Austroasiatic language related to Mon, was used alongside Sanskrit as epigraphic language in the Khmer cultural sphere from the early 7th until the early 15th century (for sources, see p. 992), during which period the language is called Old Khmer. Old Khmer was used either by itself or in bilingual documents normally opening with a Sanskrit portion. Most of the inscriptions that are relevant for Buddhist studies are listed by I. Harris (2005, app. A). Donative inscriptions on stone represent the largest volume of epigraphs in Old Khmer, and the language is in such contexts exclusively used to record the quotidian aspects of the transactions in question: dates, names of persons, toponyms, items donated, and so forth. Such documents reveal much about the economic life surrounding sanctuaries, and about the types of artifacts used in cult (Soutif, 2009). Names of deities tend to figure more prominently in the Sanskrit portions, if there are any, but the monolingual Old Khmer inscription K. 163 (7th cent.) clearly implies a temple in which the triad Buddha-Maitreya-Avalokiteśvara was installed (Green, 2014, 72). Clear indications of the presence of tantric Buddhist cult of the *Guhyasamāja* tradition are contained in another inscription (K. 1158), whose Khmer portion mentions the installation of nine Buddhist sculptures on a hill named Abhayagiri (Szántó, forthcoming).

There is a growing corpus of short inscriptions on ritual utensils in bronze, with statements in Old Khmer recording donation to deities, some of them Buddhist (K. 943; K. 1296; Estève & Vincent, 2010; Griffiths & Vincent, 2014). Normally a donation is explicitly recorded, but the inscription *vraḥ*

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śrījayapratiṣṭhā ("holy foundation of Śrī Jaya"), possibly signifying sponsorship by Jayavarman VII, is found on a Buddhist triad in bronze of which several specimens are now known (K. 945; Vincent, 2013, fig. 5). Furthermore, there is a large corpus of short stone inscriptions engraved on a number of monuments founded during the reign of this Buddhist king: these represent a unique mix of the caption and donation types, for they record the names of deities that were formerly present in the form of presumably metal sculptures (none of which is preserved), and these names in turn are in many cases derived from the names of individuals who were presumably responsible for the commissioning of the images named after them (Maxwell, 2007). This large corpus is not exclusively Buddhist but rather represents a kind of pantheon of late-Angkorian Cambodia; some of those which are Buddhist have turned out to be useful for the study of Khmer Buddhist art (Sharrock, 2011).

A substantial number of Khmer inscriptions engraved on gold plates, issued by Ayutthayan kings in the 15th and 16th centuries, have also been found in the Tenasserim region of what is now peninsular Burma, as well as at Ayutthaya-period sites in Thailand (Vickery, 1971). These record the conferring of titles on prominent individuals, some of whom members of the saṅgha. Another example of the use of Khmer as an epigraphic language in Buddhist contexts outside of the Khmer realm is the donative inscription on a bronze Buddha from peninsular Thailand, dating somewhere in the 12th–14th centuries (K. 504; Woodward, 2005, 193–195).

There are, finally, about 100 stone inscriptions in Middle Khmer, from the 16th through the 18th century (the so-called *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*) edited in a series of articles by Saveros Pou, initially writing under the name Saveros Lewitz (1972; see also Jenner, 2011, for further references). All of these are *satyapraṇidhān*, statements in the first person of accomplished pious works accompanied by the dedication of the accruing merit toward happy and prosperous rebirths, protection from danger, and the eventual enlightenment of self and/or others (see p. 999). Being engraved on pillars of Angkor Wat, at the behest of members of the very high aristocracy, these inscriptions constitute the bulk of post-Angkorian Khmer epigraphy.

Inscriptions in Cam

Old Cam, an Austronesian language quite closely related to Old Malay, was used alongside Sanskrit as epigraphic language in ancient Campā and is attested between the 5th and the 15th century (for sources, see p. 993). A small number of inscriptions in this language cast light on the patronage of Buddhism at different periods. A damaged and still unpublished inscription from Huế in northern Campā, datable to about the 7th century, contains the keywords *vihāra* and *bhikṣu*, and so – if these are reliable indicators of Buddhism – indicates a form of the religion in which Sanskrit served as church language. A bilingual Sanskrit-Cam inscription from the farthest south of Campā (C. 23) dated to 829 CE records the foundation of vihāras of the Buddha (*jina*) and Śiva (*śaṅkara*), thus revealing at least simultaneous patronage to Buddhism and Śaivism, if not already some early form of the syncretism between the two that is evident in later centuries (e.g. C. 213; Lepoutre, forthcoming). The king is praised in C. 211 (1050 CE) as *tuṁ sarvvaśāstrāgama sidaḥ śaivasaugatasiddhāntakulāvdhimada* ("knowing all treatises and traditions, that is intoxicated by the splendid oceans which are the doctrines of the Śaivas and the Buddhists"). Influence of Buddhism on royal ideology is found in a number of inscriptions (C. 55, 83, 89, 90, 92, 101), in which the king is said to be endowed with 32 or 33 characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*), which seems to be at least in origin a Buddhist concept, although the context is not always Buddhist in these cases; it is only in two inscriptions (C. 89; C. 122), which are clearly Buddhist in orientation, that the king is called *cakravarti* (universal emperor; Schweyer, 2006).

Inscriptions in Pyu

Although this is a subject of some controversy, we are inclined to assume that the inscriptions engraved in Pyu script basically represent a single language. This language is only very partially understood at present but was probably a member of the Tibeto-Burman family. Only a small number of known Pyu inscriptions have been deciphered and analyzed (Blagden, 1913–1914; Shafer, 1943; Luce, 1985; Krech, 2012). Nevertheless it is clear that several of them must have been related to the practice and institutions of Buddhism in ancient Burma. Some items in the Śrīkṣetra Museum, although undeciphered, are engraved on stone stelae or slabs displaying Buddhist motifs; the aforementioned bilingual inscription from Śrīkṣetra (see p. 992) is engraved on a Buddha image, and although the text does not evidently record installation of the image, the contents do clearly emanate from a Buddhist context. The quadrilingual Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi edict (see p. 997), its Pyu version edited by Blagden (1919), is unmistakably a

Buddhist donative inscription. The aforementioned silver reliquary bears caption inscriptions in Pyu identifying the major and minor figures depicted in repoussé (Luce, vol. I, 1985, 137). We can mention here finally the Hpayahtaung Urn, discovered in 1993, which clearly invokes the triple jewel (line 1: *būdha . . . saṅgha . . . radana*, the latter word for Skt. *ratna*, so we have an unmistakable mention of at least two of the three Buddhist jewels; rendered almost identically in the anonymous reading published on unnumbered pages between the articles Tun Aung Chain, 2003 and San Win, 2003). But such cases are rather rare in most texts that we have seen: from a comparative Southeast Asian perspective, the extremely low proportion of Indic loanwords in the Pyu inscriptions is remarkable. Hence, as long as most documents remain untransliterated and the language largely undeciphered, we can only speculate about how they might be classified. An inventory of the Pyu corpus will be offered in Griffiths *et al.*, forthcoming.

Inscriptions in Mon

The Austroasiatic Mon language was used to write donative inscriptions from the 6th century CE onward (Cœdès, 1952a). Inscriptions in Mon from the 1st millennium have been discovered across central mainland Southeast Asia, in areas that are part of modern-day lower Burma (possibly 6th–7th cents.; Mya, 1961; Myint Aung, 1999), central, northern, and northeastern Thailand (6th cent.; Bauer, 1991a; 1991b; Revire, 2014), and Laos (8th cent.; Gagneux, 1972; Guillon, 1974). These include epigraphs on terracotta sealings, stone slabs, Buddha images, and, in Thailand, *dharmacakra* wheels, possibly miniature stūpas, and stones that have been identified as *sīmā*, boundary markers within which monks perform ritual acts (*saṅghakamma*), although whether this exclusive function can be applied to all of such stones in 1st-millennium Southeast Asia remains uncertain (comp. K. 981, clearly documenting the function of one of them as a ritual boundary; see also Murphy, 2014). A number of these artifacts bear bilingual inscriptions, with a donative portion in Mon and a textual citation or caption inscription in Pali. Although some 1st-millennium *sīmā*s from northeastern Thailand are inscribed in monolingual Sanskrit (Cœdès, 1958), bilingual Mon and Sanskrit inscriptions are unknown.

Some inscribed *sīmā*s present Mon glosses to carved depictions of *jātaka* scenes or episodes of the life of Gotama Buddha (Bauer, 1991a; Murphy, 2014). A similar Mon-inscribed *sīmā* has also been found in Thaton in lower Burma, along with a separate dedicatory inscription in Mon, dated to the 11th century (Luce, vol. II, 1985, plate 92d). Caption inscriptions engraved into their support or written on it in ink accompany narrative frescoes and terracotta plaques at some temple sites in Pagan and elsewhere in Burma (Duroiselle, 1921b; Luce, 1961; 1975; Shorto, 1966). At least 15 lengthy stone donative inscriptions in Mon date to the reign of King Kyanzittha of Pagan (r. c. 1084–1113), the southernmost of which is from Tavoy (Chit Thein, 1965). A large quantity of sealings inscribed in Mon and dated to the 11th and 12th centuries have been found in lower and upper Burma and across central and northern Thailand, evidence of the wide geographic diffusion of Mon-speaking communities well into the 2nd millennium (Guillon, 1977; Luce & Ba Shin, 1969–1970). The Mon epigraphy from several 13th-century temple complexes in Lampun, Thailand, is particularly noteworthy (Halliday, 1930). Later Mon inscriptions are concentrated mainly in lower Burma (Chit Thein, 1965), with several examples from Thailand and perhaps even as far west as Arakan. These mainly comprise donative inscriptions on stone slabs and also on bells plus the aforementioned unique copperplate (Shorto, 1971).

Inscriptions in Burmese and Arakanese

Inscriptions in central Burmese and the southwestern Burmese dialect of Arakanese are the most numerous among vernacular Buddhist epigraphy from Southeast Asia. Over 600 early stone inscriptions from Burma and Arakan are presented in facsimile reproductions in the major work *Inscriptions of Burma* (ed. Luce & Pe Maung Tin, 1934–1956). The focus of the volumes is on inscriptions from Burma in any language up to the mid-14th century, although the majority of the items included are central Burmese. Readings of Burmese and Pali lithic inscriptions have also been published in Roman and modern Burmese script transliteration. During the colonial era, there were a number of such publications (see generally the introductory remarks in Duroiselle, 1921a). A substantial effort by Burmese scholars has produced six volumes that cover approximately 900 donative lithic inscriptions produced between the mid-11th and the late-18th century (Nyein Maung *et al.*, 1972–2013), although many others remain unpublished.

The beginning of vernacular Burmese epigraphy is conventionally dated to the Burmese face of the quadrilingual Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi inscription of Rājakumāra (mentioned in on pp. 997, 1001).

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A number of inscriptions carry earlier dates, but their authenticity in many cases is uncertain, as some contain paleographic or calendrical inconsistencies that suggest they may be unfaithful copies. The only translation into a European language of a considerable number of Burmese inscriptions is outdated, although it may still serve as an introduction to the material (Tun Nyein, 1899). A project was begun by G.H. Luce, Pe Maung Tin, and Ba Shin in the mid-1950s to critically edit and translate early Burmese inscriptions into English, although only a handful were published in the first (1960) and third (1963) issues of the *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission* (for a list of translations of Old Burmese inscriptions, see Frasch, 2005).

Aside from lithic inscriptions, there is a large corpus of Burmese ink epigraphy. These comprise donative texts and horoscopes written on temple walls (Swe, 2001; Ba Shin, 1964) and caption inscriptions to narrative registers in plaques and painted murals, which date from the 12th century up to the present day (Ba Shin, 1962; Munier & Myint Aung, 2007). Various other objects carry early to late 2nd-millennium Burmese inscriptions, including sealings (Mya, 1961; Aung Kyaing, 2011), bells (Sein Maung U, 2014), lacquerware, wood and metal images, monastic utensils, and metal plates, most of which remain unpublished. A substantial collection of over six thousand 19th-century donative inscriptions on copper plaques from the Shwedagon Pagoda have been edited (Kyan & Yi Yi, 2007). Burmese-language inscriptions have been found outside of Burma, including at Bodh Gaya (late 13th cent.; Luce, 1976) and in Northern Thailand, where examples include an epigraph in Burmese, Thai, and possibly also Mon, on a Buddha image (mid-16th cent.; Kraisri, 1960; Penth, 1976, 98–102).

Inscriptions in Tai Languages

Tai languages were used in Buddhist epigraphy from the 13th century onward. Speakers of various Tai dialects settled across mainland Southeast Asia over the course of the 2nd millennium, and several different Tai languages have found usage in epigraphy, among them Lao, Central Thai, Tai Yuan, Tai Lue, and Khoen.

An important published corpus of vernacular Tai-language inscriptions from Thailand is the *Prachum charuk sayam/Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, edited in modern Thai script and translated into French by G. Cœdès (1924–1929). The series was continued, without translation, for an additional six volumes under the title *Prachum sila charuk* (1924–2004), bringing its total number of inscriptions to 327. A more recent corpus is the five-volume *Charuk nai prathet Thai* (1986), published by the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, which is arranged by script (Pallava, Late Pallava, Mon, Khom/Old Khmer, Tham/Dhamma, and Thai) and ranges chronologically from the 7th to the 19th century. Both collections cover vernacular Tai inscriptions as well as materials in Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil, Khmer, and Mon, found in Thailand. The most comprehensive presentation of epigraphy from Northern Thailand is the *Corpus of Lān Nā Inscriptions*, now in its 15th volume (Penth *et al.*, 1997–2013; compare also Prasert, 1992–2008; and the websites of the Corpus of Lan Na Inscriptions and The Inscriptions in Thailand Database). P.-M. Gagneux (1977) inventoried Buddhist inscriptions from Laos, although there have been relatively few publications of Tai-language epigraphy outside of Thailand (Lorrillard, 2003b).

The earliest epigraphic evidence for any Tai language is generally dated to the stela of King Ramkhamhaeng established in 1292, an inscription that contains a lengthy eulogy to this king and celebrates his many works of merit and the prosperity of the central Thai kingdom of Sukhothai (13th cent.–1438) during his rule. It is written in what scholarship has referred to as the Sukhothai script (despite the fact that examples of this script are found in northern Thailand) and explicitly credits this king with the invention of this writing system, which moreover displays certain peculiarities, when judged against Indic and other regional scripts, in its representation of vowels. This is the most intensively studied vernacular Buddhist inscription from mainland Southeast Asia, and controversies surround its date (for an overview of the debate, see Terwiel, 2010). This and several other early vernacular inscriptions from Sukhothai and elsewhere have been edited and translated into English (Prasert & Griswold, 1992). H. Penth (1996) has proposed a date of 1219 for a Tai donative inscription from Phrae, northern Thailand, written in a script similar to that used in the Ramkhamhaeng stela. The earliest vernacular inscription from northern Thailand written in a distinctive northern Thai script is found on the pedestal of a Buddha image dated 1465 (Penth, 1975). Two very short painted epigraphs in vernacular Tai have been discovered in caves near Luang Prabang, Laos, and have been tentatively dated to the 14th century on the basis of similarities with Sukhothai script (Ferlus, 1995). Otherwise the oldest Lao inscription is dated 1494, although this example displays certain affinities with the *fak kham* ("tamarind pod") script used in central and northern Thailand (Lorrillard, 2008).

Tai-language Buddhist lithic inscriptions have so far not been reported from China, despite the large number of surviving Tai Buddhist manuscripts in Yunnan. Several Tai lithic inscriptions have been found in Kengtung, Burma (see *Prachum sila charuk*, 1991), the earliest dating to the mid-15th century (Prasert & Griswold, 1992). Two 16th-century inscribed Buddha images are known from the Shan States, Burma, possibly written in Tai Lue (Griswold, 1959). Documented inscriptions in Tai Ahom from northeastern India are not obviously Buddhist in orientation. More research is needed on these areas. In non-Tai speaking regions of Burma, donative ink inscriptions in Tai have been discovered, for example at the Ananda Temple in Pagan (see *Prachum sila charuk*, 1991) and also a short caption in Thai in a 19th-century temple in Minbu, whose mural registers are otherwise captioned in Burmese (Orawin, 2010).

The mid-14th-century caption inscriptions at Wat Si Chum, an important Sukhothai temple, have received considerable scholarly attention. These comprise vernacular glosses to the first one hundred verse *jātakas*, illustrations of which were engraved on slabs placed in the temple (Skilling, 2008). Thai and Lao murals are also often accompanied by caption inscriptions. A particularly extensive example of central Thai vernacular citation inscription are the over 1500 inscribed stone slabs at Wat Chetuphon in Bangkok, commissioned by the Thai king Rama III in the 1830s, which include excerpts from the Tipiṭaka, *Mahāvaṃsa*, medical and *nīti* treatises, Thai poetry, and the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa* (Niyada, 2001).

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Epigraphy: Tibet and Central Asia

This article deals with Tibetan inscriptions found in the Tibetan parts of the People's Republic of China as well as in Nepal, northern India, northern Pakistan, and Mongolia. The non-Tibetan epigraphs in these areas are partly covered elsewhere in this volume and partly still waiting to be studied.

Research History

S. Csoma de Kőrös, widely considered the founder of Tibetan studies in general, also provided the first study of a Tibetan inscription (Csoma de Kőrös, 1838). The fragmentary short text is found on the lower right part of the so-called Buddha Rock near Skardu (Baltistan, Pakistan) and refers to the relief carvings above it. The circumstances under which the inscription was found and documented were recently recounted by D. Schuh (2011, 338–350), who also discusses its subsequent research and provides his own edition together with a German translation.

Two other noteworthy 19th-century studies of Tibetan epigraphs are E. Schlagintweit's article (1864) on an extensive inscription in Hemis (Ladakh, India) and G. Huth's monograph (1894) on the epigraphic evidence in Tsagaan Baishing (Mongolia). In both places, the inscriptions portray the historical background of the respective temples and are couched in Buddhist terms.

The first systematic survey of Tibetan inscriptions was conducted by the missionary August Hermann Francke in Ladakh. In addition to several short articles, he authored two self-published monographs on 145 historical inscriptions on rock and stone (Francke, 1906; 1907). Most of these inscriptions are rather short, and only some of them contain explicit Buddhist references. He himself states that much of his epigraphic research cannot claim to be up to scholarly standards since the *in situ* transcriptions were mostly prepared by his local assistants (Francke, 1906, preface).

The next major contribution to the field of Tibetan epigraphy was made by G. Tucci. Between 1926 and 1954, he conducted several field trips to Nepal, the Indian Himalayas, and central Tibet, where he documented inscriptions at various sites. Notable publications include his studies of five inscriptions in central Tibet (Tucci, 1950) as well as his edition and Italian translation of the now famous "renovation inscription" in the monastery of Tabo (Spiti Valley, Himachal Pradesh, India; Tucci, 1935). The latter epigraph was subsequently also the object of research by E. Steinkellner and C. Luczanits (1999), L.S. Thakur (2001), and K. Tropper (2008a).

The person whose name is most closely linked with Tibetan epigraphy is the British diplomat and scholar H.E. Richardson. Staying in Lhasa during 1936–1940 and 1946–1950, he documented a considerable number of inscriptions in central Tibet. They were published in a series of articles, starting from 1949, and in a monograph dedicated to the Qing dynasty inscriptions at Lhasa (Richardson, 1974). His work on some of the earliest extant Tibetan inscriptions, dated to between 764 and 840, was later brought together in a collected volume that also contains articles on some fragments of uncertain date as well as on two inscriptions of the 11th and 15th centuries (Richardson, 1985). The epigraphs studied by him are predominantly of a historical nature, and not all of them contain Buddhist references. The Old Tibetan inscriptions that he examined were reconsidered in monographs by Y. Wang (1982), Bsod nams skyid (1984), F.K. Li and W.S. Coblin (1987), K. Iwao *et al.* (2009), and Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011). The latter two publications also provide several more Old Tibetan inscriptions that had been made available in the late 20th and early 21st centuries through various publications of different authors.

Due to the political situation, fieldwork in central and eastern Tibet became completely impossible for Western scholars again from the early 1950s until the mid-1980s. In Ladakh, August Hermann Francke's pioneering work was taken up by P. Denwood, who visited the temples at Alchi in 1975 and recorded 12 inscriptions there. They were later published together with a number of rock inscriptions that he found in the vicinity of Alchi (Denwood, 1980). He also studied several other inscriptions in the western Himalayas (Denwood & Howard, 1990; Denwood, 2007).

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Fig. 3: Inscription relating the birth
Tibet; photo by author).

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(2001, 226–283; 2006) published much of the rich epigraphic legacy of another important site in northern India, namely Tabo Monastery in Spiti Valley. The research carried out in Tabo served as a catalyst for several epigraphic studies and projects that were subsequently conducted at the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences and dealt with inscriptions of both the western Himalayas and central Tibet. This resulted in numerous articles and a number of book-length publications (Tropper, 1996; 2005; 2008b; Tropper & Scherrer-Schaub, 2013). The University of Vienna also hosts a Web site that provides extensive documentary material of Tibetan inscriptions (mainly from northern India) as well as a constantly updated bibliography aiming at a comprehensive coverage of publications on Tibetan epigraphy.

Generally, epigraphic research has always been a somewhat neglected field within Tibetan studies, as it often necessitates fieldwork in places that are not easily accessible for both political and geographical reasons. While the situation in the culturally Tibetan areas of India and Nepal has notably improved since the 1990s, many of the inscriptions in China's Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan are still inaccessible for Western scholars. The future development of Tibetan epigraphy is thus difficult to predict.

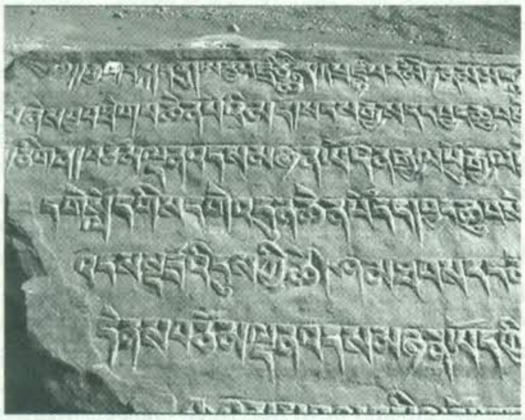

Fig. 1: Detail of a stone slab with the beginning of the *Vajracchedikāsūtra* (Tib. *Rdo rje gcod pa'i mdo*), with text cut in relief (Mud, Spiti Valley, Himachal Pradesh; photo by author).

Types of Inscriptions

A detailed model for the classification of Tibetan inscriptions was proposed in C. Scherrer-Schaub (2013; see in particular table II). A basic distinction can be made between inscriptions on movable objects (pillars, stone slabs, *tsha tsha*s [small clay images], statues, etc.) and those on immovable supports (rocks and cave and temple walls). In addition, the inscriptions differ in regard to the way they are prepared, essentially subdividing into those that are cut into their respective support in relief or counterrelief (see figs. 1 & 2) and those that are written on the support's surface in ink or paint (see fig. 3).

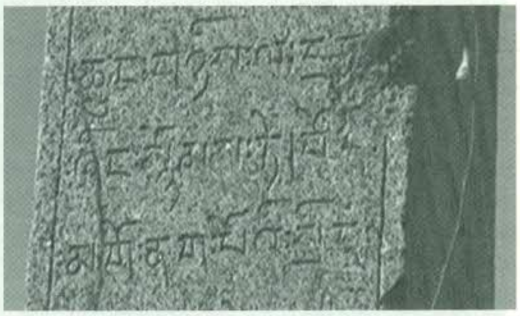

Fig. 2: Detail of the east face of the Zhol *rdo ring*, with text cut in counterrelief (Lhasa; photo by author).

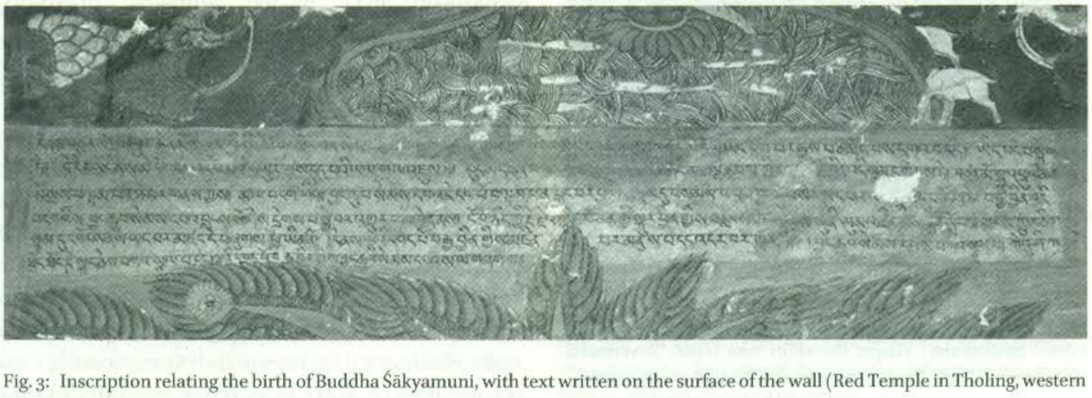

Fig. 3: Inscription relating the birth of Buddha Śākyamuni, with text written on the surface of the wall (Red Temple in Tholing, western Tibet; photo by author).

The latter are often combined with paintings, most notably in the case of short captions (see fig. 4).

There is, however, no universally accepted definition of what constitutes an inscription, and sometimes the use of the term is restricted to the cut type. Moreover, there are hybrid versions, where the characters are both cut and painted, as well as marginal cases, such as when the text is written on a sheet of paper that is glued to a wall. Instances of the latter type have been referred to as "paper inscriptions" (de Rossi Filibeck, 1999; Wood, 2013; see also Petech, 1977, 3). A detailed study of the techniques, tools, and materials used in the production of these various epigraphs is still wanting.

The vast majority of inscriptions is executed in *dbu can* script, and the relatively rare use of *dbu med* is restricted to the surface type (see fig. 5). Some notable early *dbu med* inscriptions (11th/12th–14th cents.) were found in Ladakh, especially in and near the monastery of Alchi (Denwood, 1980; Tropper, 1996; 2014). The *lantsha* script is sometimes used for short mantras and *dhāraṇīs*, which are typically placed on narrow bands extending across the lower parts of Tibetan temples, or on door posts, lintels, and rafters (see fig. 6).

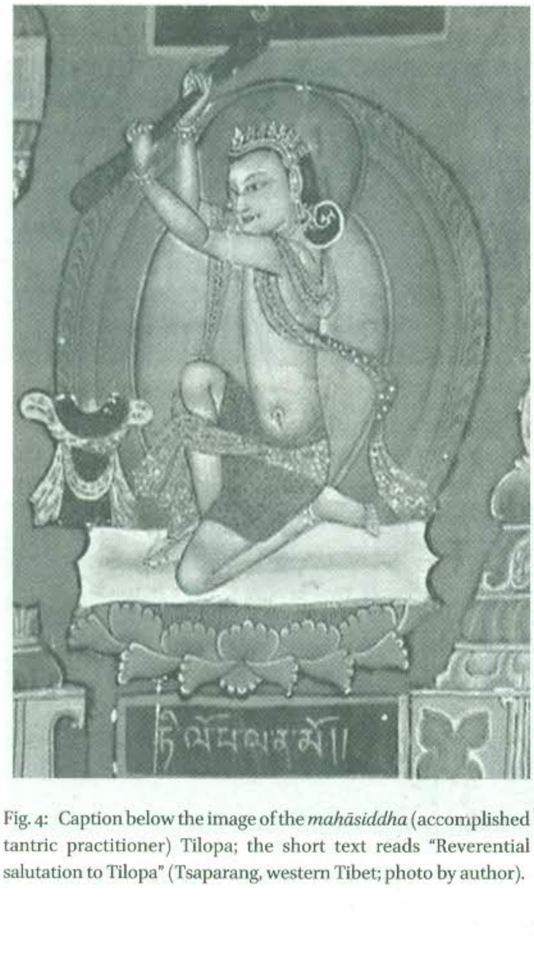

Fig. 4: Caption below the image of the *mahāsiddha* (accomplished tantric practitioner) Tilopa; the short text reads "Reverential salutation to Tilopa" (Tsaparang, western Tibet; photo by author).

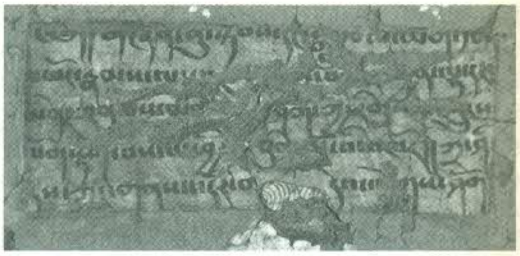

Fig. 5: Damaged *dbu med* inscription in Pang gra phug (western Tibet; photo by Heidi and Helmut Neumann).

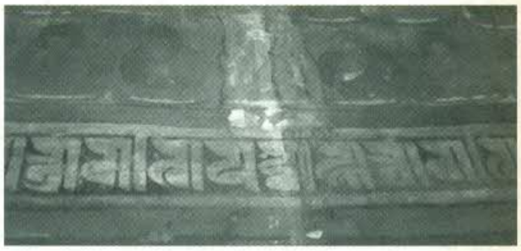

Fig. 6: *Lantsha* inscription on lintel with repetitive mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (Shel, Ladakh; photo by author).

Regarding contents, Tibetan epigraphs can be broadly divided into historical and religious, but in practice, the two categories are often combined or overlap. Thus, many historical inscriptions open with some *maṅgala* verses referring, for example, to the "three jewels" (*triratna*; i.e. the Buddha, the dharma, and the saṅgha) or to the "three bodies" (*trikāya*) of the Buddha (*dharmakāya, sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*), and usually the historical information is embedded in a Buddhist context (see de Rossi Filibeck, 1999, 194–199; Huth, 1894, 6–23; Richardson, 1974, 62–63). Similarly, historical inscriptions found in temples or monasteries sometimes contain a register (*dkar chag*) of the structure's most important sacred objects (statues, manuscripts, relics, etc.) and wall paintings (Huth, 1894, 10–11, 21–22; Tropper, 2007; 2014). Purely religious inscriptions include those that consist of quotations from Kanjur or Tanjur texts (Steinkellner, 1995; Tropper, 1996; 2005; 2010), as well as of mantras and *dhāraṇī* – most notably the ubiquitous *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*.

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Questions of Dating

Dating Tibetan epigraphs is often problematic, especially if they do not provide any internal chronological evidence, and many of the difficulties encountered are similar to those met when dating Tibetan manuscripts on paper.

The methodological principles for dating the latter are discussed in C. Scherrer-Schaub (1999) as well as in C. Scherrer-Schaub and G. Bonani (2002), and many of the formal characteristics specified there are also relevant for inscriptions. In particular, the occurrence and frequency of *gi gu log* (inverted grapheme for *i*), *da drag* ("strong *d*"; added to syllables ending in *n*, *r*, and *l*), *ya btags* with *m* before *e* and *i* (spelling e.g. *myed* and *smyin* instead of *med* and *smin*), and the horizontal or semi-horizontal arrangement of superscript and root letter provide important, if somewhat imprecise, evidence for pre-15th-century sources (see the table in Scherrer-Schaub, 1999, 25; see also Steinkellner, 1994, 124–125). The vertical double *tsheg* (Tibetan syllable delimiter) is frequently encountered in the earliest inscriptions (8th to the early 9th cents.) and later gradually fell out of use (see Richardson, 1985, 3, 28, 45; see also Dotson, 2007, 19). The paleographic peculiarities of the 8th-century stele inscriptions in Zhol and Bsam yas, both in central Tibet, have been described in detail in H. Uebach (2010), but it is unclear if these characteristics are primarily due to the idiosyncratic preferences of the respective stonecutters or if they can be used as chronological markers.

Post-15th-century documents can be even more difficult to date, and while Carbon-14 testing is sometimes possible for manuscripts, no such tests have been done on epigraphs yet. In principle, this is also possible for inscriptions of the surface type (see above) as the ink or paint contains organic matter, but in order to obtain a sufficiently large sampling, a considerable part of the respective inscription would have to be destroyed.

The difficulties in dating Tibetan sources merely on the basis of their orthographic and paleographic characteristics are compounded by the fact that one always has to account for the possibility of what E. Steinkellner (1994, 124) has called "archaizing mannerisms"; such attempts to artificially make new textual documents appear old by using antiquated scripts, orthography, grammar, and so forth are a phenomenon that one meets particularly often with inscriptions, not only in Tibet. In addition, up to the present time, the *gi gu log* is sometimes used instead of a regular *gi gu* in order to avoid the graphic interference of the vowel sign with a character of the line above (see fig. 7), and it is not always possible to decide if the *gi gu log* was merely used for this reason or whether it reflects ancient writing habits.

Another problem in dating Tibetan epigraphs is that inscriptions both of the cut and of the surface type were sometimes touched up, replaced by a new exemplar, or overwritten in the form of a palimpsest (see Tropper & Scherrer-Schaub, 2014; see also Uebach, 2010, 414–415). Those cases in which the overwriting or renewing of the inscriptions is obvious (see figs. 8 & 9) naturally raise some suspicions as to whether there are also less obvious cases that have gone unnoticed so far. As a corollary, such tampering also constitutes a serious problem in regard to the appraisal of the contents of epigraphic sources. For it is well known that copyists of manuscripts in codex form not only introduced accidental mistakes but also sometimes altered the original text on purpose. These tendencies must certainly have been compounded if a severely damaged inscription was touched up or entirely renewed. Therefore, neither can one take it for granted that a given Tibetan inscription is original, nor should one take its contents at face value.

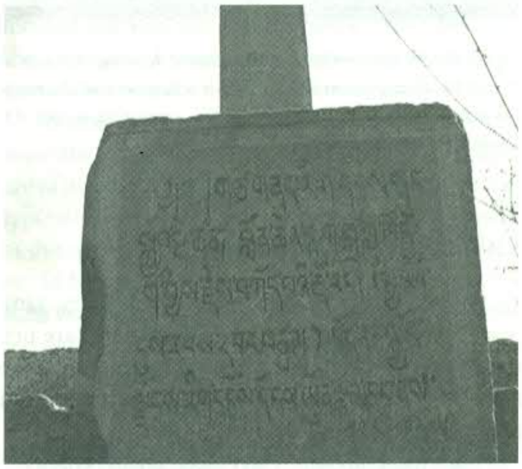

Fig. 7: 20th-century inscription next to the Zhol *rdo ring* in Lhasa with *gi gu log* in the syllable *gi* at the beginning of line 3. The short text reads as follows: "Unit for the protection of important cultural relics. *Rdo ring* displaying the achievements of the great minister Stag sgra Klu khong. (Erected in the 8th cent. CE.) Administrative Committee for Cultural Relics in the Tibetan Autonomous Region – 1981-08-5" (photo by author).

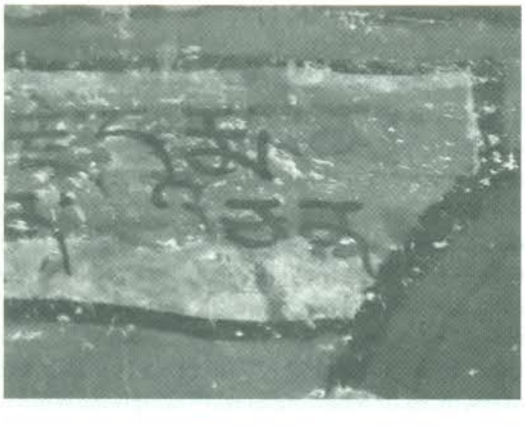

Fig. 8: Right side of a caption identifying a painted image of Chos rje Darma mtshan can in the Rgya 'phags pa lha khang of Nako (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh). The black text was written over an earlier version in red, of which parts can still be made out (photo by author).

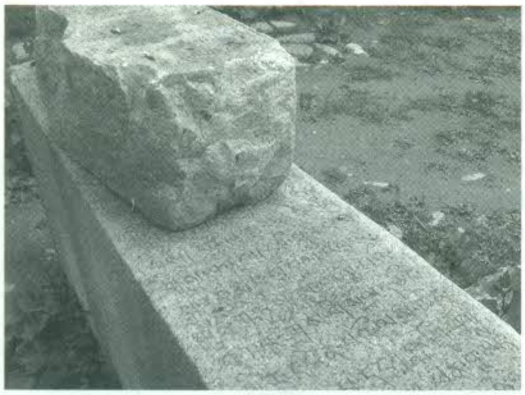

Fig. 9: Recent replacement of the eastern *rdo ring* in front of Zhwa'i lha khang (central Tibet), with a fragment of the original (dated to 812 CE by Richardson, 1985, 44) resting on top of it (photo by Kurtis Schaeffer).

Functions of Inscriptions

As pointed out by C. Scherrer-Schaub (2013, 140), inscriptions in Tibet as well as elsewhere "are primarily destined to inform the public and/or to 'make something known to everybody'... particularly if emanating from political authorities."

This is most obvious with edicts (*gtsigs*) engraved on *rdo rings* (steles; see e.g. Richardson, 1985, 16–25, 26–31, 46–54). C. Scherrer-Schaub (2013, 140) also emphasizes that stone, due to its durability, is an exceptionally suitable support for such inscriptions and draws attention to the fact that this is already alluded to in a passage of the edict found on the western *rdo ring* at Zhwa'i lha khang (edition of Richardson, 1985, 48, lines 26–31). Specifically, the passage states that the edict was meant to still be binding on future generations, and it indicates that, being carved in stone, the text cannot easily be shortened, altered, or modified. Not all of these official secular documents have a Buddhist context, however, and the same is true for inscriptions commemorating a historical event.

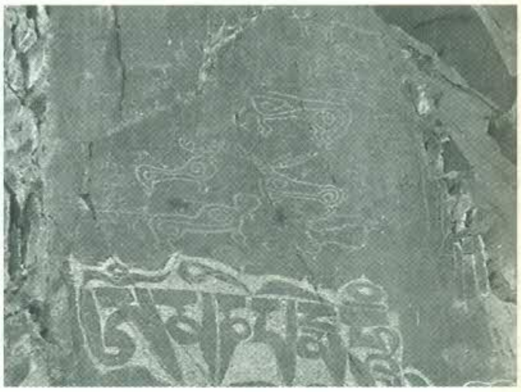

Fig. 10: Pre-Buddhist rock carvings, partly covered by the mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (Ri mo thang, Ru thog, western Tibet; photo by author).

Similarly, a variant of the inscriptions' function of "making something known to everybody," namely that of marking space, may have a purely political bearing, but it may also extend to the religious domain. Just as an inscription proclaiming an edict shows the sphere of influence of the issuing authority, the countless rocks and stones inscribed with *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (with many variant spellings) that are found all over the Tibetan cultural realm mark the respective areas as Buddhist territory. This becomes particularly clear in those cases where the mantra and pre-Buddhist petroglyphs are found together, the former sometimes even partly obliterating the latter (see fig. 10; see also the pictures in Bellezza, 2002, 231, 251). Closely related to this function of marking space, such inscriptions thus usually also bear testimony to the attempt to subdue local spirits or non-Buddhist beliefs, especially those of the Bön religion (see also Bellezza, 2008, 188–189).

The short captions found below painted images are mainly a means to identify the respective figures or themes, and to a certain extent, this also applies to most of the longer epigraphs that are combined with painted scenes. In addition, a number of other purposes have been ascribed to these more extensive inscriptions, particularly to the ones that consist of literal quotations from Kanjur or Tanjur texts. Thus E. Steinkellner (1995, 22–23; 1999) argues that

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Tabo's *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* inscriptions – dated to the 11th century and so called because they consist of excerpts from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* – were primarily intended to "prove as a document of revelatory scripture that what is depicted in the painting is truly authentic Buddhist teaching" (Steinkellner, 1995, 23), or, put in other words, that they were added to the painted scenes "for the purpose of authorization" (Steinkellner, 1995, 23). His explanation is offered against the background that Buddhism was not firmly established in the area around Tabo in the 11th century and that some offensive tantric practices had spread there. Yet, considering that most people were illiterate at that time, this "authorization" of the paintings and their contents through the inscriptions only could have worked indirectly on the general population, either via the medium of a learned monk or through the mere effect that the written word can have on illiterate people.

Another function ascribed to religious inscriptions, be they long or short, with or without appended images, is that of serving as an object of veneration (Tropper, 2005, 39–44). This can be seen as a variant of the veneration bestowed on Buddhist manuscripts in codex form that has come to be known by the expression "the cult of the book" and has been identified as an important element in the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism (see e.g. Schopen, 1975; Kinnard, 2001, 148–175). Up to the present, paying homage to texts as physical objects that represent the teachings of the Buddha, and thus ultimately the Buddha himself, has remained a prevalent feature of Tibetan Buddhist practice. It is performed in particular by the lay population, and it can be observed not only with paper manuscripts, block prints, and modern books but also with inscriptions. Thus the visitors to monasteries often perform prostrations and pay other forms of physical obeisance to the texts stacked in the shelves, and for inscriptions similar performances are most notably carried out in front of the so-called *maṇi* walls. These structures are omnipresent in the Tibetan Buddhist world, come in various forms (masoned or merely piled up, cuboidal, or more rounded), and are typically about one meter high and up to five meters wide, while their length varies considerably, sometimes extending to several hundred meters. More often than not, only the rocks or stone slabs placed on top are inscribed, and usually these inscriptions consist of short mantras like *oṃ āḥ hūṃ* or *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (hence the term "*maṇi* wall"). In quite a few cases, primarily in western Tibet, these structures also feature the text of an entire *sūtra*, which is distributed over several stone slabs (see fig. 11).

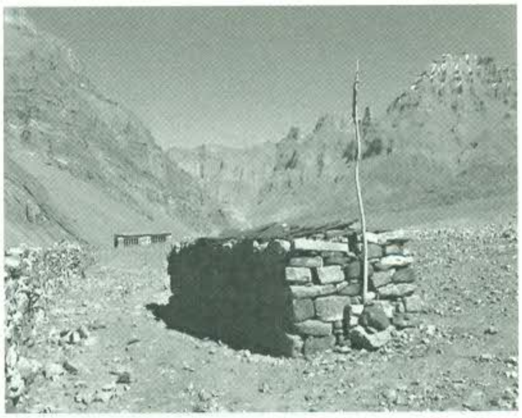

Fig. 11: *Maṇi* wall near Mud (Spiti Valley, Himachal Pradesh), with text of the *Vajracchedikāsūtra* (Tib. *Rdo rje gcod pa'i mdo*) cut into the stone slabs placed on top (photo by author).

In Ngari (TAR) as well as in the culturally Tibetan areas of northern India, there is still a widespread custom of having professional stonecutters prepare such inscriptions for *maṇi* walls after the death of a family member in order to gather merit and to thus contribute to his or her favorable rebirth. Similarly, the erection of a *maṇi* wall is sometimes sponsored to improve one's own karma, but this is never done with an exclusive view toward one's own rebirth but with the intent to benefit all other living beings, too. The texts that are mainly chosen for this purpose are the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* and the *Vajracchedikāsūtra*, and occasionally the circumstances under which such *maṇi* walls came to be constructed are narrated in an inscription on a separate stone slab. These usually short epigraphs are of interest from a historical point of view, as they typically provide the name of the deceased person, of the sponsor, and sometimes also of the stonecutter. In Ngari, the latter are mostly itinerant, practice their craft in the open or in a tent, and have a certain repertoire of texts of various lengths from which their customers can choose according to their financial abilities (see fig. 12).

The aspect of creating merit for the favorable rebirth of a deceased relative is also found in the production of *tsha tsha*s that are either inscribed with particular formulas or into which such formulas were enclosed. As pointed out by K. Namgyal Lama (2013, 27–29), the *mūlavidyā* (root formula) of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (see Skorupski, 1983, 7, 126, 127), Akṣobhya's *dhāraṇī* "*namo ratnatrayāya,*

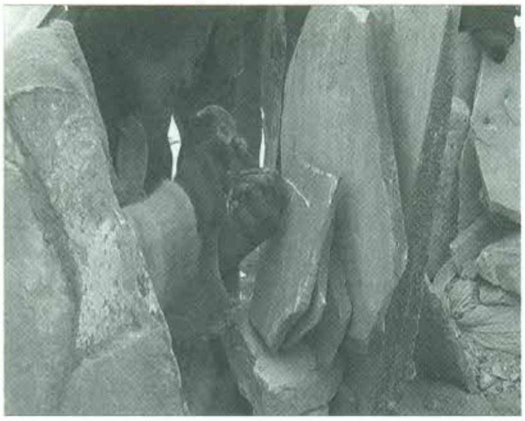

Fig. 12: Professional stonecutter at work in his tent near Bar yangs (Ngari) in 2009. He is preparing a short mantra, which will be distributed over several stone slabs (photo by author).

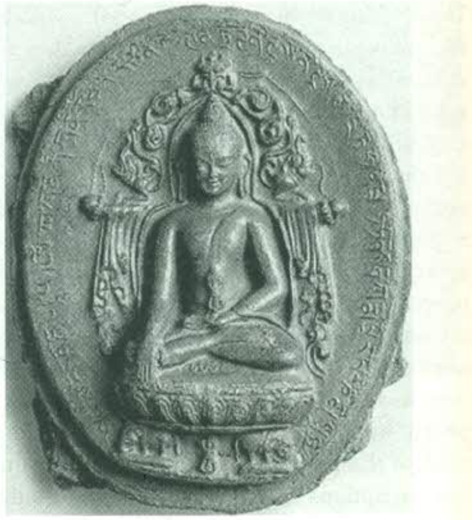

Fig. 13: *Tsha tsha* of unbaked clay from 'Phyong rgyas (central Tibet) showing the image of Akṣobhya encircled by his *dhāraṇī* (after Liu, 2000, 88).

oṃ kaṃkani kaṃkani…" (see fig. 13), and the *yig brgya* (hundred-syllable mantra) of Vajrasattva are considered to be especially appropriate for that purpose.

Moreover, K. Namgyal Lama (2013, 27–29) discusses a number of other functions of inscriptions on *tsha tsha*s, including consecration, protection, and invocation, which may also be found with inscriptions on other supports. Thus consecratory inscriptions are particularly common on the backside of *thangka*s (for examples, see Heller, 1999, 220; Kossak *et al.*, 1998, 138), and the protective element is sometimes also noticeable with inscribed stone slabs, in particular when they are placed at the entrance of a village or around the perimeter of a temple and thus create a barrier that wards off all evil influence. Captions may merely provide the name of a painted figure but often end in a short phrase like "*la phyag 'tshal lo*" (homage to) or "*la na mo*" (reverential salutation to), thereby not only identifying the respective image but also expressing veneration for the depicted personage or deity and invoking his or her presence, assistance, and protection (see also fig. 4).

As these last examples illustrate, most Tibetan inscriptions can fulfill several functions and monocausal explanations for their existence thus usually fall short of the mark. Determining the exact ratio of these functions in a given inscription is rarely possible, however, especially in view of the fact that various parties are involved in its production and reception, and to each one, a different aspect may be of paramount importance.

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